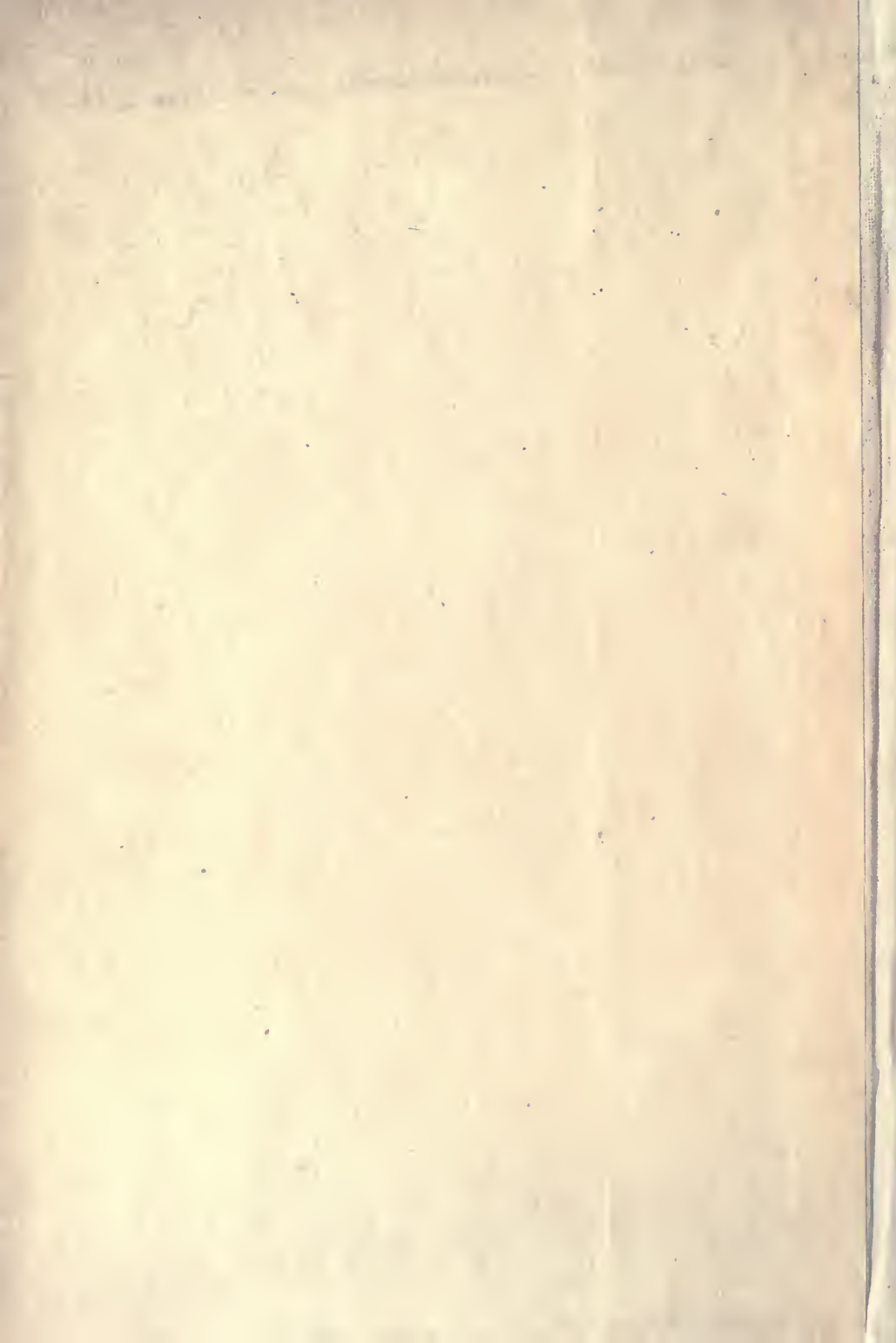


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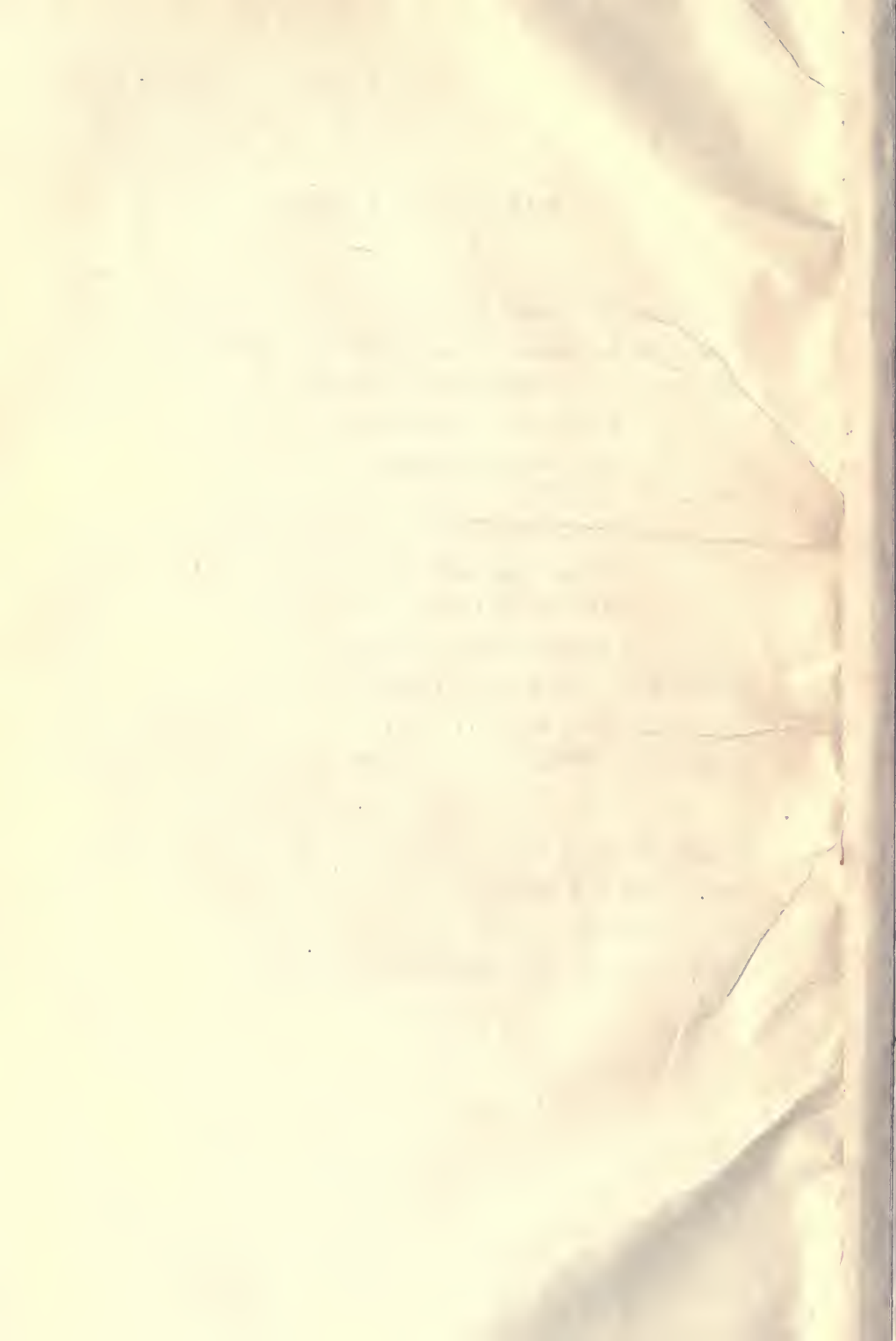


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THE RELIGION OF CANAAN

From the Earliest Times to the Hebrew Conquest*

W. CARLETON WOOD

NEWMARKET, ONTARIO, CANADA

INTRODUCTION

This work is an attempt to set forth, in the successive periods of history, the salient features of the religion of Palestine before the final settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews, and to relate to these features all the isolated facts and traces of religion gleaned from the various sources of the subject. The writer has striven, in the accomplishment of this task, to observe the well-recognized landmarks of comparative religion, and to show the origin and development of religious conceptions so far as they are peculiar to Palestinian soil.

Up to comparatively recent times the only sources for the study of Palestinian culture and religion prior to the Hebrew invasion were limited to certain references in the Old Testament, which in most instances furnish merely inferential evidence, and to the meager gleanings of facts from the monuments of Egypt and of Babylon concerning the gods and the religion of Canaan. But, in the last two decades, archæological

* Abbreviated titles in the foot-notes: *AJA.* = *American Journal of Archaeology*. Baedeker = Baedeker, *Syria and Palestine*, fifth edition, 1912. Baethgen = Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1888. Barton = Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York, 1902. Baudissin = Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1876. Benzinger = Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Tübingen, 1907. Bliss = Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, London, 1894. Bliss and Macal. = Bliss, Macalister, and Wunsch, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898-1900*, London, 1902. Breasted, *ARE.* = Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vols. i-v, Chicago, 1906. Breasted, *HE.* = Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, New York, 1905. Brinton = Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, New York, 1897. Buhl = Buhl, *Geographie des Alten Palästina*, Leipzig, 1896. *BW.* = *Biblical World*. Clay, *Amurru* = Clay, *Amurru, The Home of the Northern Semites*, Philadelphia, 1909. Clay, *Personal Names* = Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, New Haven, 1912. Cook = Cook, *The Religion*

explorations in Palestine have furnished a new and most important source. We refer in particular to the discoveries made by Petrie at *Tell el-Hesi* (Lachish) in 1890, by Bliss and Macalister in the *tells* of the Shephelah in 1898-1900, by Sellin at *Tell Ta'anek* (Taanach) in 1903-4, by Schumacher at *Tell el-Muteselim* (Megiddo) in 1903-5, by Macalister at Gezer in 1902-5 and 1907-9, and by Mackenzie at *'Ain Shems* (Bethshemesh) in 1911-2. Naturally there remain unavoidable gaps, and with the future knowledge that is sure to be revealed many conclusions will be superseded by others based on facts. As for the material contained in the Old Testament the task of disentangling the native Canaanite elements from the resultant fusion of the native religion with that of the incoming Hebrews is beset with difficulties because of the fact that the later Hebrew reactions against the native religion are chronicled by scribes who interpreted the religious practices of that polytheistic religion in the light of ethical monotheistic standards. However, in spite of this commendable bias of the biblical writers, they give us directly or inferentially a copious supply of facts for reconstructing the religion which the early prophets scathingly condemned.

A source for determining the names and titles of gods is included, but not mentioned, in those already given. It is the lists of ancient theophorous proper names gleaned from the monuments and from the Old Testament and other ancient literature. When these proper names are personal and appear in Babylonian inscriptions belonging to the period when the

of Ancient Palestine, London, 1908. Cooke = Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903. Curtiss = Curtiss, S. I., *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*, Leipzig, 1903. Doughty = Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vols. i-ii, 1888. Frazer = Frazer, J. G., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1896. Gray = Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, London, 1896. HDB. = Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*. HERE. = Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Hommel = Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, Translation by McClure and Crosslé, New York, 1897. Jastrow, *The Rel.* = Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898. Jastrow, *Die Rel.* = Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vols. i and ii, Giessen, 1905. Jastrow, *Rel. Belief* = Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911. Jensen = Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg, 1890. KAT³. = Schrader, E., *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition, Berlin, 1903. KB.

Amorites dominated Babylonia and the Westland, we are unquestionably justified in assuming an early prevalence of similar names in Palestine. Only in this way are we able to account for the ancient source whence sprang the large number of similar Semitic personal names and place-names found scattered throughout the Egyptian inscriptions of later times and throughout the Old Testament. Thus, as the name *Abiram*, "my father is high," as well as other West-Semitic names having the element *ab*, appears in Babylonian inscriptions of the time of the first dynasty, so we have good reason to regard its identical Old Testament equivalent, viz., *'Abī-ram*, as well as all other Old Testament *'ab* names, as having a common ancient Semitic origin. The justification of this method being granted, all Old Testament and old Canaanite names having the element *'ab* may therefore be regarded as survivals of the Amorite, or first Semitic, period of Palestinian history when the custom of forming names with this element prevailed. In the same manner other proper names containing theophorous elements are similarly cited to assist in constructing the Amorite pantheon. Accordingly it follows that all theophorous names appearing only in the post-Amorite periods of Canaanite history, and having, therefore, no Babylonian analogues, cannot be similarly used for the Amorite period, but only for the respective period in which each first occurs.

This leads us to a consideration of the principles guiding in the divisions of the subject and in discovering a line of cleavage between the elements of the primitive Hebrew religion and

= Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 1889. Kittel = Kittel, *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1908. Knudtzon = Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908. Ldzb., *HNE.* = Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I. Text, Weimar, 1898. Ldzb., *Eph.* = Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, Band i, Giessen, 1902; ii, 1908. Macalister, *BSL.* = Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, New York, 1906. Macalister, *EG.* = Macalister, *The Excavations of Gezer*, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909, vols. i-iii. London, 1912. Maspero = Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, edited by Sayce, London, 1894. Meyer = Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I 2, Berlin, 1909. *MI.* = Mesha Inscription. *MNDPV.* = *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. Müller = Müller, *Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893. *MVG.* = *Mitteilungen d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*. Nowack = Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1894. Paton = Paton, *The Early History of Syria*

the elements of Canaanite religion surviving in early Hebrew times.

The facts of religion for the first, or pre-Semitic, period of Palestinian history are drawn almost entirely from the earliest known archaeological sources, and may, for that reason, be easily distinguished from those of the next, or first Semitic, period; yet it must be admitted that the reverence for at least one sacred object of worship, namely the sacred cave, was common to both periods. But for the reason that this holy regard is clearly shown to have existed in the earliest time, all later evidences of cave-worship have been considered as survivals of the religion of the first period.

The great immigration of peoples which occurred about 1800 B. C., resulting in the founding of foreign dynasties in Babylonia and Egypt, wrought material changes in Palestine where the early Amorites were either entirely supplanted or absorbed by the Canaanites, another Semitic folk who came probably from the north and the east. This radical change in the racial constituency of Palestine was sure to be attended with corresponding variations in religion. Accordingly it may be assumed *a priori* that the main current of religion flowed on as before, but that its character was modified by the influx of outside streams of religious thought. We have no means of determining the scope of the modification, but we are sure that the political, social, and cultural developments following this political interruption wrought great changes in the religious sphere in crystallizing primitive modes of thought and prac-

and Palestine, New York, 1909. *PEFA.* = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Annual for 1911.* *PEFQS.* = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, London. Petrie *RS.* = Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, New York, 1906. Petrie *TH.* = Petrie, *Tell el Hesry*, London, 1891. Ranke = Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, Philadelphia, 1905. Schumacher = Schumacher and Steuernagel, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Leipzig, 1908. Sellin = Sellin, *Tell Ta'anek*, Vienna, 1904. Smith, *KM.* = Smith, W. R., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885. Smith, *RS.* = Smith, W. R., *Religion of the Semites*, Second Edition, London, 1894. Thompson = Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vols. i-ii. London, 1903. Vincent = Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, Paris, 1907. von Gall = von Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, Giessen, 1898. Wellh. = Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, second edition, Berlin, 1897.

tice, and in fashioning them into hard and fixed forms. If this political break of 1800 B. C.—lying about mid-way between 2500 B. C., when the Semites first came into Palestine, and 1200 B. C., when the Hebrews finally settled in the land—should serve no other purpose than as a line of cleavage between the primitive Semitic religious conceptions and the later crystallized modes of religious expression, its use will be justified. Accordingly the primitive Semitic elements, together with Babylonian contributions, are assigned to the first Semitic, or Amorite, period and the further developments of religious thought, to the second Semitic, or Canaanite period. As there are almost no contemporaneous literary sources for the religion of the Amorite period, dependence must be had upon surviving elements of the old native religion in later sources, such as the Egyptian monuments, the Tell el-Amarna Letters, the Old Testament, and other Semitic survivals. The most copious and dependable source for positing the religion of the first period is offered by a comparison of Canaanite and Hebrew rites with their Babylonian analogies. Just as the titles and names of certain Amorite gods are determined by citing those Canaanite and Hebrew theophorous names that have analogues in ancient Babylonian inscriptions, so likewise the religious conceptions and rites of the Amorite period are mostly determined by discovering those Canaanite and Hebrew rites which have Babylonian analogies or prototypes. The reason for asserting that the comparison between Babylonian and Canaanite analogies is the most dependable source rises from the fact that the West was politically quite isolated from the East for centuries following the fall of Babylonian power over Palestine. This political isolation of Canaan from the great source of ancient culture served as a wall to keep the continuity of Amorite religion intact till the Assyrian period. Accordingly, therefore, when those primitive conceptions and practices appear in Canaanite and early Hebrew religion that betray Babylonian origin or analogies, we may be confident that we have found institutions that belong to the Amorite period and not to the late Babylonian religion.

THE PRE-SEMITIC PERIOD (Before 2500 B. C.)

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGION OF THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS

History. Palestine before 2500 B. C., or in the paleolithic and succeeding neolithic periods, was inhabited by a race which was closely allied with that of the European Celto-Libyans. This conclusion is borne out by the etymological similarities between South European and Palestinian geographical names which undoubtedly have a very ancient origin¹; and, on the negative side, by the fact that the oldest population was non-Semitic as pictorially portrayed on the ancient monuments of Egypt and certainly proved by an osteological study of the human remains found in the lowest level of Gezer. Perhaps, the most prominent relics of this stone age are the well-known *menhirs*, or monoliths; *cromlechs*, or stone circles; *dolmens*, or stone tables, which are found to-day in large numbers particularly east of the Jordan.² Similar remains have been found in the Mediterranean coast lands where none but non-Semitic people dwelt in early times. Whether or not the origin of these stones had any connection with religion, remains to be seen. The mode of life of these people was a simple one, as would be expected in such a remote age. They lived in caves naturally made or artificially hewn out of the soft limestone,³ used flint implements,⁴ and even cultivated fruit.⁵

Religion. Starting out, then, on the basis of this mode of life, we should naturally expect to find that the religion of the troglodytes was also of a crude primitive type to correspond with their simple ways of living. From the universal principle operating in nearly every religion—at least in those most primi-

¹ See Paton, pp. 1 ff.

² Schumacher, *Northern 'Ajlūn*, pp. 131 ff.; 169 ff.; *Across the Jordan*, pp. 63 ff.

³ Macalister, *EG.* vol. i, pp. 6 ff.; 70 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 127.

⁵ Breasted, *ARE.* i. § 313, "fig-trees and vines."

tive—that the attributes and nature of deity are, to a large extent, the projections into the world without, but on a higher level, of man's own conceptions of himself, we may safely draw the conclusion that, since man was a cave dweller, the gods whom he worshipped were also regarded as cave denizens. Accordingly, then, certain caves, which may have attained the necessary degree of sanctity, either by having been the homes of famous heroes, or because of some special theophany, were set apart for places of worship by the tribe or clan. Such a hypothesis for the conception of deity and his dwelling-place best interprets a large amount of evidence which clearly ascribes certain caves of indubitable religious character to the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Palestine. Thus at Gezer, under the level belonging to the first Semitic period, Macalister found, in connection with certain caves, rock-cuttings and other things which suggested to him that these caves must have played some rôle in the sphere of religion.

1. One cave had, leading into it through the roof, an orifice which was connected with a rock-hewn channel four feet long for the evident purpose of conducting fluid offerings within.⁶ Besides this channel there were "two or three circular depressions in the rock, built around with stones set on edge, but so arranged that they drained into the opening." Beneath the orifice and on the rock floor of the cave below the earth containing finds of the first Semitic period were found "a number of pig bones" in a contracted mass which clearly bore evidence of sacrifice.

2. Another cave which was connected with a system of nine other communicating caves was unique in that its rock floor contained forty-six cup-marks artificially hollowed out. They were made from about eight to twelve inches in breadth and with flat bottoms and vertical sides.⁷ "They were disposed in the form of three concentric ovals, open, like horseshoes at the south end surrounding a central space in the floor that had been left vacant." No better purpose has suggested itself to the mind of Macalister than that "the whole floor of this chamber is a gigantic chamber of offerings." It is conceivable that this

⁶ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 379 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. pp. 112 ff.

was the holy shrine of the dwellers of the nine connecting caves, and possibly others, and that every family or individual had its own individual cup for depositing an offering to the cave-god.

3. Another cave may have possessed a sacrosanct character from the fact that it was utilized by the troglodytes for a crematorium.⁸ A chimney in the roof at one end evidently was made to create a draft. The relative position of the bones of the individuals to each other, and the alternating strata of wood and bone ashes, obviously pointing to repeated burnings, leave no doubt but that this was a crematorium. Outside the entrance of the cave were six cup-marks which may have served as offering receptacles for the spirits of the dead which were thought to have been set free from the body by cremation.

4. The first-mentioned cave, with its orifice through the roof, bears a striking resemblance to a cave at Megiddo which Schumacher regards as a place of worship whose antiquity corresponds to the oldest stratum of the *tell*.⁹ The roof of this cave consisted of an elevated rock surface which evidently was used as a place of sacrifice; for, besides several cup-marks having been hollowed out on the upper surface, there were two narrow passages leading into the cave below.

5. A cave uncovered in the lowest level at Taanach¹⁰ appears to have been used by the oldest inhabitants for religious purposes. The most significant feature about this cave was an artificially constructed channel which obviously served the purpose of conducting some kind of fluid offerings into the cave.

6. A goddess whom the Egyptians called the "Mistress of Turquoise" was worshipped by them while on mining expeditions at a certain cave in one of the valleys branching off from the *Wady Sherabit el Khâdem* in the Sinaitic peninsula.¹¹ The setting apart of this cave for a shrine dates from very ancient times, probably long before the Semites inhabited the region; for there are traces of Egyptian devotion as early as the time of Senfru of the third dynasty (2900 B. C.) when the mining Egyptians sought revelations from the deity.

⁸ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 74 ff., 285 ff.

⁹ Schumacher, pp. 154 ff.

¹⁰ Sellin, p. 34.

¹¹ Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 70, 94, 97.

We may now proceed to interpret these facts in the light of later evidences of cave-worship gleaned from Semitic sources. Generally speaking, the Semites did not conceive of their deities as subterranean powers to be worshipped in caves;¹² yet there are many instances which will not come under this generalization, and which, therefore, may well be regarded as survivals from the pre-Semitic, or aboriginal, period. Just as the Hebrews adopted the sacred shrines of the Canaanites, as will be seen later, so it may be supposed that the Semites took over into their religion the sacred caves of the troglodytes. The three ancient caves mentioned above with passages, or conduits, evidently constructed for directing the sacrificial blood of slain victims within, are the most ancient prototypes of the Arabian *ghab-ghab*. This was a pit where not only sacred treasures were stored but where also the sacrificial blood flowed after the animals had been slain before it.¹³ Undoubtedly partaking of this same character is the *Ṣakhra*, or the great sacred rock, in the Harem at Jerusalem. The surface of this rock shows many artificial cuttings of which one is an orifice leading down into the cave below. The primitive character of these rock-cuttings, together with the fact that this sacred rock determined the site of Solomon's temple, has led some to the conclusion that this was a very ancient shrine.¹⁴ Similar to this was a cave under the sacred altar at Mecca, and a supposed cave under the altar-idol at Dumaetha in which a human sacrifice was wont to be buried.¹⁵ Lucian reports having seen a chasm under the temple at Hierapolis into which worshippers, from every quarter twice a year, were accustomed to pour water carried thither from the sea.¹⁶ According to the Christian Melito¹⁷ this "well" was thought to be haunted by a demon who was prevented from coming forth to do harm only by this practice of pouring water. As water was a later substitute for blood, we may suppose that sacrificial blood was the original requirement.

According to a well-recognized law of religious conservatism,

¹² Smith, *RS.*, p. 198.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Kittel, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵ Smith, *RS.*, p. 198.

¹⁶ Lucian, *De Syra Dea*, §§ 13, 48.

¹⁷ *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 25.

the sacred things of one age often persist unchanged in the next. Thus, the conception that some deities preferred to dwell in caves found expression in the oldest Phoenician temples, which were natural or artificial grottoes, and in many Greek cave-shrines from which divine energy was thought to emanate.¹⁸ The "holy of holies" in Solomon's temple, in design and location with reference to the rest of the sanctuary, answers to the adytum, or dark inner chamber in many Semitic and Greek temples. In Greek this was known as the *megaron*, which reveals its Semitic origin from the fact that it is a derivative from the Semitic *me'arah*, "cave."¹⁹

Among the caves which the Hebrews regarded as sacred several are mentioned. In a cave at Horeb²⁰ Moses and Elijah received revelations from Yahweh; and probably in another cave at En-dor²¹ Samuel was brought up to talk with Saul. The sanctity with which the ancestral tomb was invested by the Hebrews betrays evidence that the cave of Machpelah²² was originally a place where some chthonic divinity was worshipped.

In summing up, therefore, it may be repeated that the conception of chthonic deities dwelling in caves like their worshippers originally found expression among the ancient inhabitants of Canaan; and that this conception, throughout all the periods of history down to the Jewish, manifested itself in many instances of cave-worship.

Cup-marks. The artificially-made depressions in rock surfaces, already referred to in connection with these caves, have been found in more or less profusion in many parts of Palestine. One can hardly find a hill whose rock surfaces do not reveal the presence of these cup-marks. At Gezer, in particular, the rock surfaces present a "perfect wilderness of cup-marks" which are found within and at the entrances of caves, about the mouths of cisterns, about winepresses, and on the hills.²³ They vary in size from that of a wine glass to that of a washtub having round, though sometimes flat, bottoms. In determining the

¹⁸ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 197, 198.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

²⁰ Ex. 33:22; 1 K. 19:9 ff.

²¹ 1 Sam. 28:11 ff.

²² Gen. 49:29 ff., &c.

²³ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 153 ff.

age of these rock configurations it is significant that, "whenever they have any connection with other remains that can be definitely dated, those remains are assignable to the cave-dwellers."²⁴ From this observation the conjecture may be ventured that these cup-marks, which in many instances at least are known to have been made in the pre-Semitic period, are all the work of the cave-dwellers. Whether or not these cups were made for a religious purpose, it is impossible to say. All of them certainly cannot be explained on that basis. However, it seems the most likely explanation that those which have already been mentioned as connected with caves, and possibly those about the mouths of cisterns, were made as receptacles for offerings. Macalister admits "that in a certain very limited number of cases they may have had a religious purpose is not impossible," and even goes so far as to suggest that this may have been the unique religious expression of the troglodytes as opposed to other religious remains belonging particularly to the Semites.²⁵

Cup-marks and similar rock cuttings have been pointed out at Mizpah,²⁶ Gibeon,²⁷ Zorah,²⁸ Nebo,²⁹ Beth-el, Anathoth,³⁰ Tell ej-Judeideh,³¹ Gath,³² and En-rogel³³ as possibly having served in the cults which are known to have been carried on in most of these places. Perhaps these cup-marks, etc., as Kittel points out, mark the original sites of the old high places which flourished here in ancient times. If the cup-marks are the peculiar religious expression of the cave-dwellers—and we have no evidence to the contrary—then it may be supposed either that these cup-marks mark the locations of the shrines made by the cave-dwellers, or else that the Semites later adopted this feature from the early inhabitants and made it to serve some religious function. In favor of the former alterna-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 380.

²⁶ Kittel, p. 137.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³¹ *PEFQS.*, 1900, p. 249.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³³ Often pointed out to travelers.

tive it may be said that there is not a single hint in the Old Testament, or elsewhere, that anything like these cup-marks served a religious function either among the Canaanites or the Hebrews.

Offerings. If, then, many of these cup-marks served a religious purpose, what must have been the ritual connected with them? It has been suggested that they are symbols of what is distinctively feminine, and, therefore, played some rôle in the worship of a mother-goddess.³⁴ This is not impossible since there is no evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, no hint or analogy comes from any source to prove such a hypothesis.³⁵ On the whole it seems most plausible to assume that those cup-marks in particular, which were found in the "offering-table cave," at the crematorium, about the mouths of cisterns³⁶ at Gezer, and on the upper surface of the cave-roof at Megiddo, were made by the cave-dwellers to serve as receptacles for liquid offerings poured as gifts to the gods.³⁷ While it was not essential that such cups should be made to hold offerings, since vessels of clay were made at that time, yet it is conceivable that some virtue was attached to their making which gave the worshipper special favor in the eyes of the god. In the first and the last case the offerings were probably made to the respective deities dwelling in those caves; in the second, to the spirits of the dead set free from burnt corpses; and, in the third, to the *numina* of the cisterns or waters. If the cisterns were made by the Semites, which seems most likely, then these cups at the mouths of cisterns were made by them in imitation of the cave-dwellers. Such a purpose harmonizes with the conception characteristic of the Semites that gods dwelt in wells and springs.³⁸

Amulets. The practice of wearing some cherished object on the person, as an amulet, or charm, to ward off evil spirits, began, so far as Canaan is concerned, in this pre-Semitic period. The custom persisted throughout all the succeeding periods of history corresponding to the different levels of the excavations. Even at the present time, probably nine-tenths of the natives

³⁴ Paton, in *HERE*, vol. iii., p. 178a.

³⁵ The citation from Herod. ii. 106 is not conclusive.

³⁶ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 155-7; ii. pp. 403 ff.

³⁷ Thus Vincent, p. 99; Kittel, pp. 137, 141.

³⁸ See Chap. III.

of Palestine, whether Jewish, Christian, or Mohammedan, wear an amulet of some kind. The most primitive that was found was made from a metacarpel of a goat. There were two holes at one end for suspension, and it was found in position at the neck of one human skeleton in the crematorium. Similar amulets were found elsewhere.³⁹ The discovery of a phallic emblem⁴⁰ points to the antiquity of ascribing to a deity influence upon reproduction—a conception so common to Semitic religion. Possibly a few other objects, such as animal images⁴¹ and amulets made from the ends of femur bones, may also have been cherished with religious veneration. However, the lack of a clear line of cleavage between the first and second levels in the excavation throws doubt upon the religious value for this period of these and of some other objects.

³⁹ Macalister, *EG.* p. 449.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, i. p. 92.

⁴¹ ii. p. 1.

THE AMORITE PERIOD (2500-1800 B. C.)

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE PERIOD (2500-1800 B. C.)

At just what date the first Semitic immigrants, crowded out of their home in Arabia, first began to settle in Palestine is not definitely known; but certain significant facts point to the conclusion that it was about 2500 B. C.¹ During the three hundred and fifteen years covered by the seventh to the tenth Egyptian dynasties (2475-2160 B. C.) there was political turmoil in Egypt caused chiefly by foreigners. These foreigners were undoubtedly Semites, since Canaanite loan-words begin to appear in Egypt at the beginning of the Middle Empire after order is restored by the kings of the eleventh dynasty (2161 B. C.). Moreover, two Semitic chiefs of this early period bear Semitic names; viz., *Emuienshi*, i. e., "Ammi-anishi," the sheik of Upper Tenu (1980 B. C.),² and *Ibshe*, "Abishai," the chief of thirty-seven Canaanite traders (1900 B. C.).³

Substantially coincident with this confusion in Egypt are similar disturbances in Babylonia which continued also about three hundred years, and ended with the supremacy of the city of Babylon over Babylonia under the rule of Semitic Amorite kings (2225 B. C.). It has accordingly been inferred that the Amorites, from their homes in Arabia, were the moving forces in these great changes, and that a wave of the same migration that reached Babylonia also extended to Canaan. Archaeological evidence is in perfect agreement with this opinion; for, at Gezer, human bones, which are in ethnological type distinctively Semitic as opposed to the earlier non-Semitic, began to make their appearance at this time.

With the supremacy of the Amorites in Babylonia, passed the Babylonian rule of the Westland, or Canaan, whither Babylo-

¹ Paton, pp. 25 ff.

² Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 494.

³ *Yb-ah*, *ibid.*, i. § 620n.

nian authority had previously been carried as early as 3060 B. C. by Ur-Nina of Lagash, who brought cedar-wood from *Ma'al*, or Lebanon. This authority was maintained by Lugalzaggisi (2800) of Erech, whose kingdom extended "from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, . . . to the upper sea"; by Sargon of Agade (2775 B. C.), "conqueror of Martu," i. e. Amurru, i. e. "land of the Amorites"; by Dungi of Ur (2458 B. C.) who conducted a victorious campaign against Syrian and Palestinian strongholds; and by Gimil-Sin (2391 B. C.) of Ur. The first of the Amorite kings of Babylon were, however, so occupied with the task of establishing their own thrones against the power of Elam that their supremacy was not completely secured in the West. But when Hammurabi, the strongest king in the line, came to the throne, the Elamite yoke upon Babylonia was finally thrown off. All Babylonia was now united under his rule, and the Amorite kingdom embraced the whole of western Asia.⁴ Ammiditana (2014 B. C.), "king of the vast land of Martu," of the same dynasty, and probably kings of the second dynasty, continued to maintain authority in Syria-Palestine till the latter came to an end with the Hittite invasion of Babylonia and the establishment of the foreign Kassite dynasty (1761 B. C.). Babylonian political influence in Canaan now came to an end, but the influence of Babylon's laws, customs, and language continued even down into the years of Egyptian supremacy. The discovery in 1888 A. D. at Tell el-Amarna, in Egypt, of several hundred inscribed clay tablets in Babylonian writing is of the greatest importance for the history of the next period as showing the lasting influence of Babylon. These tablets reveal the diplomatic correspondence between Egyptian monarchs and Syrian-Palestinian princes (about 1400 B. C.). The fact that these letters were written neither in Egyptian nor Syrian characters but in Babylonian cuneiform is of great significance. Moreover, even between native princes⁵ the same script is employed, which shows that it was not merely a script for royal correspondence, but that it was also the script for com-

⁴ Paton, pp. 47 ff. The dates for Babylonian kings are taken from Meyer, 1914 Edition; Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sternendienst in Babel*, II, i. quoted by Sayce, in *PSBA.*, xxxiv (1912), pp. 165 ff.

⁵ Tablets found at Taanach, Sellin, pp. 113 ff.

mon communication. Names of places and persons, mentioned in early Egyptian inscriptions, in the Amarna letters, and even in the Old Testament, either compounded with the names of Babylonian deities, such as *Bit NINIB*, Nebo, Beth-lehem, and Beer-sheba; or names bearing a distinctive Babylonian formation, such as *Bit NINIB* and *Bit Shael*,⁶ add further evidence of the permanence of Babylonian influence in Canaan. Moreover, the traditions current in ancient Babylonia concerning the creation, the garden of the gods, and the deluge came to be incorporated in Old Testament story only after they had passed down through the Amorite-Canaanite periods. Many religious institutions and ritual practices followed the same course.⁷

The best picture of life in Canaan during this period (c. 1800 B. C.) is found in the "Tale of Sinuhe."⁸ Sinuhe was an exiled prince from Egypt who asserted that the country of Canaan was beautiful and had lands of choicest possession, as they yielded figs, wine, honey, olives, and all kinds of fruit, wheat, barley, and herbs without number. No ruling authority maintained order between hostile and contentious tribes. Each tribe was a law unto itself and was, therefore, free to go on expeditions of plunder and pillage among other tribes, thus killing by the sword and taking possession of wells, pastures, cattle, children, and fruits. Civilization as reflected in urban life was just beginning to dawn.

When the Canaanite peoples, as we shall see in the next period, pressed into the land, the old Amorite settlers were forced to the highlands, especially the upper Orontes valley, or the Lebanon territory,⁹ and to a few places in southern Palestine.¹⁰

⁶ *B'-t-sh'-r'*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 114.

⁷ See Chap. VIII.

⁸ Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 370; Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 493 ff.

⁹ Meyer, § 467.

¹⁰ Gen. 14:7, 13.

CHAPTER III

SACRED WATERS

Of all the objects of nature which manifested phenomena to elicit the awe and the veneration of the ancient Semites the spring was undoubtedly the most important, because it not only furnished the greatest boon to man in his desert life, but because it also manifested life and activity in its depths which the primitive mind could interpret only in terms of the divine. In Arabia, the cradle of the Semites, the springs made the oases, thus watering the land, giving life to palms, and quenching the thirst of man and animal. Such a boon could have its source only, so the Semite thought, in the gods upon whom man was absolutely dependent for his existence. It followed, then, that it was of supreme importance to make peace with the spring-*numen*, and ever seek his good favor.

The sex of the spring-*numen* was probably determined by the economical and social conditions of primitive tribal life. In the matriarchal stage of society, when the mother was the supreme head of the tribe, it was natural to conceive of the tribal deity as a mother-goddess who gave offspring both to man and to beast. As the husband, or father, came more and more to the leadership of the tribe in the patriarchal stage, a masculine conception was attributed to the deity of the tribe. It is barely possible that these feminine and masculine conceptions were carried over to the nature-gods who inhabited the springs. If so, probably the element of fertility was the common ground for this transition. The deity who gave fertility and offspring to man and to animal also gave fertility and fruitage to the date-palm and to other trees. However this may be, it is to be observed that the *numina* of some springs, or wells, were *ba'als*, or proprietors, and of others, *ba'alats*, or mistresses. Thus in Canaanite nomenclature Rammān¹ and Shamash²

¹ *'En-Rimmōn*, "spring of Rimmon," Neh. 11:29.

² *'En-Shemesh*, "spring of Shemesh," Josh. 15:7, &c.

appear as the *ba'als* of certain springs, while a *ba'alat* is an element in the name of a well.³ Rammān and Shamash as nature-gods were closely associated in the Semitic mind and evidently were thought to have something to do with the flow of water.

The animation, never-ceasing movement, and awe-inspiring bubbling of springs and running water were thought to manifest clearly the presence and the life of the indwelling *numen*. A spring or well so embodied its inhabiting *numen* that a well on one occasion was addressed, according to an ancient Hebrew poem, as a living being;⁴ and the water that ran from such a spring won the attribute of "living."

The primitive conception of running water as sacred found concrete expression in Babylon, whither Semitic influence went. In the Adapa myth the hero was told to refuse the bread and water of life which Anu would offer him. Ishtar was sprinkled with the water of life before she undertook her journey to the nether world. All flowing sweet water issuing in springs and rivers from subterranean regions, as also rain coming from the sky, was regarded as "the water of life." The Annunaki, as stewards of the water of life in the nether world, were known to stand in the closest connection with the purifying and vivifying water of the oath.⁵ The garden of the gods in the creation-story would not have been complete in the Semitic mind without the added touch of flowing rivers. The legend, localized at Gebal, and recorded by Philo of Byblos,⁶ which attributed the annual spring flow of marl-reddened waters of the Adonis river to the blood from the wound of the dead Adonis who was imagined to be slain annually at the spring of Aphek, is undoubtedly a survival of the old Semitic conception, but in new dress, of the life and spirit of the deity infusing running water.

If the flowing spring embodied the *numen* and exhibited its presence by animation, then, it was fitting for the primitive inquirer seeking the divine will to throw into the water to the deity such offerings as jewelry, precious metals, webs of linen, libations of wine, cakes, myrrh, incense, and food—practices

³ *Ba'alath-be'er*, "mistress of a well," Josh. 19:8.

⁴ Num. 21:17, 18.

⁵ *KAT.*, pp. 523-525.

⁶ Lucian, *De Syra Dea*, §§ 6 ff.; Euseb. *Vita Const.*, iii. 55; Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 5.

known in later times.⁷ Thus by an act of violation, expressing acceptance or rejection of these gifts, manifested by corresponding movements of the water itself, the spring-*numen* was credited with oracular powers. The oracle may have been, in many cases, interpreted by the diviner skilled in the art of divination. Some such method of inquiring at the spring-oracle must be supposed to account for the place-name '*En-mishpat*, "spring of judgment."⁸

To running waters also were attributed therapeutic virtues; for there has always been a prevailing conception among primitive peoples, at least the Semites, that the act of bathing in running water insures one not only against disease but also heals one from disease.⁹ The healing waters of the Jordan,¹⁰ Ezekiel's visionary river,¹¹ and the pool of Bethesda¹² need only to be mentioned to prove this point for Canaanite soil. Perhaps the water of the laver of the high place, explained in later times as merely intended for ceremonial ablutions, may have, in ancient times, been brought from some sacred spring to contribute its healing virtues to the sanctuary within easy access of the worshippers. Thus the waters of the Jordan and the Ganges even to-day are carried long distances for their sanctifying and healing powers.

The presence of the spring-*ba'al* was sought often to witness certain legal transactions and sanction political acts. Thus contracting parties performed some sort of oath-taking ritual before the sacred well of Beer-sheba¹³—perhaps by invoking over running water the "seven demons" to destroy the offender; or undergoing an ordeal by water, thinking, according to an old fancy, that it was dangerous for an unclean person to come near sacred waters.¹⁴ By approaching the spring-shrine, in like manner, the sanction of the *ba'al* was sought by pretenders to the throne in a coronation ceremony. Thus both Adonijah¹⁵ and

⁷ Smith, *RS.*, p. 177.

⁸ Gen. 14:7.

⁹ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 183 ff.

¹⁰ 2 K. 5:14.

¹¹ 47:9, 12.

¹² Jno. 5:7.

¹³ See "Oath," Chap. VIII.

¹⁴ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 179 ff.

¹⁵ 1 K. 1:9.

Solomon¹⁶ participated simultaneously in such ceremonies at two different holy springs.

There must have been some close connection, if not actual identity, between the spring-*numen* and that of the sacred tree; for, at four different spring-shrines, it is known either by direct assertion or implication that one or more holy trees such as the oak, palm, and tamarisk existed.¹⁷ Thus the flowing spring and the growing tree near by were thought to draw their life from the same divine source, so that it might be said that the *numen* of the spring passed into the tree. In one case the serpent-*numen* apparently dwelt, at times at least, in a holy stone near by.¹⁸

Again it is worthy of mention, in this connection, that the name of an animal, such as the antelope, serpent, kid, heifer, or partridge, is contained in the names of five different springs.¹⁹ This fact undoubtedly points to the almost universal notion, recorded by legend and folklore, that the spirit of a spring often took the outward form of some animal.²⁰ The habits of animals to linger about watering places would form the basis of such a conception.

Besides the sacred springs to which reference has been made, there were, at least, five others²¹—making a total of nineteen—which existed in Canaan and in the South, and which, perhaps, date their initial consecration as places of worship from this time.

¹⁶ 1:38.

¹⁷ *Be'er-'elīm*, "well of oaks," Is. 15:8; *Be'er-Sheba'*, Gen. 21:33. *'Elīm*, "oaks," Ex. 15:27; Num. 33:9; *Hebron*, Gen. 18:1.

¹⁸ *'Eben-ha-zōheleth*, "stone of the serpent," near *'En-rōgel*, "spring of (the) fuller," 1 K. 1:9.

¹⁹ *Be'er-lahay-ro'ī*, "spring of the antelope's jawbone," Gen. 16:14. *'En-'eglaim*, "spring of (the) heifer," Ezek. 47:10; *Ramath-lehī*, "high place of (the) jawbone," Judg. 15:17; see preceding note.

²⁰ Smith, *RS.*, p. 135.

²¹ *Ba'al-Gad*, Josh. 11:17, &c. = mod. *Haşbeyā*, Baedeker, p. 291; *Buru-Silim*, "well of Şelem," Knudtzon, 137:64, 85; *'En-gannīm*, "spring of (the) gardens," *Laish*, Judg. 18:29 ff.; *Naḥālī-'el*, "brook of god," Num. 21:19.

CHAPTER IV

SACRED TREES

As has already been observed, the divine life which was thought to animate the spring was thought also to animate the tree that stood by it. This life issued in growth, foliage, and fruitage. At first, probably only those trees were regarded as holy that grew by holy springs; but, as time went on, holiness was made to embrace a great many trees that had no connection with holy waters. The worship of trees prevailed throughout the ancient Semitic world, beginning as early as the time when Amorite culture and religion put its characteristic stamp upon the religion of the Mesopotamian valley, and reaching down through the Canaanite and Hebrew periods to the present time. Aside from the fact that at least nineteen Canaanite places prove, either by tradition or inference, that the tree-cult was an ancient native inheritance in Canaan, we have the significant fact that the various Hebrew words for the holy oak, or trebinth, namely, *'elah*, *'alon*, *'allah*, and *'allon* (*'elim*, plural), were etymologically derived from *'el*, the general Semitic title for deity. This shows that the tree-numen and the tree were originally so identified that the two were synonymous. Yahweh in one instance is referred to as "he that dwelt in the bush"¹ on Mount Horeb. Moreover the fruits of the tree of life and of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in Eden were regarded as infused with divine life and, therefore, capable of imparting to mortals the gifts of the gods: the one that of immortality, and the other, that of divine wisdom. Even Greek philosophers taught that trees were living beings having perceptions, emotions, and souls, and based their argument for this belief upon the fact that branches bent with the wind. Philo Byblius records an ancient belief that plants of the earth "were esteemed as gods and honored with libations and sacrifices; for from them the successive generations of men drew the support of their life."² Primitive Semitic survivals

¹ Deut. 33:16.

² Smith, *RS.*, p. 186.

of tree-worship are abundant in modern times. Ancient Arabs were accustomed to attribute personality to holy trees and expect them to speak with audible voice.³ Such trees were termed *menāhil*, which is understood as a place whither the Jinn descend to sing and dance. To pluck a branch from such a tree was thought to be fraught with great danger.⁴ The goddess Al-'Uzza was believed to reside in a sacred acacia at Nakhla;⁵ while a sacred tree at Hodaibiya was regarded by seeking pilgrims as a dispenser of favors.⁶

Moreover, this arboreal sanctity is further evinced by the great veneration which the ancients once had for trees near or within the precincts of the sanctuary. This veneration actually amounted to a taboo, and hence secured for the holy trees absolute protection.⁷ At the entrance of Eden a flaming sword was placed to keep the sacred trees within the garden inviolable from the touch of sinful man. The prototype for every ideal Semitic sanctuary was the mythical garden of the gods in which were all kinds of holy trees⁸ regarded as the planting of the deity.⁹ Trees appear to have stood in all Canaanite high places; for, in the language of the Deuteronomist and later writers, idolaters bowed down to idols—images, pillars, and '*asherahs*—“upon the hills and under every green tree.”¹⁰ This frequently-reiterated phrase does not specify whether there was one or more trees at each of the high places. It is probable that the former was more usually the rule, if we may be permitted to draw an inference from the fact that each of ten important sanctuaries¹¹ is known to have had its particular sacred tree, and that the names of six other places imply the existence of

³ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. ii. p. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. p. 448 ff.

⁵ Wellh. *Reste arabischen Heidentums*,² pp. 38 ff.

⁶ Sura XLVIII. 18; Smith, *RS.*, p. 185.

⁷ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 159 ff.

⁸ Ezek. 31:8, 9.

⁹ Is. 61:3.

¹⁰ Deut. 12:2; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10; 2 Ch. 28:4; Jer. 2:20; 3:6; 17:2; Ezek. 6:13; ep. Is. 57:5; Jer. 3:13.

¹¹ Beer-sheba, Gen. 21:33; Beth-el, 35:8; Gibeon, 1 Sam. 14:2; 22:6; Gubula, or Byblos, Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, §§ 15, 16; Hebron, Gen. 18:1 (LXX); Kedesh, Judg. 4:11; Ophrah, 6:11, 19; Shechem, Gen. 12:6; Josh. 24:26; Judg. 9:6; *Tomer-deborah*, “palm tree of Deborah,” Judg. 4:5; Jabesh, 1 Sam. 31:13.

a single tree in each place.¹² But, on the other hand, there were mulberry trees at one place,¹³ seventy palm trees and, by implication, many oaks at another,¹⁴ and oaks at a third,¹¹ and acacias at a fourth place.¹⁶

The rites which had to do with the worship of holy trees were probably similar to those customarily performed at tree-shrines in later times. There was a tree at Mecca upon which worshippers were wont to hang garments, weapons, and ostrich eggs¹⁷ as offerings to the tree-*numen*. Modern Arabs honor the Jinn who descend to sing and dance at sacred trees by hanging such things as rags¹⁸ on the branches. Another method of offering gifts to the spirit of the tree was to erect a pillar as a *bethel* under the tree to serve as a kind of altar. This *bethel* or "house of god," as the name implies, was regarded as an abode, temporary or conventionalized, for the *ba'al*, while the offerings were being poured, or set, on it. The *maṣṣebahs* and possibly the *'asherahs*, which were so frequent in the high places, were set up under or near by the sacred trees.¹⁹ Thus under the oak at Ophrah was a rock²⁰ and under the oak at Shechem²¹ a pillar. Furthermore sacrifices and burnt-offerings in Canaanite times were made at each sanctuary on an altar which was located near the tree and, therefore, near the *maṣṣebah* and the *'asherah*, as in the cases at Shechem and Ophrah and many other places.²²

This *'asherah*, or wooden stock, or pole,²³ itself without doubt was once a tree whose sanctity became none the less diminished after it was dead. Age would add to its sanctity and would lead to its being taken to the central sanctuaries to be placed,

¹² *Ba'al-tamar*, "ba'al of (the) palm," Judg. 20:33; *Bēth-hash-shiṭṭah*, "house of the acacias," 7:22; *'Elōn-tabōr*, "oak of Tabor," 1 Sam. 10:3; *'Elōn*, "oak," Josh. 19:43; *'Emek-ha-'elah*, "valley of the oak," 1 Sam. 17:2; *Ḥaṣaṣon-tamar*.

¹³ Valley of Rephaim, 2 Sam. 5:22.

¹⁴ *'Elīm*, "oaks," Ex. 15:27; Num. 33:9.

¹⁵ *Be'er-'elīm*, "well of (the) oaks," Isa. 15:8.

¹⁶ *Abel-hash-shiṭṭīm*, "meadow of the acacias," Num. 33:49.

¹⁷ Smith, *RS.*, p. 185.

¹⁸ Doughty, i. pp. 448 ff.

¹⁹ Jer. 17:2.

²⁰ Judg. 6:20, 21.

²¹ Judg. 9:6; Josh. 24:26.

²² Jer. 17:2; Ezek. 6:13.

²³ See "*asherah*," Chap. XIX.

in most cases at least, under some holy green tree. The sacred erica in the temple of Isis at Byblos according to a myth is said to have enveloped the dead body of Osiris; but it was after all "a mere dead stump; for it was cut down by Isis and presented to the Byblians wrapped in a linen cloth and anointed with myrrh like a corpse."²⁴

The mysterious budding of the twigs, the rustling of the leaves in the wind, perhaps the echoes resounding in the tree-tops, and the shade of the trees all offered fitting natural means by which inquirers might divine the will and the feelings of the deity. On one occasion the "sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees" was interpreted as a command of Yahweh to strike the enemy.²⁵ Even the "trees of the field" were thought to share with the Jews returning from Babylon the emotion of joy, and to express the same by "clapping their hands."²⁶ Among the Arabs it was believed that a sick man might expect some counsel relative to his recovery if he slept under some sacred tree.²⁷ Perhaps it was while sleeping under such a tree that Gideon got his revelation from Yahweh.²⁸ This view is favored by one account which says that Yahweh spoke to him in the night. The divining rites, by which the tree-*numina* were consulted, passed over, in the Canaanite period, into the hands of a special class skilled in the oracular arts. These diviners because of their fitness and insight assumed the rôle of divine mediatorship for the people. The two names 'Elôn Môreh, "oak of (the) teacher, and 'Elôn Me'ōnenîm, "soothsayers' oak," by which the holy tree at Shechem was known, surely imply such a rôle.²⁹ Deborah,³⁰ Gideon,³¹ Saul,³² and, according to tradition, Abraham³³ evidently officiated as oracular priests.

The branches of holy trees were used for divining purposes—

²⁴ Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, §§ 15, 16, quoted from Smith, *RS.*, p. 191.

²⁵ 2 Sam. 5:24.

²⁶ Is. 55:12.

²⁷ Doughty, i. p. 449.

²⁸ Cp. Judg. 6:25 with 6:11.

²⁹ Gen. 12:6; Deut. 11:30; Judg. 9:37.

³⁰ Judg. 4:5.

³¹ 6:11 ff.

³² 1 Sam. 22:6.

³³ Gen. 12:6 ff.; 18:1 ff.; 21:33.

the withering or the budding of the same being interpreted with ominous significance. Aaron's rod that budded³⁴ and the slips of Adonis, which were placed in pots to grow or wither, were undoubtedly of this character.³⁵ The stick that made the axe blade to swim may have come from a sacred tree.³⁶

Among the different trees which appear to have been classed as the most holy the date-palm was probably the first, since this was native to the home-land of the Semites, and furnished material sustenance for desert-dwellers. The date-palm figured prominently in the Babylonian cultus, being frequently pictured as a holy tree on Babylonian seal-cylinders.³⁷ The tree of the knowledge of good and evil may have been the date-palm. The oldest portions of the Ethiopic Enoch tell that Enoch found the palm of paradise to be that of the date.³⁸ Representations of the branches of the palm on the interior walls of Solomon's temple were an art motive which carried the flavor of sanctity.³⁹ There were in Canaan and the wilderness seventy palms at one shrine⁴⁰ and one each at two others.⁴¹

Oaks, or terebinths, were by far the most common sacred tree, since one or more are mentioned or implied as existing at eleven different shrines;⁴² while two Old Testament writers give the inference that oaks were usually to be found at every high place.⁴³

The tamarisk,⁴⁴ acacia,⁴⁵ mulberry,⁴⁶ juniper,⁴⁷ and pome-

³⁴ Num. 17:23 (8).

³⁵ Cp. Is. 17:10 ff.

³⁶ 2 K. 6:6.

³⁷ *KAT*.³, p. 527.

³⁸ Chap. XXIV. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (1893).

³⁹ 1 K. 6:29, &c.; cp. Ezek. 40:16, &c.

⁴⁰ Ex. 15:27.

⁴¹ *Ba'al-tamar*, Judg. 20:33; *Tomer-deborah*, 4:5.

⁴² See Beer-elim, Beth-el, Elim, Elon, Elon-tabor, Emek-ha-elah in note 12 on p. 23. Also Kedesh, Judg. 4:11; Hebron, Gen. 18:1; Ophrah, Judg. 6:11, &c.; Shechem, Gen. 12:6, &c.; Judg. 9:37; Jabesh, 1 Chr. 10:12 (cp. 1 Sam. 31:13).

⁴³ Is. 1:29; Hos. 4:13.

⁴⁴ Beer-sheba, Gen. 21:33; Gibeah, 1 Sam. 22:6; Jabesh, 1 Sam. 31:13.

⁴⁵ *Beth-hash-shittah*, "house of the acacia," Judg. 7:22; *Abel-hash-shittim*, "meadow of the acacias," Num. 25:1; 33:49.

⁴⁶ Valley of Rephaim, 2 Sam. 5:18 ff.

⁴⁷ 1 K. 19:5.

granate,⁴⁸ appearing respectively at as many different places, if not more, are to be added to the list of holy trees that were consulted for oracles. The thorn-bush which was sacred to Al-'Uzza⁴⁹ may have been the kind through which Yahweh spoke to Moses⁵⁰ and to Hagar.⁵¹ There may be some lingering suggestion of sanctity in the cedar which was used in building Babylonian, Egyptian, and Phoenician temples. In early times the Egyptians and the Babylonians came to Lebanon for cedar for this purpose. The cedar for Solomon's temple came also from this source.⁵² The cedar was sacred to the Babylonian Irnina and was associated with NINIB.⁵³

Finally, it might be mentioned that the ground under sacred trees was regarded as the most fitting place for the burial of heroes, at least those who deserved the honor of homage.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Gibeah, 1 Sam. 14:2.

⁴⁹ Yakut, iii. 664, 1; Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 63.

⁵⁰ Ex. 3:1-3.

⁵¹ Gen. 21:15, 17.

⁵² 1 K. 5:20(6)ff.; Ps. 104:16.

⁵³ *KAT*?, p. 527.

⁵⁴ Beth-el, Gen. 35:8; 'Emek-repha'im, "valley of shades," 2 Sam. 5:22; Hebron, Gen. 49:28 ff.; Shechem, cp. Josh. 24:32 with "the place of Shechem," Gen. 12:6; Jabesh, 1 Sam. 31:13.

CHAPTER V

SACRED MOUNTAINS AND HILLS

There was an air of mystery about mountains which led the ancient Semites to regard them as abodes of nature-gods. This air of mystery was probably created by the physical characteristics of the mountain itself, which became another means of arousing a sense of religious awe in the breasts of primitive people. The jagged mountain slopes which offered, through the daily course of the sun, a chance for a great variation in light and shadow; the almost inaccessible summit which forbade the ordinary approach of man and which often hid itself in the storm cloud; and the natural recesses and valleys which gave an added echo to the thunder-roll, all undoubtedly contributed to the awakening of that dread of supernatural powers which played such a great rôle in primitive religion. The volcano, as in the case of Sinai in the land of Midian,¹ with its attendant phenomena of earth-quaking; internal rumbling; and belchings of fire, smoke, and lava, inspired desert tribes with the belief that these dreadful phenomena were the manifestations of an indwelling deity.

The conception of a mountain-*ba'al*² was, in the primitive mind, very closely related to the conception of a storm-*ba'al*; the latter doubtless being an outgrowth of the former, since the evolution of the idea of deity always progresses from the conception of a fetish-*numen* to that of a sky-god. Thus we see how Adad, or Martu, the West Semitic god of the storm, was, according to the first Babylonian portrayals of his nature, both a storm- and a mountain-god.³ Furthermore Yahweh, the volcano-*ba'al* of Sinai, manifesting his presence from afar in the smoke ascending from the mountain, easily came to be identified with Adad, the god of the storm, the function of the latter being absorbed by the former.

¹ Ex. 19:16 ff.

² See Chap. XXV.

³ See "Addu," Chap. XI.

That Yahweh was the god of Sinai, as Adad was of Mount Lebanon, is proved by many references to Sinai-Horeb as the "mount of God," or the "mount of Yahweh," i. e. the place where God, or Yahweh, dwells. It was here that Moses received his first revelation of Yahweh, and that Israel subsequently was instructed in his laws. Hither came Elijah when he thought that Yahweh had forsaken his land.⁴

Since Sinai (*Sinay*) and the adjacent wilderness (*Sin*)⁵ bore the name of the moon-god Sin at the time of Yahweh's revelation to Moses, it may be justly inferred that the mountain was sacred to Sin long before Yahweh became its proprietor. Accordingly in the course of time, it must be supposed that the functions of the former god were absorbed by the latter.

The name of the Semitic god Nebo, who in Babylonia developed into the god of wisdom, became attached in some way to the mountain in Moab which bore his name.⁶ No evidence of his cult remains.

Gerizim was another mountain which, on the horizon of Hebrew history, appears to have been regarded as the abode of a *ba'al*. Possibly he was *Ba'al-berith* who was worshipped as the covenant god of Shechem.⁷

The sanctity of high mountains easily passed to hills; for, in no other way than that the hill-top, like the mountain, offered a nearer approach to the deities of the sky or of the storm, can we explain the fact that, in Canaanite times and probably much earlier, hill-tops were especially chosen as appropriate sites for sanctuaries. Indeed, it seemed to the later prophetic writers that a high place existed on every hill in Judah.⁸ There is little wonder, then, that *bamah*, "high place," which originally was applied to heights,⁹ came to be the stereotyped expression for a sanctuary.¹⁰ The Canaanite *bamah*, which was an

⁴ 1 K. 19:8.

⁵ Ex. 16:1.

⁶ Deut. 34:1, &c.

⁷ Cp. Judg. 9:27, 46; Josh. 24:25 with Josh. 8:30 ff. See "Making Covenants," Chap. VIII.

⁸ 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10; Jer. 2:20; 3:23; 13:27; 17:2; Ezek. 6:13; 20:28; Hos. 4:13.

⁹ Am. 4:13.

¹⁰ Ezek. 20:29.

artificial mound of some kind, was not, however, always on high ground. On the contrary it is well known that a high place was sometimes in a valley. In the time of Ahab it was the belief of the Aramæans that the gods of the Hebrews were "gods of the hills"; and, as such, could not be conquered if fought with on their own holy ground.¹¹ Accordingly, it was their policy to engage the Hebrews in battle on the plains. The Psalmist has risen above the prevailing conception of Yahweh as merely a god of the hills when he asks the question and appends the answer:

"Shall I lift up mine eyes unto the mountains?

From whence shall my help come?"

(Not from the gods of the mountains; but)

"My help cometh from Yahweh who made heaven and earth,"

*(and, therefore, the mountains).*¹²

Yet, in spite of this transcendent conception of Yahweh, there persisted to a late date that old notion that Yahweh was the god of Mount Zion.¹³ There he dwelt, and from thence help came to his devout worshippers.¹⁴

Naturally, then, because of high elevation and nearness to approach to the sky-*ba'als* or to Yahweh, mountain-tops were regarded as most favorable places for man to make offerings to the gods and to secure theophanies from them. Thus it happens in the case of many Hebrew worthies that mountain-tops were the usual places of divine revelation. There Moses,¹⁵ Abraham,¹⁶ Balaam,¹⁷ Samuel,¹⁸ Saul,¹⁹ David,²⁰ Solomon,²¹ and Elijah²² all made sacrifices to Yahweh and received revelations from him. From the time of Ahaz onward nearly every hill-top smoked with

¹¹ 1 K. 20:23.

¹² Ps. 121:1; cp. Jer. 3:23.

¹³ Ps. 43:3; 99:9.

¹⁴ Ps. 3:5 (4).

¹⁵ Ex. 3:1 ff.

¹⁶ Gen. 22:2 ff.

¹⁷ Num. 23:1 ff.; 14 ff.; 28 ff.

¹⁸ 1 Sam. 9:12 ff.; 10:17 ff.; 11:14 ff.

¹⁹ 1 Sam. 13:8 ff.

²⁰ 2 Sam. 24:18 ff.

²¹ 1 K. 3:4 ff.

²² 1 K. 18:20 ff.

burnt-offerings²³ and resounded with the noise of tumultuous worshippers.²⁴ Including those already mentioned, there were at least thirty-two sacred mountains and hills in Palestine, the religious significance of many of which appears in their names. They are as follows: *Bamath-ba'al*, "high place of ba'al";²⁵ *Geba'*, "hill";²⁶ *Gib'ath ha-Araloth*, "hill of the fore-skins";²⁷ *Gib'ath ha'Elohim*, "the hill of God";²⁸ *Gib'ath ham-Moreh*, "hill of the teacher";²⁹ *Gib'ath Phinehas*;³⁰ *Gib'on*, "hill";³¹ *Har Ba'alah*;³² *Har Bashan*;³³ *Har Beth-Anath*, "mount of (the) house of 'Anath";³⁴ *Har Ephron*, "mount of (the) stag";³⁵ *Har Gerizzim*;³⁶ *Har Heres*, "mount of (the) sun";³⁷ *Har Hermon*, "sacred mountain";³⁷ *Har Karmel*;³⁹ *Har Nebo*;⁴⁰ *Har Perašim*;⁴¹ *ha-Pisgah*, "the cliff";⁴² *Har Šalmon*;⁴³ *Har Se'ir*, "mount of (the) goat";⁴⁴

²³ 2 K. 16:4; 17:11; 2 Chr. 28:4; Jer. 17:2; Ezek. 6:13; 20:28; Hos. 4:13.

²⁴ Jer. 3:23.

²⁵ Probably the original form instead of *Bamōth-ba'al*, "high places of ba'al," Num. 22:41; Josh. 13:17.

²⁶ Cp. 2 K. 23:8.

²⁷ A place where the rite of circumcision was performed, Josh. 5:3.

²⁸ 1 Sam. 10:5 = *Har-el*, "hill of God," Thutmose III's list, Müller, in *MVG.*, 1907, p. 24. There was a sacred tree here, 1 Sam. 14:2; 22:6. The hill may have been sacred to *Sheol*, cp. 1 Sam. 11:4, &c.

²⁹ Judg. 7:1, when compared with Gen. 12:6, points to a holy hill.

³⁰ Sacred to hero-worship, Josh. 24:33.

³¹ Cp. 2 Sam. 21:9; 1 K. 3:4.

³² 1 Chr. 13:6, probably near *Kiryath-ba'al*, "city of ba'al," Josh. 15:60, and sacred to a *ba'al*. Cp. 1 Sam. 7:1.

³³ Called also "Mount of God," Ps. 68:16 (15).

³⁴ Breasted, *ARE.*, III, § 356.

³⁵ Josh. 15:9, sacred to a stag.

³⁶ The well-known sacred mountain near Shechem, probably the mountain intended instead of *Ebal* in Deut. 27:4, and probably the scene of Abraham's offering, Gen. 22. See p. 28.

³⁷ Judg. 1:35.

³⁸ Deut. 3:8; cp. Book of Enoch, VI.

³⁹ A place of worship adopted by the Israelites, 1 K. 18:30-32.

⁴⁰ Deut. 34:1, sacred to Nebo, or Nabu.

⁴¹ Is. 28:21, probably sacred to *Ba'al-perašim*, 2 Sam. 5:20.

⁴² Cp. Num. 23:14.

⁴³ Judg. 9:48, sacred to *Šelem*.

⁴⁴ Josh. 24:4, &c., sacred to a goat.

Har Sinay-Horeb,⁴⁵ *Har Tabor*,⁴⁶ *Har haz-Zethim*, "mount of the olive trees";⁴⁷ *Har Zion*,⁴⁸ *Hor ha-Har*, "mount Hor";⁴⁹ *ha-Ramah*, "the high place";⁵⁰ *Ramath-Gil'ad*, "high place of Gilead";⁵¹ *Ramath-lehi*, "high place of (the) jawbone";⁵² *Rosh Kedesh*, "holy summit";⁵³ *Rosh ha-Pe'or*, "the summit of Peor";⁵⁴ *Sela' 'Eṭam*, "cliff of (the) bird of prey";⁵⁵ *Shomron*.⁵⁶

⁴⁵ Ex. 3:1, &c.; 19:20, &c.

⁴⁶ Cp. Hos. 5:1.

⁴⁷ Zech. 14:4 = Mount of Olives, Ezek. 11:23, &c. Probably called also *Har ham-Mishḥah*, "the mount of ointment," which was intentionally changed to *Har ham-Mashhith*, "the mount of corruption," 2 K. 23:13, cp. Hoffman, in *ZAW.*, II (1882), p. 175.

⁴⁸ 2 K. 19:31. This mountain had on its summit a threshing-floor evidently sacred to 'Adōnay, a title for deity (reconstructed from 'Arawnah and 'Ornan), 2 Sam. 24:16-25.

⁴⁹ Sacred to hero-worship, Num. 20:22 ff.

⁵⁰ Borne by three places: (1) Josh. 19:36; (2) 19:29; (3) 1 K. 15:17, &c.

⁵¹ Changed to *Ramōth-gil'ad*, 1 K. 4:13. A pillar or a heap of stones was an object of worship here, Gen. 31:43-54.

⁵² Judg. 15:17. In the hollow of this jawbonelike ridge (cp. Von Gall, p. 134) was 'En-hak-kōre', "spring of the partridge," Judg. 15:17, 19, which was sacred to a partridge-cult.

⁵³ Müller, in *MVG.*, 1907, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Num. 23:28, sacred to *Ba'al-pe'ōr*, Hos. 9:10.

⁵⁵ Judg. 15:8, 11, sacred to a bird-cult.

⁵⁶ 1 K. 16:24, probably a sacred hill, cp. 1 K. 16:32, 33.

CHAPTER VI

-THE PRIMITIVE ALTAR

If, then, the nature gods made springs, trees, and mountains their usual and favorite habitats, and through the mysterious phenomena respectively connected therewith revealed their will and feelings to man, how was the worshipper to approach the gods conveniently and present to them his offerings? Though he cast his gifts into the holy spring and tied them on the branches of the holy tree, yet even these methods of offering were not entirely satisfactory for every kind of gift. Perhaps these natural objects were not present in every place, and thus another method had to be devised. The most natural medium through which an offering might be made was a stone conspicuously set up for the purpose of inviting the deity to come and dwell in this conventional abode, or *bethel*, "house of god,"¹ at least long enough to partake of such liquid offerings as oil, water, blood, milk, honey, and wine. It was in this way that the *numina*, or *ba'als*, of the sacred trees at Ophrah,² Shechem,³ possibly Beth-el,⁴ and probably all other sacred trees existing at many of the Canaanite sanctuaries, as well as the *ba'al* of the "Serpent Stone" at En-rogel,⁵ were approached with suitable offerings.

Other *ba'als* besides those dwelling in springs, trees, and mountains revealed their power and presence to man through some other mysterious natural *media*, such as storm, earthquake, dreams, and natural sounds. The favor of these too was sought through the conventional stone-altar. It was with this purpose in mind that Jacob erected the pillar to the dream-revealing god of Beth-el; that Samuel erected the "stone of help" near Mizpah to Yahweh who "thundered with a great voice

¹ Gen. 28:18; 35:14.

² Judg. 6:19-21.

³ Gen. 12:6; Josh. 24:26.

⁴ Cp. Gen. 28:18 with 35:8.

⁵ 1 K. 1:9.

on that day upon the Philistines and discomfited them";⁶ that Moses set up the twelve pillars under Horeb-Sinai to the storm-god of the mountain;⁷ that Saul had a great stone rolled to a convenient place to serve as an altar upon which to pour out to Yahweh the blood of slain animals taken as spoil;⁸ and that both Manoh⁹ and David,¹⁰ on receiving each a theophany, used a sacred stone as an altar for offering gifts unto the appearing angel.

In the vicinity of the place which afterwards was the site of a Semitic temple Petrie found many monoliths standing each within and on one side of a circle of stones which, he conjectures, served as sleeping places for the Egyptians who desired from the mountain-goddess revelations through dreams concerning the hidden treasures. At the base of many of the upright pillars was found a kind of stone table with incised cups for the holding of offerings.¹¹ There is no doubt that the goddess of the mountain was Semitic, as the manner of worship exhibited by the discoveries was entirely foreign to Egyptian soil.

From this distinct Semitic conception of a *ba'al* as the denizen of an erected stone, or *bethel*, there has been an interesting development among the Phoenicians and the Greeks. The Semitic *bethel*, or "house of god," as a fetish becomes among the Phoenicians the name of a god, namely, *Ba-ai-ti-ilē*, who is mentioned in a treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre.¹² Moreover, in Greece the Semitic *bethel* gives the name *baitulos* to a small aerolite which is thought to be demon-possessed, self-moving, and endowed with magical qualities.¹³ Perhaps the sacred stone at Delphi on which oil was daily poured was a *baityl*,¹⁴ or at least some sort of a stone in which a *numen* was thought to live.

⁶ 1 Sam. 7:10-12.

⁷ Ex. 24:4 ff.

⁸ 1 Sam. 14:31 ff.

⁹ Judg. 13:19.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. 24:25.

¹¹ Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 65 ff.

¹² *KAT.*³, p. 437.

¹³ Euseb. *Praep. Ev.*, i. 10, p. 37.

¹⁴ Pausanias, X, 24, 6. See, however, Moore in *AJA.*, 7 (1903), Series 2, pp. 198 ff.

While the term *bethel* did not prevail in Canaan for the conventional habitat of a nature-god, nevertheless the idea continued down into the Hebrew period. As an interesting parallel to the way in which the term *bethel*, as a dwelling-place of a *ba'al*, passed over into the name of a deity, as *bethel* into *Bait-ili* of the Phoenicians, we have *šūr*, "rock," which was often applied by the Semites to a fetish, actually passing over to designate a certain Canaanite deity.¹⁵

The outward forms which sacred stones took were five: namely *šūr*, *mašsebah*, *'eben*, *gal*, and *gilgal*.

Sūr, "rock," was the native rock, or ledge, which emerged at the surface of the ground in such a way as to form a projection convenient for offerings. Perhaps such a natural projection was utilized whenever it occurred at sacred places. A portable stone in such a place would not be needed, as the rock-table, or projection, would serve as an altar. Such a rock appears, either by direct assertion or by implication, to have been used at Beth-zur,¹⁶ Mahaneh-dan,¹⁷ and possibly at Ophrah,¹⁸ Rephidim,¹⁹ and Taanach.²⁰

The *mašsebah*, "pillar," was by far the most commonly used fetish. It was elongated and capable of standing on end. A single one appears to have stood in nearly all the Canaanite sanctuaries,²¹ including those at Beth-el,²² the King's Vale,²³ Carmel,²⁴ Rachel's grave,²⁵ and Shechem.²⁶ In Canaanite times its usual position, with reference to the other holy objects, was near, or under, the holy tree, and probably on the opposite side

¹⁵ See *šūr* under "Special Gods" in Chap. XXVIII.

¹⁶ Josh. 15:58.

¹⁷ Judg. 13:19.

¹⁸ Judg. 6:20, 21.

¹⁹ Ex. 17:15.

²⁰ See *Ta'anach*, Chap. VII.

²¹ Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 1 K. 14:23; [2 K. 10:26 *asherahs*?]; 17:10; 18:4; 23:14; 2 Chr. 14:3 (2); 31:1; Hos. 10:1, 2; Mic. 5:12 (13).

²² Gen. 28:18; 35:14.

²³ 2 Sam. 18:18.

²⁴ 1 Sam. 15:12.

²⁵ Gen. 35:14.

²⁶ Josh. 24:26 ff.

of the fire-altar from the *'asherah*.²⁷ In two places²⁸ the pillar is called a *yad*, "monument," but this is identical with *maššebah*. The *yad* is, in one case, explained as a memorial to preserve the name of the dead; but this explanation betrays the ancient belief that the departed spirit could not rest unless a stone were set up at the grave. The *nešib melah*, "pillar of salt," whose origin a popular tradition seeks to explain as being Lot's wife,²⁹ may have been originally a fetish of this character.

'Eben, "stone," was probably a rough boulder or block which might easily be rolled into position. It answered the same purpose as the *šūr*, or the *maššebah*, and may easily be another name for *maššebah*, since the stones at Shechem and at Ramoth-gilead are also called *maššebahs*. An *'eben* served as an altar at Beth-shemesh,³⁰ *'Eben-Bohan*,³¹ Eben-ezer,³² En-rogel,³³ and Gibeon.³⁴ A great stone was the center of elaborate rites at Mecca and also at Taif.³⁵

Gal, "heap," appears to have been built of small stones piled up probably for the same purpose as those mentioned above. Perhaps the *gal* was made when the pillar, or large stone, was not obtainable. Single *gals* existed at Ai,³⁶ *'Emek Akör*,³⁷ and Ramoth-gilead.³⁸ The origins of these, in historical times, were accounted for by various popular traditions. Probably similar to the *gal* was the *'argab*, "mound."³⁹ It was toward one of the latter that Jonathan shot the arrows to divine the feeling of the indwelling *numen* as to what course David should take.⁴⁰

²⁷ See *'asherah*, Chap. XIX.

²⁸ 1 Sam. 15:12; 18:18.

²⁹ Gen. 19:26.

³⁰ 1 Sam. 6:15.

³¹ See Josh. 15:6.

³² 1 Sam. 7:12.

³³ See 1 K. 1:9.

³⁴ 2 Sam. 20:8.

³⁵ Wellh., p. 30; Doughty, ii. pp. 511, 515 ff.

³⁶ Josh. 8:29.

³⁷ Josh. 7:26.

³⁸ Gen. 31:46.

³⁹ 1 Sam. 20:19. Read *ha-'argab hal-laz*, "this mound," instead of *ha-'eben ha-'ezel*, "the stone of Ezel." So Wellhausen and others.

⁴⁰ See "Divination," Chap. VIII.

The *gilgal*, "circle," may belong to this class of fetishes. From the facts that there were twelve venerated stones at *Gilgal*,⁴¹ and that the name *Gilgal* means "circle," one may be warranted in concluding that these twelve stones formed a circle. Possibly also the twelve at Horeb were set up in a circle.⁴² A stone circle has been found at Taanach.⁴³ A circle of pillars may have formed the original group of sacred stones at Gath.⁴⁴ The place-name, *Geliloth*, "circles," is also suggestive.⁴⁵ It seems probable, from the fact that there were twelve stones each at Horeb and *Gilgal*, that the original number in a circle was twelve and had, therefore, a sacrosanct value. Whether or not a *numen* was thought to reside in each stone is doubtful.

Herodotus describes the Arab rite of invoking two deities by a worshipper while in the act of anointing seven sacred stones with blood.⁴⁶ Arabian poetry frequently refers to instances where worshippers invoked a number of stones in an act of worship.⁴⁷ This rite of blood-sprinkling is not mentioned in the covenant ritual which was performed at Horeb, but it is implied; for it is said that Moses sprinkled half of the blood of the slain oxen on the altar (and perhaps on the pillars) and the other half he put in basins to sprinkle on the people.⁴⁸

Sacred Objects. At an early age the Semite was not content to confine his religious devotions entirely to the holy places, so he somehow evolved the notion that sacred objects in miniature had a hallowing influence in frightening away baleful spirits and inviting the presence of good ones, provided these amulets or talismans were carried on his person. Of this nature were the various kinds of amulets belonging to this period found especially at Gezer. The rudest form of amulet was the so-called "spindle-whorl" which was made, at least in some cases, out

⁴¹ Josh. 4:3 ff.

⁴² Ex. 24:4.

⁴³ Sellin, p. 11, fig. 3.

⁴⁴ See "Gath," Chap. XVIII.

⁴⁵ Josh. 18:17.

⁴⁶ iii, 8.

⁴⁷ Smith, *RS.*, p. 211.

⁴⁸ Ex. 24:4-8.

of the ends of femur bones.⁴⁹ The crudest form of anthropoid figures in limestone also begin to make their appearance at Gezer. It seems plain from an examination of them that the natural forms, in which they were found, suggested a similitude of the human features to the finder who added other marks to indicate eyes, nose, or mouth to make an image worthy of worship.⁵⁰ These may have been carried on the person or kept in the house for a shrine.

⁴⁹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 71 ff., 449.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 422; iii. ccxxii, Nos. 3, 9, 12, 18, 21.

CHAPTER VII

SANCTUARIES

Gezer. The most significant archæological evidence for a place of worship of the first Semitic period appears from Gezer.¹ Here, in the central depression between the two hills of the old city—being built on a commanding hill itself—was instituted, probably about 2000 B. C., a primitive shrine. This shrine, with the addition in the next period of many more features of indubitable religious meaning, became a place of worship of the first magnitude. The two most striking features of the ancient shrine are the two pillars and the sacred cave.

Two unhewn stone *pillars*² standing about five feet high and seven feet apart were evidently set up by the early Semites as *bethel*-altars upon which to pour liquid offerings. Macalister suggests that one may have represented a masculine and the other a feminine divinity. What sort of a ba'al it was who received homage at these stones—whether of the hill, the sacred cave, or some tree—can only be conjectured.

A few yards to the east are two troglodyte *caves*³ which originally were separate but later were connected by a passage-way. This passage-way, which was long and curved, was in all probability made at this time by the oracle-consulting priests to serve as an adytum from which oracles might be uttered as from similar dark recesses in Greek temples.⁴ The innermost cave is entirely shut off from access, except as passage could be made through this channel, and that only with great difficulty. Thus the inner cave furnished a convenient means by which some confederate of the divining priest—being stationed within and removed from sight and easy approach—could impersonate the deity by weird articulations, and thus deceive

¹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 381 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 385 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 381 ff.

⁴ Herod. i. 47, 65; v. 72.

the superstitious inquirer who had, before admission to the mysterious, shadowy sanctum, been put into a half-hysterical frame of mind by certain preliminary rites. The imagination of a primitive people is a fertile soil for the growth of superstitious notions about cave-deities and shades of the dead. Even Saul on the eve of defeat was the victim of such deception by the witch of En-dor,⁵ who undoubtedly resorted to some such device as is revealed here in this cave. It appears probable that the existence of this cave was, as Macalister suggests, the principal factor in determining the site of the sanctuary.

Taanach. At the junction formed by the northeast with the central plateau of Taanach, Sellin⁶ found religious remains which he considers of no small importance. Here was found an altar which was hewn out of the natural rock having ascending chisel-hewn steps on the east side. On the top appear four incised cups—one oval sixteen by twenty inches across and three small round ones three or four inches in diameter. A channel had been cut around about the altar with the evident purpose of conducting liquid offerings to the ground.

Moreover, in further confirmation of this as a cult-place is the fact that Sellin found in the immediate environs of this altar—particularly on the east and west side—a “child cemetery.” The burials were carefully made in earthen vessels in or near which were deposited food and drinking vessels, thus showing a consideration for the sustenance of the soul after death. With the exception of one adult there were over eighty burials of infants. The fact that these burials were made in identically the same manner as other child-burials in other parts of the city precludes the possibility of these children having been victims of sacrifice. This custom of burial near a sanctuary generally prevailed throughout the whole history of Palestine, as will be observed later. From Old Testament sources it is known that kings and heroes had the honor of interment in sacred ground, which fact may account for the paucity of adult remains in the sanctuary here as well as at Gezer in the next period. The Old Testament gives no hint as to where children were buried; but the evidence here and at

⁵ 1 Sam. 28:7-25.

⁶ Sellin, pp. 35 ff.

Gezer in the next period seems to favor the conclusion that these children, having died a natural death, were tenderly buried by fond parents in holy ground. Perhaps it was the thought of sorrowing mothers that the spirits of their children untimely departed would soon again seek another incarnation, provided their bodies were buried at the sanctuary and suitable offerings were made on the altar.

Sinai. During the twelfth dynasty the Egyptians began to adorn the sacred cave in the Wady *Serabit el-Khadem* where Hathor, the Mistress of Turquoise, was worshipped.⁷ Previous to this the Egyptians had been content to erect pillars on different spots in the environs of the sacred cave and to seek her revelations by means of offerings placed before the pillars. Now the cave was enclosed, except a doorway which permitted entrance to the cave where a pillar and an altar stood. As time went on additions were made outwards till, in the next period, a whole series of rooms were made in succession. In this period a portico was first added to the cave, and this was followed by a "Shrine of Kings" which consists of a dozen pillars extending in a westerly direction. A great deposit of ashes outside of the cave shows that sacrifices on no small scale must have constituted the principal rites of this place of worship.

⁷ Petrie, *ES.*, pp. 72 ff.; 186 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGIOUS RITES

Offerings. In order to determine as far as possible what must have been the nature of the offerings which the Amorites offered to their gods, with respect to content, manner, and occasion of presentation, and significance, we are confined almost entirely within the limits of inference. If only for disassociating the primitive elements of these rites from the more highly developed, perhaps the task will be worth the trouble.

As to *content*, it is to be presumed that, whatever the ardent worshippers had to give—whether of food, precious things of their own creation, or even of their own kindred or fellow-men—they gave the best. In the worship of fetishes one may be reasonably sure that liquid offerings, such as blood, wine, milk, and honey, were used.

As regards human sacrifice, we have fairly conclusive evidence from the first Semitic level at Gezer¹ that human beings were offered in what is known as a "foundation sacrifice." There are two cases: one that of an old, invalid woman, a useless member of the community, who was buried, probably alive, under a corner wall of a building; and the other, that of a man buried under the floor of a room. In both cases the burials were made prior to the erection of the building. These facts are significant when compared with the story of Hiel, the Bethelite, who "laid the foundation (of the wall of Jericho) with the loss of Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son, Segub."² Evidence for this rite comes from all parts of the world; while its mitigated survivals, such as putting a newspaper, or coin, or Bible under the corner-stone, are of common occurrence to-day in civilized lands. Even in Palestine to-day the custom survives of offering an animal—a substitute for a human victim—whenever an important building is to be erected. This barbarous custom of offering a human victim, beginning among the early Semites of

¹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 427.

² 1 K. 16:34.

Palestine and continuing down to Hebrew times, came to be gradually supplanted by a more humane custom of offering a lamp and bowl. This does not occur till the next period.

That sort of human sacrifice which required the victim to be slain and burned may be merely inferred for this period from Babylonian and Canaanite parallels. Many cases are on record in Babylonia in which a lamb is substituted for the life of a man;³ while a court formula preserves a recollection of the custom of child-burning for Sin and Belit.⁴

Presentation. The mode of presenting the offering to the gods was in keeping with the prevailing conception concerning their abodes. For a gift to be accepted it must be presented at the dwelling-place of the god. At first offerings were merely thrown into the holy spring for the spring *ba'al*, or attached to the holy tree for the tree-*ba'al*; but later another mode came into vogue, that of setting up a stone as a conventional or temporary abode for the *ba'al* of some holy place, and pouring or setting on it offerings of drink and food for the deity's consumption. At the traditional Sinai a stone-table with cups was placed at the base of the pillar for the deity who was thought to reside in the pillar.⁵ The blood of animal victims was sacred to the gods and, therefore, had to be presented to them either by sprinkling, or by pouring on their holy stones, or by letting it run down into their cave-dwellings.

The Babylonian words, *zibu*, "offering," and *kuṭrinnu*, "frankincense," "incense offering,"⁶ must originally have had a common origin with the respective Hebrew words, *zebah*, "slaughter" and *keṭoreth*, "odor of burnt-offerings." It seems probable, then, that offerings were presented by fire, although this method presupposes an advanced stage of reflection. It may be that the fire-offering, as is known later, was an outgrowth of the practice of burning the refuse of the animal victims after the sacrificial meal was eaten. A layer of ashes near the sacred cave at the traditional Sinai⁷ points to the mode of sacrificing by fire as early as this period.

³ *KAT.*, p. 596.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 599.

⁵ See p. 40.

⁶ *KAT.*, p. 595.

⁷ Petrie, *RS.*, p. 187.

Occasion. The many varying events of life such as birth, weaning, marriage, adversity, undertaking a journey, all furnished occasions on which offerings were made to the gods concerned respectively with these affairs. Before the final issue of an uncertain event, whether present or expected, vows were made to be fulfilled after the petitioned favor was secured.

Besides the incidental occasions for sacrifice for the individual worshipper there were the yearly occasions for the tribe; namely, the spring, summer, and autumnal feasts coinciding respectively with the foaling season, the barley-harvest, and the grape-gathering. Moreover, the feasts of the new moon and the Sabbath offered more frequent occasions for presenting gifts to the gods. These feasts will be considered later.

Significance. The most primitive conception of offering must find its ultimate origin in the idea of a gift either for the purpose of maintaining present amicable relations with a friendly god or of propitiating an offended one. The origin of animal sacrifice and the practice of giving the blood of the victim to the deity are rooted in remote antiquity. In some way the life of the animal was thought to be resident in the blood and identical with the life of the god; and, when the blood of the sacrifice was poured over the sacred stone, it became a drink-offering to the indwelling *numen*. Then the sacrificial meal was eaten by the worshippers in order to establish between themselves and the god present in the stone—and possibly also in the flesh—a mystic communion, and to secure thereby divine strength and favor. Blood may once have been drunk for this infusion of the divine life resident in the animal; but later, at any rate, it became taboo because of its great sanctity. Even water got at the risk of blood-shedding so symbolized the blood that it could not be drunk, but was poured out as an offering unto the god.⁸

Offerings for the dead will be considered under Chapter XIV.

Divination. For the Semites as well as for other people of antiquity the unknown future possessed an air of mystery which man tried to solve by various means of divination. Man was a helpless creature in the hands of powerful gods whose capricious ways seemed almost impossible to understand; and so a

⁸ 2 Sam. 23:15-17.

longing was created to penetrate the future and peer into the very council-chambers of the gods in order to anticipate the consequence of a questionable course. To such a complex rôle, involving as it did all the mysterious phenomena and uncertain movements of nature, was called the divining class who, in time, built up a fanciful oracular science, and won, in the meantime, undisputed recognition as mediators between the ignorant inquiring layman and the deity. However, it was possible for the unskilled layman to interpret ordinary omens without the help of the professional diviner.

The divining practices which were in vogue in ancient Babylonia and, in later times, over the Semitic world,⁹ must be rooted in remote antiquity. At any rate, one is clearly warranted in attributing these primitive practices to the first Semites who inhabited Palestine; for otherwise the large amount of evidence for these rites appearing in the Canaanite and the Hebrew periods would stand unrelated to the ancient fountain-head. Perhaps the most dependable evidence for this relationship between Babylonian and Canaanite survivals occurs in a number of Hebrew words which have significant analogies in the divining ritual of Babylonia.¹⁰ Thus *torah*, "teaching," "instruction," must have been related in some way to the Babylonian divining expression *tertu*, "foretold." *Berith*, "covenant," when compared with *biritu*, "oracle," and *bārū*, "diviner," betray an original connection with divination. Other comparisons, as *barar*, "separate," "sever," with the Assyrian *barū*, "to discern" and *anah*, "answer," with the Babylonian-Assyrian technical term *annu*, "a favorable omen," add further interest.

As the *ba'als* were regarded as the denizens of all the various forms and objects of nature that exhibited any ominous signs, it occurred to the ancients that these objects of nature might be interrogated with appropriate divining methods for an expression of the will or of the feeling of the animating *numina*. A classification of the subject under consideration according to the groups of these forms of nature will be convenient.

⁹ Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, pp. 143 ff.; Wellh., pp. 143 ff.

¹⁰ KAT., p. 606; Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix. pp. 55 ff.

Water. The bubbling spring, so often regarded as the abode of a *ba'al*, received into its depths, or cast up by its bountiful flow, with ominous significance to the inquirer, the gifts that were cast into it. The uncertain action of oil in a cup of water, a favorite method in Babylonia and probably in Canaan,¹¹ was a means that partook of the same nature.

Tree. The *numen* of a holy tree was thought to give ominous signs to the wise interpreter, as when the leaves rustled in the wind or the tree-tops re-echoed the sound of an approaching army.¹² In this way the mulberry trees in the valley of Rephaim; the sacred oak at Shechem, called the "Teacher's Oak," and the "Diviners' Oak";¹³ and probably many other trees must have given omens when properly observed by the divining priest. Sticks cut from holy trees became divining rods, and were often laid away for later signs of flourishing or withering,¹⁴ or were shuffled to give a sign. The "staff" which Hosea says "declareth unto them,"¹⁵ and the divining apparatus used at Taanach may have been of this sort. Thus the sentence on a clay tablet found there: "If the finger of Ashirat itself show, so may one inculcate it and obey: and the sign and the thing informed me."¹⁶ Furthermore, twigs cut from a holy tree may have furnished the material for the lot used in Israel for oracular purposes. It was attached in some way to the ephod, possibly having been kept in a pocket of the garment that clothed the ephod-image. Be that as it may, the lot was wont to be cast, and the deciding "ball" gave either the favorable *thummim* or the unfavorable *urim*.¹⁷ This method was employed by Samuel in choosing a king over Israel, and by Saul in discovering a transgressor among his ranks by eliminating, in succession, tribes, clans, families, and individuals. In the last days of Saul this means of divination failed to give him a favorable answer.¹⁸

¹¹ Gen. 44:5.

¹² 2 Sam. 5:24; Is. 55:12.

¹³ Gen. 12:6 f.; Judg. 9:37.

¹⁴ Num. 17:22 ff. (7 ff.).

¹⁵ 4:12.

¹⁶ About 1400-1300 B. C., Sellin, pp. 108 ff.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. 10:20 f.; 14:41 f.; 28:6; cp. Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix. p. 73.

¹⁸ 1 Sam. 28:6.

Animals. *Ba'als* were thought also to possess animals and accordingly manifested their will and disposition to inquirers by certain movements which the animals made, or by directions taken by liberated cows.¹⁹ Divining by the flight of birds, so extensively used for oracular purposes among the Romans, may have been used as a means in the Amarna period; for, in one letter²⁰ to the king of Egypt, the writer beseechingly asks that an "eagle conjurer" be sent him, thus obviously implying the need of a skilled interpreter to divine the signs of the times in the face of national trouble that was then brewing. It is not impossible that Abraham sought an omen by observing the flight of the "turtle dove and the young pigeon";²¹ and Balaam by similar means at the bare height.²² A suggestion arises from a number of worn parts of animal bones found at Taanach²³ that, perhaps, some virtue may have been attributed to bones as fitting means of obtaining omens.

Hepatoscopy, or divination by studying the aspect of an animal's liver, was handed down from the Sumerians to the Amorites of Babylonia and of the West, to the Hittites, to the ancient Arabs, and eventually to the Greeks and to the Romans.²⁴ To the ancients the liver, because of the fact that it contains a disproportionately large amount of blood as compared with the other organs of circulation, was the seat of life, and therefore the organ which best betrayed the intimations of the disposition of the gods. This fancied seat of the soul of the animal slain for sacrifice was, according to ancient logic, conceived of as identical with and attuned to the soul of the god. Accordingly, it followed that the mind of the god, and therefore the future, was revealed, if the signs on the liver could be properly interpreted.²⁵ Liver-divination was early reduced to a science by the Sumerian *har-tum*, "liver-diviner," and the Babylonian *bārū*, "divining-priest."

As mentioned above, hepatoscopy came to the Palestinian

¹⁹ 6:7 ff.

²⁰ Knudtzon, 35:26.

²¹ Gen. 15:9.

²² Num. 23:3, 23; 24:1.

²³ Sellin, p. 112.

²⁴ Jastrow, *Die Religion*, ii. pp. 213 ff.; *Rel. Belief*, pp. 150 ff.

²⁵ Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, pp. 155 f.

Amorites from Babylon. In proof of this assertion are the following survivals among the Hebrews.

The Sumerian word for *liver-diviner*, namely *har-tum*, is the one whence the Hebrew word for magician, namely *harṭom*, is derived.²⁶ This fact when taken in connection with the implications underlying certain poetic references to the liver as the seat of life,²⁷ and with the knowledge which Ezekiel has of the practice of inspecting the liver,²⁸ clearly prove for this rite an ancient historical setting in Palestine.

A common practice among the Arabs was to mark arrows, then shoot them against some symbol of the deity, and, according to the place and the manner in which they fell, to draw inferences as to what might be the disposition of the deity. This seems to be reflected in Jonathan's shooting the arrows at a mound²⁹ and announcing the result to David.³⁰ In this, or some other way, the sacred "stock"³¹ or *'asherah*, and the *teraphim*³² gave, in Hosea's time, divine oracles for directing the nation's destiny.

Perhaps related in some way to one or more of these oracular means, but not specifically stated or inferred, are the instances of Laban³³ and the servants of Benhadad³⁴ resorting to some divining practice. Other means of consulting the disposition of the gods, who held the destinies of men, were by consulting the departed spirits at graves by calling up shades to disclose the future.³⁵ Still other methods were by observing the effect of dew or rain on objects exposed at night,³⁶ the strange phenomena about the sun-dial,³⁷ and the action of a storm.³⁸

²⁶ *PSBA.*, xxxv, p. 189.

²⁷ Prov. 7:23; Lam. 2:11.

²⁸ Ezek. 21:26 (21).

²⁹ Emended text, cp. LXX.

³⁰ 1 Sam. 20:19 ff.

³¹ Hos. 4:12.

³² Ezek. 21:26 (21); Hos. 3:4; Zech. 10:2; cp. Judg. 17:5 ff.; 18:14 ff.

³³ Gen. 30:27.

³⁴ 1 K. 20:33.

³⁵ 1 Sam. 28:11 ff.

³⁶ Judg. 6:36-40.

³⁷ Is. 38:8.

³⁸ 1 Sam. 7:10.

Magic. According to Babylonian-Assyrian religion, gods who represented the superior natural forces could be directly influenced by charms and spells to direct their power against evil demons who sought to work ill. This was sacred magic, and embraced under its scope, enchantment, sorcery, incantation, and witchcraft. The adept who was versed in the occult arts was the magician, or sage.³⁹ Magic differs from divination in that it is the human attempt, either by means of words or acts, to constrain directly the spirits, whether good or evil, to do what the magician desires; while divination, on the other hand, is merely the art of determining omens for the import they may have in forecasting future events. Magic is probably of Babylonian origin since its nature demands a long period of time for mature reflection incident to its development. *Mag*, the Hebrew word for "magic," which appears to be cognate with an Assyrian word,⁴⁰ points to this conclusion.

The colossal human-headed and winged bulls, or genii, standing at the entrances of Assyrian palaces were thus placed for the purpose of guarding against the access of harmful demons. Similarly the brazen serpent lifted up in the wilderness and probably the *nehushtan* in the Jerusalem temple⁴¹ were so displayed to charm away the evil spirits of disease.⁴² Magic rods possessed and imparted mysterious powers,⁴³ of which one was healing.⁴⁴ Amulets of all kinds, found in the excavations and worn commonly by women⁴⁵ and even by camels⁴⁶ in Hebrew times, were, in many cases at least, inscribed with magical words or symbols for the purpose of warding off the evil eye and for averting disaster.

Magical formulas, or divine names, uttered with incantations, were, throughout the ancient world, supposed to be efficacious. Thus the exorcism which employed the divine name in the

³⁹ See Chap. IX.

⁴⁰ *rab-mu-gi*. Cp. *Rab-shak(ē)* with *Rab-mag*, (Jer. 39:3). *KAT.*³, p. 590, n. 5.

⁴¹ 2 K. 18:4.

⁴² Num. 21:6-9.

⁴³ Ex. 4:2 etc.; Num. 20:11.

⁴⁴ 2 K. 4:29.

⁴⁵ Gen. 35:4; Is. 3:18-23.

⁴⁶ Judg. 8:21.

oath,⁴⁷ were, in reaction against Canaanite religion, rigidly proscribed. Naaman expected to be healed by some exorcism of waving the hand over that part of the body which was infected with leprosy.⁴⁸ Magical powers for inducing passion were supposed to reside in a kind of love-apples called *dūday* which may have had some connection with *Dūdah*, a god of the tribe of Gad.⁴⁹

The inferior natural powers were relegated to the level of demons, and were therefore rejected by orthodox religion; but their hold on the minds of the people continued, and reasserted themselves in periods when national religion was on the decline.⁵⁰ The powers of these demons, conjured up by charm-ers and sorcerers, were employed to tie magic-knots and to create spells. It is significant that *shed*, "demon,"⁵¹ is a cognate with the Babylonian-Assyrian word *shēdu*, meaning "protecting genius." The serpent with its subtle character became the fitting embodiment of evil genii, and employed its powers, on one occasion, to undo the work of creation,⁵² and to bring a plague of disease upon the Israelites who could be rid of the demons only by the counteracting influence of the brazen serpent.⁵³ Magic was widely practiced by the Babylonians,⁵⁴ Egyptians,⁵⁵ Hebrews,⁵⁶ and Arabs.⁵⁷

Making covenants. The ancient custom that two contracting parties who came to some mutual agreement should express their agreement in a covenant was extended to contracts between man and deity. Since the fortune of man, in whatever territory he might live, hung suspended as a slender thread in the hands of the gods of that territory, it was all important for him to make with them some sort of a covenant

⁴⁷ Ex. 20:7 E.

⁴⁸ 2 K. 5:11.

⁴⁹ *MI.*, 12; Gen. 30:14 ff.

⁵⁰ Deut. 18:11; 2 K. 9:22; Mic. 5:11 (12).

⁵¹ Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37.

⁵² Gen. 3:1 ff.

⁵³ Num. 21:9.

⁵⁴ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 272 ff.

⁵⁵ Wiedemann, A., *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 146 ff.; 267 ff.

⁵⁶ Jer. 8:17; Ps. 58:6 (5).

⁵⁷ Baudissin, i. pp. 279 ff.; Wellh., pp. 159 ff.; Smith, *RS.*, pp. 442 ff.

having stipulations binding on both parties. When the Hebrews came into possession of the land and its places of worship, it was regarded as of first importance on their part to make terms with the *ba'als* so that material prosperity might be expected to follow. An old Hebrew law commanding Israel "to make no covenants" with the gods of Canaan expressed a protest against this procedure so generally practiced at first; for already before this protest arose the worship of the *ba'als* of the sacred places had been sanctioned by popular tradition as legitimate Yahweh-worship. Thus the patriarchs came into covenant relations with the gods of Beth-el, Hebron, Beer-sheba, and Shechem.

A covenant between deity and man was a reciprocal one and usually partook of the following conditions: (1) The benefit must be mutual or at least accruing to man.⁵⁸ (2) Its duration must be perpetual.⁵⁹ (3) Subscribing to the conditions must be in good faith, and must be sworn to by an oath.⁶⁰ (4) New previously non-existing rights were created. (5) These resided with each party over against the other so long as the conditions were kept.⁶¹ The assignment of this practice to this period is justified by the evident analogy between the Hebrew *berith*, "covenant," and the Babylonian *beritu*, "oracle," "bond." The double meaning of *beritu* probably grew out of the two aspects of the transaction: "oracle" referring to the covenant ritual, and "bond," to the binding effects of the agreement.

At the sanctuary of Shechem covenant relations were renewed, probably annually, between the worshipping tribe and the deity. The ceremony was performed while the people stood, half of them on the north of the sanctuary over against Ebal, the mount of curses, and the other half on the south side over against Gerizim, the mount of blessing. The officiating priest stood at the sanctuary in the midst and pronounced the blessings, which would accrue from a kept covenant, to the party on Gerizim; and the curses, which would accrue from a broken covenant, to the party on Ebal. The people assented according to the agreement and so bound themselves by shouting "Amen."⁶²

⁵⁸ Gen. 14:19 f.; 15:5-18; 17:1-8 P; cp. 28:22; 35:14.

⁵⁹ Gen. 17:7 f.; Lev. 24:8; 2 Sam. 23:5.

⁶⁰ Gen. 15:9 ff.

⁶¹ Gen. 17:1, 2, 10-14.

⁶² Deut. 11:26-32; 27:1-26; Josh. 8:30-35; 24:1-28; cp. Judg. 9:46.

The oath constituted an important part of the transaction of making a covenant, being employed as a reciprocal declaration of good faith on the part of the contracting parties. The oath of the covenant was performed in various ways. One method, which was used by Abraham in making a covenant with Yahweh, consisted in arranging the divided halves of animals in two rows so that each half lay opposite its counterpart; then, the contracting parties passed through between the lines of pieces, invoking at the same time the deity to bring like consequences upon themselves should they be insincere or show a breach of faith. It was after dark when Yahweh, having the appearance of a smoking furnace, passed through between the pieces.⁶³ Another method consisted in the parties placing each his hand on the other's thigh, the seat of generative powers, and then invoking the deity to extend the dire consequences of bad faith or a broken covenant upon future generations.⁶⁴ Another form, which must be later, was by making a gesture of the hand toward the stars.⁶⁵ The fact that the Hebrew word *'alah* means both "to swear" and "to curse" shows that the oath consisted of uttering a curse. *Shaba'*, another word meaning "to swear," a cognate, if not a derivative of *sheba'*, "seven," points in the same direction and appears accordingly to have meant originally "to come under the influence of seven." "Seven" was a sacrosanct number among the Babylonians, and stood for a group of seven demons.⁶⁶

The curse was employed not only in confirming covenants but also in all affirmations where doubt might linger in the mind of the one to whom the assertion was made. This abjuration was often expressed in certain stereotyped phrases, such as, "as Yahweh liveth and as thy soul liveth,"⁶⁷ or "let the gods do so to me and more also if."⁶⁸ Since a prince or an ancestor was regarded as having divine attributes, swearing was often done "by the prince," "by the life of the prince," "by the life of Pharaoh,"⁶⁹ or "by the fear of my father."⁷⁰

⁶³ Gen. 15:9-18.

⁶⁴ Gen. 24:2, 9; 47:29.

⁶⁵ Gen. 14:22; Dan. 12:7; Rev. 10:5 ff.

⁶⁶ See *Sheba'*, Chap. XV.

⁶⁷ 1 Sam. 20:3; 25:26, &c.; cp. 1 Sam. 17:55, &c.

⁶⁸ 1 K. 19:2.

⁶⁹ Gen. 42:15, 16.

⁷⁰ Gen. 31:42, 53.

In the Amarna period the man who takes the oath is asked to swear by another god than his own.⁷¹ Swearing by Dūdah,⁷² the god of Beer-sheba, appears to have been a very popular practice in the early Hebrew period, and may have prevailed still earlier.⁷³ The name of Beer-sheba, meaning the "well of the seven," probably has reference to the seven demons of the oath, which, in Babylonia, seems to have been connected with sacred water.⁷⁴ From this it may be conjectured that the oath-ritual at Beer-sheba consisted either in the parties dipping their hands into the water of the sacred well, or in drinking it, thus making the false swearer liable to death at the hands of the demons. The god of Dan,⁷⁵ Milcom,⁷⁶ and the *ba'als*⁷⁷ were also commonly invoked in the oath. One case is on record in which the Hebrews did not keep the conditions of a solemn covenant; and, as a result, suffered the pangs of a three-years' famine.⁷⁸

Lustration was a physical preparation of the worshipper for appearing before the deity. From ancient Babylonian pictorial representations of priests performing acts of worship garmentless, from the custom of the ancient Arabs to encircle the Ka'aba at Mecca in a nude condition, and from the Hebrew custom to strip off the garments during a period of mourning, it may safely be inferred that the ancient worshipper religiously discarded his garments before entering the sanctuary for fear of bringing anything unholy into contact with the deity. For the same reason he bathed himself, and further, to prepare himself for the sacrificial meal, he fasted. Finally, having completed these ceremonial acts, he approached with head covered, lest he might perchance see the deity and suffer death in consequence.⁷⁹

Circumcision had its origin in the cult of some goddess of reproduction who required this rite to be performed on all males in token of consecrating to her their generative organs. It was

⁷¹ Knudtzon, 164:39.

⁷² A god according to Amos 8:14 (LXX). Corrupted into *derek*, "way."

⁷³ Am. 8:14. Also implied by context of Hos. 4:15. See Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 263.

⁷⁴ *KAT.*⁸, pp. 459, 620 ff.

⁷⁵ Am. 8:14.

⁷⁶ Zeph. 1:5.

⁷⁷ Jer. 12:16.

⁷⁸ 2 Sam. 21:1 ff. Cp. Josh. 9:3-15, 19.

⁷⁹ See Chapter XIV. 2.

thus a preparation for connubium, and was probably performed at puberty. The Egyptians learned it from the Semites as early as the Old Empire;⁸⁰ and Moses, from the Midianites.⁸¹ When the Israelites entered Canaan⁸² and worshipped at the sanctuary at Gilgal, it was necessary for them to have all males circumcised.⁸² The rite in later times was explained as a symbol of the covenant relation with Yahweh, which every male had to enter into on the eighth day after birth.⁸³ The retention even in the bronze age of flint knives in performing the operation bespeaks for the rite a great antiquity.⁸⁴

Music was probably one of the accompaniments of worship in Canaan as it was in Babylon and Egypt. The *kinnor*, "lyre," and *nebel*, "harp," which are of Semitic origin, were early adopted by the Egyptians, since they are mentioned in the inscriptions as *ken*, *noru*, and *nfr* respectively.⁸⁵ A rattle of terra-cotta which was probably used, like similar ones in Egypt, for the purpose of searing away demons, was found in the first Semitic level at Gezer.⁸⁶ Musical instruments, to judge from analogies, imply song and the dance.

Prostitution. As has been pointed out, the ancient cult of 'Ashtart spread from Arabia⁸⁷ to Babylonia, Canaan, Asia Minor, and to the lands of the Mediterranean; and with it went those sacred rites which were characteristic of her cult, and which, because of religious conservatism, fastened their grip upon nearly every modified form of Semitic religion in these countries. In Babylonia in the time of Hammurabi virgins were vowed by their parents, or voluntarily offered themselves, as votaries to the temples to become brides of the gods.⁸⁸ They lived in a convent, or a bridal chamber, a part of the time, and were expected at other times, when off duty, to lead an exem-

⁸⁰ An operation in which flint knives are used is pictured on the walls of a tomb of the Old Empire. See Skinner, *Genesis* (1910), p. 296; cp. Barton, pp. 98 ff.

⁸¹ Ex. 4:24, 25.

⁸² Josh. 5:3.

⁸³ Gen. 17:12; cp. Ex. 12:48 (P).

⁸⁴ Ex. 4:24, 25; Josh. 5:3; 24:31 (LXX).

⁸⁵ *HDB*, "Musical Instruments."

⁸⁶ Macalister, *EG*. ii. pp. 305, 306.

⁸⁷ *Hebraica* X. p. 59.

⁸⁸ *Ham. Code*, 178.

plary life, and not to degrade the performance of their sacred religious function to the level of secular gain.⁸⁹ No blame or shame was attached to their holy calling. If any man falsely accused one of stooping to secular prostitution he was branded on the forehead according to law.⁹⁰ The mother of Sargon of Agade was a temple-priestess who brought him forth in secret, his father being unknown.⁹¹ A female votary of Shamash had a daughter.⁹² These customs continued down to later times, for Herodotus tells of the Babylonian custom whereby every native woman was obliged, once in her life, to sacrifice her virginity at the temple of Aphrodite.⁹³ Moreover, men also were vowed to the service of the gods;⁹⁴ and it seems that children born from this consecrated temple-intercourse were especially honored. Thus contract-tablets of the time of Nabonidus, Cyrus, and Cambyses mention "the son of the priest of Ishtar of Babylon."⁹⁵ Inferring from the similar religious customs in Canaan during the second Semitic period, one can not be far out of the way in positing their existence during the Amorite period.

⁸⁹ *Ham. Code*, 110.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁹¹ *Hebraica*, X. p. 25.

⁹² C. H. Johns, *Notes on the Code of Ham.*, p. 104.

⁹³ I. 199.

⁹⁴ *Ham. Code*, 192.

⁹⁵ Barton, in *Hebraica*, X. p. 19.

CHAPTER IX

HOLY PERSONS

In man's attempt to study the natures of the gods and to assign to their multitudinous activities and manifestations certain definite laws governing these activities, there was inevitably called into service, from among the common ranks of men, a class of specialists, who, because of their superior insight, became the recognized mediators between their fellowmen and the gods. These divine interpreters may be conveniently divided into three classes as follows: the *ḥarṭom*, or *kāhin*, the *rō'eh*, and the *ḥakam*.

The interpreter of the phenomena of nature, or the augur who inspected the liver for omens, or the magicians who employed various divining means to ascertain the temperament of divine powers, was called both *ḥarṭom*, "liver-diviner," and *kāhin*, "soothsayer." This interpreter of deity-manifestations had his analogy in the Sumerian *ḥar-ṭum*,¹ "liver-diviner"; in the Babylonian *bārū*, "liver-diviner," or "astrologer";² in the Arabian *kāhin*, the soothsayer, who divined by casting lot, shooting arrows, or by drawing sticks in the presence of some symbol of the deity;³ and in the Hebrew *ḥarṭom*, "diviner," or *kōhen*, "priest-diviner," who superintended the service at the sanctuary and interpreted through divining rites the will of the deity. The phenomena of the sky, clouds, springs, trees and animals were studied by the *kāhin* for the significance that they might bear to men concerning the disposition of the gods. These observations were tabulated and made eventually to form the nucleus around which gathered the system of divining practices already discussed. The correspondence of the Babylonian cognate words *bārū*, "diviner-priest," *barūtu*, "divination," and *biru*, "aspect of the offering," with the Hebrew *berith*, "covenant," shows that in early times the *kāhin*, or *ḥarṭom*, played some divining rôle which afterward became the ritual in mak-

¹ *PSBA.*, xxxv. p. 189.

² Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, pp. 162 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 190 ff.

ing covenants.⁴ The omen which the Babylonian diviner obtained was called *tertu*, "foretoken," which has its parallel with the Hebrew *torah*, known early as "teaching," but later as "law."⁵ The customary requirements for the Babylonian guild of *barūti* embraced bodily perfection, purity of priestly descent,⁶ and later, the wearing of a special priestly garb.⁷ In early times priests are represented naked or with only a loin cloth. These requirements find their corresponding survivals among the Hebrews,⁸ which fact permits us to posit similar practices among the Amorites.

The *rō'eh*. Corresponding to the *kāhin* as an interpreter of natural phenomena was the *rō'eh*, "seer," who was an interpreter of the different mental and emotional states which were regarded as caused by as many indwelling deities.⁹ As a specialist he interpreted dreams and the significance of visions. He often worked himself up into a state of ecstasy or frenzy, and uttered, under these abnormal conditions, messages of divine import. He is the prototype of the prophet of Gebal and the Hebrew *hōzeh*, "seer," and *nabī*, "prophet."

The *hakam*. Finally, in the sphere of life's events there was another mediator between man and the deity in the *hakam*, "sage," who became a close observer of human conduct relative to the actions that resulted beneficially or harmfully; and who gave expression to these observations in short sayings and proverbs which eventually came to form the nucleus of the later Hebrew Proverbs and Wisdom literature. If certain actions resulted in disaster or harm to the individual, the *hakam* played the rôle of medicine-man and magician by dispensing drugs, going through incantations, uttering magical formulas, and thus creating magic spells to drive the afflicting demons from the victim. A great many magical sentences used in incantations have come to light through the discovery of Babylonian clay tablets. The body of magical practices, already discussed, certainly must be the product of magical arts of the Amorite period as they bear a close analogy with Babylonian practices.

⁴ *KAT.*, p. 606.

⁵ See p. 44.

⁶ *KAT.*, p. 589; Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix, p. 57.

⁷ *KAT.*, p. 591 (*kitā*).

⁸ 1 Sam. 2:18, 28; 22:18; 2 Sam. 6:14.

⁹ The classification here is taken from Paton's *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 11 ff.

CHAPTER X

FEASTS

Since it was perfectly natural for primitive people to regard certain sacred places and objects as particularly surcharged with the energy of the gods, and also to regard certain sacred persons as especially endowed to interpret to men mysterious divine energy, it was accordingly consistent for them also to look upon certain seasons in the year and days in the month as most desirable or necessary times for approach to the deity to make expiation and to secure a continuance of divine favor. Thus we find that the ancient Babylonians esteemed certain seasons and days as preëminently sacred. These times were determined by them, as Jastrow¹ has clearly shown, on the basis of their being periods of *transition* in the year and in the month. The calendar, or method of reckoning time, which the Amorites inherited from the Sumerians, the Canaanites from the Amorites, and the Hebrews from the Canaanites, divided time into yearly periods according to the solar cycle, the year into twelve lunar months according to the lunar cycle—adding an intercalated month every three years, or when necessary—, and the month into four weeks of seven days each. The periods of transition in the year, to which were attributed a sacrosanct character, were the times of the vernal equinox, the summer solstice, and the beginning of winter. The monthly periods of transition coincided with the occurrence of the moon's phases. The reason that special significance was attached to these transitional periods in the calendar grew out of the importance which ancient people attributed to the sun and to the moon as exercising a profound influence upon human existence and welfare. The monthly transitional periods, or the four lunar phases, were carefully calculated to occur at regular times. But when phases did not rotate in the accustomed cycles, as they sometimes did not through a lack of accurate scientific methods of determining them, the fact precipitated fears and portended calamity to the people. Such a varia-

¹ *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, New York (1914), pp. 134 ff.

tion in the habit of the moon was attributed to a hostile disposition of the gods who held the threads of human destinies in their hands. Accordingly, therefore, the disappearance of the moon and the time of the full moon, as well as the periods of the other phases, designated special days when the gods should be appeased and their hearts and livers set right toward men.²

THE ANNUAL FEASTS

The two annual transitional periods occurred at the time of the dying of vegetation in the autumn and of the quickening of vegetation in the spring. Man fancied that some special act of devotion on his part to the gods at these turning-points was quite essential to maintaining the established order of things in the divine economy.

The Fall, or New Year's Feast

In contrast to the Babylonian custom of beginning the year in the spring the people of Palestine had the custom of beginning the year in the fall. Thus we find that an agricultural calendar was in vogue in Canaan before the Exile which made Ethanim the first month of the year.³ This season of the year marked the beginning of winter and the end of summer. The annual dying of vegetation and the close of the harvest season would fittingly designate a transitional period when the gods should be rendered thank-offerings for benefits that had been bestowed and be petitioned for boons that they still held in store.

The only grounds we have, however, of positing such a sacred season for the Amorites are furnished by a possible Babylonian analogy, namely, the feast of Tammuz, and by one of three possible survivals among the Hebrews. One was the feast of the first new moon of the Canaanite year, called the Feast of the Trumpets, which was characterized by a "solemn rest" and a "holy convocation," and was announced by a blast of trumpets.⁴ This feast may be the one referred to as being observed at Beth-lehem.⁵ It has its parallel in a new moon feast

² Jastrow, *ibid.*

³ 1 K. 8:2.

⁴ Lev. 23:24, 25; Num. 29:1.

⁵ 1 Sam. 20:6.

in this month in Cyprus.⁶ Another was the Day of Atonement, which came on the tenth of Ethanim, and which was characterized by a "solemn rest."⁷ Another was the Tammuz-wailing, which, in Ezekiel's day, occurred the fifth day of the last month of the year.⁸ It may even be possible that all three are detached fragments of this hypothetical Amorite feast.

The Spring Feast

A *Spring Feast*, which must have been the prototype of the Hebrew Passover, probably occurred, like the Passover,⁹ at the time of the full moon in the Canaanite seventh month. Accordingly at this time devotees brought the season's gifts to the sanctuary to present them to the goddess of fecundity, who gave the offspring of man and the increase, or "'*ashtarōth*, of the flock."¹⁰

In respect to origin man was on a level with the animal, and must present to the deity his own first-born as well as that of the animal; else future increase, upon which the very existence and continuity of the tribe depended, could not be expected to follow. This practice of sacrificing the first-born of man was mitigated later by substituting the first-born of an animal as is seen by the law of redemption.¹¹ Moreover, this feast was probably also the time of consecrating to the mother-goddess the youths who had arrived at puberty:¹² the males by being circumcised and the females by being required to sacrifice their chastity.¹³

This primitive feast has left its traces in the Semitic world in the Babylonian wedding-feast in honor of Ningirsu and Bau¹⁴ in the first month; in the annual sacrifice of sheep and a wild boar to Astarte in Cyprus;¹⁵ in the annual sacrifice in Arabia;¹⁶

⁶ From an inscription of about 400 B. C., *CIS.*, 86.

⁷ Lev. 23:26 ff.

⁸ 8:1, 14.

⁹ Lev. 23:5.

¹⁰ Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51.

¹¹ Ex. 34:19, 20.

¹² See p. 52 f.

¹³ See p. 53 f.

¹⁴ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 59, 456, 463, 465; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, i. p. 96.

¹⁵ Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 45.

¹⁶ Smith, *RS.*, p. 406.

and in the Hebrew passover feast, at which a lamb was slain in lieu of the first-born of man.¹⁷ The annual four-days' feast at Ramoth-gilead,¹⁸ at which a virgin appears to have been sacrificed to some goddess of fecundity, must, because of its nature, coincide with this spring-feast so universally observed throughout the Semitic world. Moreover, the annual sheep-shearing feast, which was generally observed in early times throughout the land, particularly at Haran,¹⁹ Ba'al-hazor,²⁰ Carmel,²¹ and Timnah,²² which came at this time of the year, may also have coincided with this feast.

THE LUNAR FEASTS

The Feast of the New Moon

The first appearance of the new moon was hailed with great acclaim because it marked the end of the period of uncertainty occasioned by the disappearance of the moon. When the crescent first appeared to the ancients, it seemed that the moon had issued victoriously from a deadly combat with some unseen devouring monster. Naturally the day was an occasion of great rejoicing and glad festivities. In this connection it is significant that the Hebrew word *hallel*, meaning "to begin a festal celebration," is cognate with the Arabic word *hilāl*, meaning "new moon," which is probably ancient. The feast of the new moon, whose importance is attested by this joy on the first appearance of the crescent, probably originally came, according to calculation, on the day when the moon was dark, and probably was characterized, like the sabbath, because of like natures as will soon be seen, by solemn ceremonies²³ calculated to appease the gods and to secure their amicable disposition toward men. Analogous to this sacred day in Babylonia²⁴ is the ancient Hebrew feast of the New Moon which in Saul's time was evidently observed by every clan and family from the king's palace

¹⁷ Ex. 34:18 ff.

¹⁸ Judg. 11:40.

¹⁹ Gen. 31:19.

²⁰ 2 Sam. 13:23, 24.

²¹ 1 Sam. 25:7.

²² Gen. 38:13.

²³ Cp. Lev. 23:24.

²⁴ Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, p. 115.

to the humblest peasant home.²⁵ This season was celebrated by having a family gathering in which every member was required to be present, unless compelled to be absent through ceremonial uncleanness, and by the members partaking of a sacramental, or sacrificial meal. The court feast in this instance appears to have lasted two days—the second allowing for those members of the household to participate who were ceremonially unfit the first day. Besides being a family feast and being celebrated at home, the feast of the new moon appears to have been generally observed also in common with the sabbath feast at the sanctuary. Thus, it was the day of all days when people stopped their daily work and resorted on beast and on foot to the sanctuaries to participate in the glad festivities.²⁶ The sanctuaries were open to all²⁷ for prayer²⁸ and worship.²⁹ The day of the new moon was, in late times if not early, heralded by the blast of trumpets.³⁰ The fact that the early writers³¹ of the Pentateuch make no reference to this feast seems to indicate that it was associated with many repulsive rites.

The Sabbath-Feast

The periods of monthly transition which were thought to be particularly imbued with significance were called *shabbatum*, which took its name from the fifteenth day of the month when the moon was full; and were well known as "evil days," or "unlucky days," because on them the king was prohibited from wearing a festal garment, from riding in his chariot, from going on an expedition, and from eating fire-cooked food. These prohibitions were of the nature of taboos which rested upon secular acts, and were imposed upon the king lest he, as the representative of the people, should offend the gods and thus endanger the welfare of the community by an indiscriminate use of the sacred element fire and by making an unusual display of power and festivity.³²

²⁵ 1 Sam. 20:5, 6, 12, 18, 24, 26, 29.

²⁶ 2 K. 4:23; Hos. 2:13 (11); Am. 8:5.

²⁷ Ezek. 46:1; cp. Is. 1:12.

²⁸ Cp. Is. 1:15.

²⁹ 66:23.

³⁰ Num. 10:10; Ps. 81:4 (3).

³¹ J, E, D.

³² From Jastrow's *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, pp. 34 ff.

These Babylonian customs have a profound significance for determining the nature and the character of the religious monthly calendar for the Palestinian Amorites. Accordingly we find that in the Hebrew *sabbath* is the name and relic of the old Babylonian "day of rest of the heart." The character of the sabbath with its attendant observances presents many striking parallels to the Babylonian *shabbatum*. As hinted above, it was, in early Hebrew times, closely associated with the feast of the new moon, since it is often mentioned with it, and since it exhibits the same ceremonial features. Like the Babylonian *shabbatum* prohibitions were placed upon certain secular acts being performed on the sabbath, as kindling a fire,³³ eating fire-cooked food,³⁴ doing ordinary work,³⁵ and leaving the house.³⁶ These prohibitions undoubtedly had their origin in taboos, which, in Babylonia, rested on secular pursuits during the "evil days," or the four days in the month when the moon was entering upon its respective phases. A reference to a "good day" in 1 Samuel 25:8 is significant as implying the existence of its counterpart, 'an "evil day." The sabbath, moreover, came every seventh day, and, so far as we know from brief references in the Old Testament, coincided with the four phases of the moon which occurred respectively on the first,³⁷ eighth,³⁸ fifteenth,³⁹ and twenty-second.⁴⁰ The occasion was observed by people refraining from their secular work and by devotees mak-

³³ Ex. 35:3.

³⁴ 16:23.

³⁵ 20:8-10; 23:12; 34:21.

³⁶ 16:29.

³⁷ In the first (Ethaniam = seventh, or Tishri) month: a "solemn rest," a "holy convocation," and "no servile work," Lev. 23:24, 25; Num. 29:1.

³⁸ In the ninth (= third or Sivan) month: the "seventh sabbath" after the Passover. Lev. 23:15, 16.

³⁹ In the first (Ethaniam) month: a "holy convocation," "no servile work," Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:12; a "solemn rest," Lev. 23:39. In the seventh (Abib = first or Nisan) month: a "holy convocation," "no servile work," Lev. 23:7; Num. 28:17; a "sabbath," Lev. 23:11, 15.

⁴⁰ In the first (Ethaniam = seventh, or Tishri) month: a "holy convocation," a "solemn assembly," "no servile work," a "solemn rest," Lev. 23:36, 39; Num. 29:35.

ing journeys to shrines⁴¹ in order to pray⁴² and to offer burnt-offerings.⁴³

The utilitarian element of rest in the Hebrew sabbath was a later conception, which had nothing to do with the original significance of the day. When and how this new departure came about we have no means of determining. At any rate we may venture the assertion that it represents an early reaction of ethical religion against the immoral practices which were probably connected with the old feast.⁴⁴ The fact that, with the ascendancy of monotheism, the worship of the new moon waned until the Hebrew sabbath, originally the offspring of the lunar cult, entirely supplanted the feast of the new moon, points to the same conclusion.

Accordingly, therefore, we may conclude from Babylonian and Hebrew analogies that the Amorites of Palestine had a *shabbatum*, or sabbath, which was observed in substantially the same manner in which we find it observed by the early Hebrews.

⁴¹ 2 K. 4:23; Hos. 2:13 (11).

⁴² Cp. Is. 1:15; 66:23.

⁴³ 1 Chr. 23:31; 2 Chr. 2:3 (4); 8:13; 31:3.

⁴⁴ Is. 1:13-15.

CHAPTER XI

PANTHEON: NATURE-GODS

No philosophy has ever succeeded in grouping into two distinct and fixed categories that large body of phenomena often styled natural and supernatural; for, with every new discovery of the laws operating behind the manifestations of nature, there has had to be a revision of the old grouping in the direction of enlarging the field of the natural. In primitive times the natural and the supernatural were one and the same, and enlisted the awe of a people who attributed these mysterious forces of nature to divine causes. The existence of these unseen but potent agencies could not be doubted or lightly disregarded; for man's very existence and welfare hung suspended on a slender cord which the gods, if offended, might sever at any time. Along the whole way of his life man was confronted at every turn with these supernatural powers which demanded recognition and homage.

The designation for these gods were as numerous and varied as were their modes of manifestation to man and their relationship with him.

'El, which is perhaps derived from an old root meaning "power,"¹ was the general Semitic title for deity, and was, therefore, applicable to the *ba'als*, or gods of nature, and to all departmental deities. The frequent occurrence of the element 'el in West Semitic proper names of the First Dynasty of Babylon,² as well as in proper names in Palestine from 1500 B. C. onward, justifies us in assigning the use of this title to this early period. Old Palestinian place-names mentioned in the lists

¹ 'āl, "be strong"; cp. Heb. 'el, "god."

² *ili* in *Ili-samī'a*, *Ili-mabī*, *Ili-mahī*, Ranke, p. 101; *ilu* in *Ishme-ilu*, p. 110; *Yadah-ilu*, p. 113, &c.; *Ilu-malik*, p. 104; *Abi-ilu*, p. 59; *Yabnik-ilu*, *Yadah-ilu*, *Yadih-ilu*, *Yahbar-ilu*, *Yahwi-ilu*, "Yahwi is god," *Yahzar-ilu*, *Yakub-ilu* "Yakub is god," p. 113; *Samsu-iluna* "the sun is our god," p. 140. Many in Cassite period, Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 153 ff.

of Thutmose III³ and in the records of Rameses III⁴ and others; and personal names in the Amarna correspondence⁵ and Egyptian records⁶ reveal the divine element 'el. Furthermore, Old Testament place-names⁷ containing the element were undoubtedly Canaanite, and, as survivals, confirm the earlier use. Personal 'el-names do not furnish us sure evidence at this point since the tendency developed among the Hebrews to use 'el in a monarchical and monotheistic sense. However, as the native religion influenced to a considerable extent the incoming Hebrews, one may not be far out of the way in supposing that some personal names,⁸ at least, may suggest the general idea of deity as applicable to any of the many local gods of the land.

³ *Ha-r'-(e)-ra* = *Har'-el* "hill of god," Thutmose III's list, No. 81, *MVG.* 1907, p. 24; *Y(a)-sha-p'-(e)-ra* = Yoseph-el or Yesheb-el "god dwells," Thutmose III's list, No. 78, *MVG.* 1907, p. 16; *Y(a)-'-(q)(e)-b'-'-a-ra* = Yakob-el, "god supplants," Thutmose III's list, No. 102, *MVG.* 1907, p. 27; *Ma-sha'-'-(e)ra* = Mishal which is probably for *Mish-el*, Thutmose III's list, No. 39, *MVG.* 1907, p. 16; *R'-wy'-'r'* = Levi-el, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 131.

⁴ *Thek-el*, *T'-k'-'r'*, place-name, iv. § 565; *D'-'d-p-l-t-rw* = *ZDPT'-'L*, place-name, iv. § 712; *Sa-ba-'ā-ru* = Sab'-el, place-name, Müller, p. 134; *D-ga-ira-'ā-ira* = Degel-el, "ensign of god," Müller, p. 174.

⁵ *Ili-milku*, "My god is king," Knudtzon 151:45; 286:36; *Milk-ili*, No. 267:4, &c.; *Yabni-ilu*, "he who builds is god," 328:4; *Batti-ilu*, 170:3, &c.; *Shabi-ilu*, 62:26; *Ili-ra(bēh)* 139:2, &c.; *Milk-ilim*, 289:11, &c.; *Milk-ilu*, 249:6, &c.

⁶ *B'-dy-r'* = Bed-el, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 565; *M-k'-m-rw* = *Makam-el*, *ibid.*, § 566; *W'-r'-k'-ty-r'* = Berket-el, § 574; *'(E)-ry-m* = 'El-ram, § 455; *Bk-wr-n-r'* = Bekur-el, § 555; *R'-wy'-'r'* = Levi-el, § 131.

⁷ *'El-'ale(')*, Num. 32:3, 37; Is. 15:4, &c.; *'El-ḳosh*, Nah. 1:1; *'El-teke(')*, Josh. 19:44; 21:23; *'El-tekōn*, Josh. 15:59; *'El-tōlād*, Josh. 15:30; 19:4; *'Arṣ'-el*, Is. 29:1, 2, 7; *Beth'arb'-el*, Hos. 10:14; *Ḳabṣe'-el*, Josh. 15:21; 2 Sam. 23:20; *Migdal'-el*, "tower of god," Josh. 19:38; *Ne'ir'-el*, Josh. 19:27; *Peni'-el*, Gen. 32:30; *Yabne'-el*, "he who builds is god," Josh. 15:11; *Yōḳthe'-el*, Josh. 15:38; *Yirpe'-el*, Josh. 18:27; *Yiphthah'-el*, "he who opens is god," Josh. 19:14, 27; *Yizre'e-(')*, "he who sows is god," Josh. 19:18.

⁸ *Abi'-el*, 1 Sam. 9:1; 14:51; *Adri'-el*, 1 Sam. 18:19; *'Al-mōdad*, Gen. 10:26; *Ammi'-el*, 2 Sam. 9:4, &c.; *Asah'-el*, 2 Sam. 2:18; *'Othni'-el*, Josh. 15:17, &c.; *'Eli'-ab*, Num. 16:1; Deut. 11:6; *'Eli'-am*, 2 Sam. 11:3; *'Eli-melek*, Ruth 1:2, 3; *'Eli-ezer*, Gen. 15:2; *'Eli-phelet*, 2 Sam. 5:16, &c.; *'El-Hanan*, 2 Sam. 21:19, &c.; *'Eli-shūa'*, 2 Sam. 5:15; *'El-yada'*, 2 Sam. 5:16, &c.; *'El-yahba'*, 2 Sam. 23:32, &c.; *Hi'-el*, 1 K. 16:34; *Yō'-el*, 1 Sam. 8:2; *Palṭi'-el*, 2 Sam. 3:15; *Shemū'-el*, 1 Sam. 1:20, &c.; *Yeheske'-el*, 1 Chr. 24:16, &c.

The generic sense of the title is obvious in cases where it is used along with a specifying noun or adjective, as "I am the 'el, the God of thy father."⁹ Moreover, at the different Canaanite sanctuaries the 'els were variously designated as 'El-bēth-'el of Beth-el,¹⁰ 'El-'elōhīm of Shechem,¹¹ 'El-'elyōn of Salem,¹² 'El-shadday¹³ and 'El-'ōlam¹⁴ of Beer-sheba. Many old tribal names which contain 'el as a final element were undoubtedly those of gods whom each of the respective tribes worshipped. The first element of each name, then, specifies which 'el is intended, for instance, *Methūsha-'el*, *Mehūya-'el*,¹⁵ *Yisra-'el*,¹⁶ *Yerahme-'el*,¹⁷ *Yishma-'el*.¹⁸

This general title for deity appears to have given a designation for the sacred oak, or terebinth, 'elah, in which an 'el was invariably thought to dwell.¹⁹

Finally it was probably through the amalgamation of many local 'els that the conception of the one god 'Elōhīm with its plural form gradually came into use.

The gods of the early Semites had to do with three different spheres of activity according to which we shall fittingly group them; namely, gods who presided over the phenomena of nature, mental states, and events of life.²⁰

1. **Gods of Nature** were conceived of as those powers which inhabited all the various physical objects which in any way exhibited mysterious phenomena. These forms were usually nameless and were designated by the title *ba'al*, "lord," or *ba'alat*, "mistress," which had reference, as the meaning shows, to the particular things in which one or the other dwelt. Thus there were *ba'als* of the sky, such as of the "north," the "sun," the "moon," the "light," and of the "darkness";

⁹ Gen. 46:3.

¹⁰ 35:7.

¹¹ 33:20.

¹² 14:18-20, 22.

¹³ 17:1.

¹⁴ 21:33.

¹⁵ 4:18.

¹⁶ 32:28, &c.

¹⁷ 1 Chr. 2:9, &c.

¹⁸ Gen. 16:11, &c.

¹⁹ See p. 21.

²⁰ For this classification the writer is indebted to Professor Lewis B. Paton. See *The Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 3 ff.

ba'als of atmospheric phenomena, such as of the "storm," the "heat," the "cold," and of the "dew"; and *ba'als* of a large number of physical objects, such as of mountains which often resounded with the crash of thunder and trembled with the earthquake, of springs which bubbled with life-giving water, of rivers which flowed in majesty, of trees which put forth leaves annually that murmured in the breezes, of caves which were pregnant with mystery, of animals which exhibited peculiar signs of life, and of fields and of hillsides which were fertile with the powers of productivity.

The phenomena which these physical objects exhibited thus became to worshippers the vehicles of divine communication. They were consulted by inquirers seeking some definite expression of the divine will; but if that expression were not forthcoming on the occasion desired, recourse was had to that large body of sacred rites and religious ceremonies which have accumulated with the development of every religion. One feels safe in assuming, because of the coincidence of Amorite-Babylonian customs and survivals appearing in the next period, that it was at some dwelling-place of the *ba'al*, appropriate for the various ends in view, and in the presence of some deity, that covenants were established between contracting parties, diviners divined, priests offered sacrifice, and worshippers often went to sexual excess—all for the sake of securing divine approval of the ends about which these devotees were concerned.

The sacred objects of the *ba'al*-shrines were thought to be surcharged with a subtle influence which might mean death to any one coming in contact with them, unless under certain conditions. Accordingly such objects were confined within the holy space of the shrine so as not to endanger the lives of men. This idea of separateness or holiness is expressed in the ancient Semitic root *k-d-sh*, meaning "sacred," and in the Hebrew *kādōsh*, "holy," which originally meant "set apart," or "taboo." Thus only under the most favorable conditions, perhaps through some rite of lustration, was it safe for one to draw near and touch the sacred object. The rites of lustration, as we have seen, consisted of fasting, discarding the garments and shoes, and possibly donning a sacred garb, such as a loin cloth, lest the worshipper should carry anything common or offensive into the presence of the deity. Then, as one left the shrine, a similar

process had to be gone through with in order to get rid of the "holiness," or taboo, that was on him. So long as criminals were within the sacred precincts of the shrine they were safe from the hand of the avenger.²¹

Ba'al, as a general appellation for a god of nature, must have had its early inception in Palestine as far back as the first Semitic period in order to account for the prevalence of proper names compounded with the element *ba'al* belonging to the early part of the next period.²² *Bēl*, the name of a god of Nippur, existing as an element in many personal names of the Amorite period in Babylonia,²³ had the sense of "lord" as did *ba'al* in Canaan; yet there could hardly have been any historical connection between them.

The *ba'als*, in their relations with holy springs, trees, mountains, and sky, will be more fully discussed in the next period.²⁴ Of the *ba'als* whose names were particularly known at this time we have the following:

Addu, or Adad, or Hadad, is one of the oldest known gods of Canaan, his influence having extended at an early date to Babylon,²⁵ where he found acceptance as a weather-god under the special West Semitic ideographic title *MAR-TU*. This is to be read *Amurru*, indicating the Westland as his origin. *MAR-TU*, at the same time, meant *abūbu*, the "flood."²⁶ He bore another important title, *KUR-GAL*, i. e., "great mountain." This appellation possibly refers to his ancient proprietorship over Mount Lebanon where the Babylonians may first have come in contact with him. Pointing to this is the fact that the Babylonian rulers often sent to Lebanon, in Martu, for the much-prized cedar for building purposes. As proprietor of Lebanon, Adad would have to be reckoned with to allow the much-coveted product to be taken. Both the above ideographic titles appear in Aramaic indorsements on Babylonian documents of the Per-

²¹ Num. 35:6, 11, 15; 1 K. 1:51.

²² Chap. XXV.

²³ See list by Ranke, pp. 63 ff. A common element in Neo-Babylonian period. Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 163 ff.

²⁴ Chap. XXV.

²⁵ *Adad*, the Westland name, *KAT.*², pp. 443, 444.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 447, 448.

sian period and are rendered by 'WR, i. e., *Amurru*.²⁷ *Mer* and *Bur* are also titles applied to this deity.²⁸ His name, however, occurs phonetically written *A-da-ad* and *Ad-du* in the lists of the gods. In the curse pronounced upon the transgressor at the close of the Hammurabi code of laws, Adad is invoked in terms which reveal his true character: "May Adad, lord of abundance, regent of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the rain from heaven and the water-floods from the springs; may he bring his land to destruction, through want and hunger; may he break loose furiously over his city and turn his land into the heap left by a storm."²⁹

Probably the most ancient conception of Addu was that of soil-fertility and water-supply, which aspect of his nature survives in the name of a spring,³⁰ and in Hadad, the Aramæan god of water-supply and soil-fertility, who, in union with El, Reshef, Rekub-el, and Shamash, "gave fruitful crops, wheat, garlic, and vineyards."³¹ Embracing as he did these characteristics of a nature-god, Addu's nature coincided in many respects with that of 'Ashtart and of the Canaanite *ba'als* whose cults flourished later.

That manifestation of nature, however, which most clearly revealed the power and authority of Addu was the storm with its accompaniments of thunder and lightning. The transition from the former and more primitive conception of a god of the soil to a god of the storm is probably to be accounted for in one or both of two ways. As god of the soil and *ba'al* of a territory, such as a mountain or hill whose tops were shrouded in time of storm with clouds and resounded with the thunder-roll, he would, in the mind of the people, come to be regarded as having important connection with the storm. Or, since Addu presided over field-fertility or water-supply, it may be that he gradually came to be associated with the storm-cloud which

²⁷ Clay, *Bab. Expl. Univ. Penn.*, viii; x, 7; xiv; *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, i. pp. 301, 304, 311; Clay, *Amurru*, pp. 95 ff.

²⁸ Jastrow, *Die Religion*, i. pp. 146 ff.

²⁹ Transl. by Cook, p. 90.

³⁰ 'En-Rimmōn, Neh. 11:29 = 'Ayin, Josh. 15:32 = 'Ayin-Rimmōn, 1 Chr. 4:32.

³¹ Zenjirli Hadad Insc., ll. 2 ff.; Cooke, pp. 159 ff.; cp. Barton, p. 229.

gave the rain to increase field-fertility and water-supply.³² A Hittite stele, found at Babylon, represents a Hittite deity with horns, probably Teshub, holding the same emblematic hammer in his right hand and bundle of thunderbolts in his left as the artist ascribed to Rammān, the Babylonian Addu.³³ In the Amarna letters Pharaoh is likened unto Addu who reigns with great power "in the sky"³⁴ and "who utters his voice in the sky . . . so that he shakes the whole land with his voice."³⁵ Similarly in Babylonia, though more often as the native Rammān, "the thunderer,"³⁶ Addu, who was probably introduced by the early Amorite settlers, was the weather-god, as is shown by the ideogram *IM*, meaning "wind";³⁷ and was a storm- and thunder-god, as is shown by the curse at the conclusion of the Hammurabi code where Addu brings rain or withholds it, sends floods or drouths, and gives prosperity or thorns.³⁸ Adad was worshipped with Shamash probably because the lightning in mythology had a close connection with the powers of the sun.³⁹ An early Assyrian royal name combines the two gods.⁴⁰ This aspect of Addu as storm-god was certainly incorporated into the conception of Yahweh; for the God of the Hebrews is, in the earliest accounts, represented as in very close connection with the cloud, the thunder, and the lightning.⁴¹ On two occasions, Yahweh, in answer to Samuel's prayer, "thundered with a great voice . . . upon the Philistines and discomfited them."⁴²

Another distinct aspect of Addu, growing undoubtedly out of the destructive powers of the thunderbolt, was that of war-god. While the name Addu, or Adad, does not appear on the Egyptian monuments, yet one may conclude from the characteristics of the *Ba'al* there mentioned and of the Hyksos

³² Barton, p. 229.

³³ *KAT*, p. 449.

³⁴ Knudtzon, 149:4 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 147:5 ff.

³⁶ See Chap. XV.

³⁷ Barton, p. 225.

³⁸ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 150.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁴⁰ *Shamash-Adad*, Eponym for year 823 B. C.

⁴¹ Ex. 19:16 ff., &c.

⁴² 1 Sam. 7:10; 12:17, 18; cp. Is. 29:6; Ezek. 13:13.

Sutekh, that the three were the same deity of storm and of war. Possibly Adad is intended in the phrase "lord of gods" on a tablet found at Taanaeh.⁴³ The Egyptian chroniclers in describing the mighty valor of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties in battle with Asiatics do so by means of comparisons with Ba'al, the war-god, who corresponds well with the nature of Addu. *Ba'al* is "great in might,"⁴⁴ conscious of his might,⁴⁵ valiant in strength,"⁴⁶ "irresistible, mighty-hearted,"⁴⁷ has "(straight) form,"⁴⁸ and animated limbs,⁴⁹ is "far-reaching in courage,"⁵⁰ "consumes with flame the enemy,"⁵¹ is "wroth in heaven,"⁵² "in the hour (of manifestation),"⁵³ "roars in heaven,"⁵⁴ "traverses the mountains,"⁵⁵ and spreads terror "in the countries,"⁵⁶ where Bedouin fear and prostrate themselves in fearful worship.⁵⁷

This *Ba'al* was the Canaanite title for the Hyksos god Sutekh who was identified with the Egyptian god **Set** who wandered out of Egypt and returned with the Hyksos.⁵⁸ By the Hyksos Sutekh was made the chief deity of their capital city on the eastern delta.⁵⁹ Afterwards he became the patron deity of the royal city of Ramses II, his name appearing not infrequently on votive tablets of that time⁶⁰ and occurring once in parallelism with Ba'al in a simile expressing "great strength."⁶¹

The name Addu, or Adad, appears as an element in Canaanite

⁴³ Thus Cook, in *Expositor*, vol. x (1910), p. 124.

⁴⁴ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 75.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. § 72.

⁴⁶ §§ 46, 72.

⁴⁷ iii. § 86.

⁴⁸ iv. § 62.

⁴⁹ iii. § 338.

⁵⁰ iv. § 75.

⁵¹ iv. § 49.

⁵² iv. § 96; cp. iv. § 80.

⁵³ iii. §§ 312, 326; iv. § 106.

⁵⁴ iv. § 104.

⁵⁵ iii. § 122.

⁵⁶ iii. §§ 122, 144.

⁵⁷ iv. § 246.

⁵⁸ Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 222, 460; Erman, A., *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 19, 74; Müller, p. 309.

⁵⁹ Erman, *ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶⁰ Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460.

⁶¹ Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 338.

and Syrian personal names mentioned in the Amarna letters,⁶² in one name found on a tablet at Taanach,⁶³ and in Assyrian,⁶⁴ Kassite,⁶⁵ Aramæan,⁶⁶ Arabian,⁶⁷ and Old Testament personal names;⁶⁸ while that of Hadad appears in an ancient Semitic personal name,⁶⁹ in Canaanite,⁷⁰ Old Testament,⁷¹ Aramaic,⁷² and Hebrew⁷³ personal names and in the compound divine name *Hadad-Rimmon*.⁷⁴

Shemesh, or Shamash. The deification of the sun must have had its origin in primitive Semitic conditions, for Shamash presided over those phenomena of nature which brought him into close connection with Adad,⁷⁵ the storm-god, and with 'Ash-tart, the goddess of fecundity. The Semitic invaders of Babylonia, some of whose names bore the name of this god,⁷⁶ gave the Semitic name and coloring to the great Shamash-cult of Larsa and Sippar.⁷⁷ His worship under Hammurabi was popular; for in the great Code he is called "the great judge of heaven and earth who maintains upright all living beings, the lord of vital energy." He helps the good and punishes the evil through his righteous law, solves doubts and gives oracles

⁶² *Adda-dani*, Knudtzon 292:3, &c.; *Adda-Ya*, *Ada-Ya*, 254:37; 287:47, 49; 289:32; *Abd-Addi*, 123:51; *Kidin-Addi*, 12:24; *Iddin-Addu*, 123:37; *Rib-Addi*, 68-71, &c.; *Shama-Adda*, 49:2; 225:3; *Shum-Adda*, 8:3, &c.; *Yapa-Addu*, *Yappah-Addu*, *Yapah-Addu*, 83:26; 85:29, 42; 97:2; 98:2; 103:19; 105:31, &c.; *Yaptih-Addu*, 288:45; *Addu-mi*, 170:17.

⁶³ *Guli-Addi*, Sellin, p. 113.

⁶⁴ *Addu-nirari*, Knudtzon 51:2; *Shamsh-Adad*, eponym for 823 B. C.; *Adad-nirari*, eponym for 810 B. C.; *Adad-mushammir*, eponym for 789 B. C.; *Adad-uballit*, eponym for 786 B. C., &c.; *'Adram-melek*, 2 K. 19:37; god of Sepharvaim, 2 K. 17:31, possibly for *'Adad-melek*.

⁶⁵ Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 47 ff.; 150.

⁶⁶ *Giri-dadi*, *Dadi-ilu*, *KAT*.³, p. 444.

⁶⁷ *Bir-Dadda*, *KAT*.³, p. 443.

⁶⁸ *'Adad*, 1 K. 11:17 (see Hebrew) = *Hadad*, 11:14, &c.

⁶⁹ *Rish-Hadad* (2470-2440 B. C.), a prince captured by Naram-sin, Meyer, § 401.

⁷⁰ *Rib-Hadda*, Knudtzon 68:1, &c.; *Shumu-Hadi*, 97:1; *Yapti-Hada*, 335:9; *Hadad-ezer*, 2 Sam. 8:3, &c.; *Ben Hadad*, 1 K. 15:18, &c.

⁷¹ *Hadad*, Gen. 36:35, &c., probably for *Henadad*, Ezr. 3:9.

⁷² *HDD-ZR*, Ldzb., *HNE*., p. 258; *'BD-HDD*, Ldzb., *HNE*., p. 333.

⁷³ *Abd-Hadad*, a potter's name, Macalister, *BSL*., p. 159.

⁷⁴ Zech. 12:11, probably for *Hadad-Rimmonah*; ep. *ha-ha-Remōnāh*, Am. 4:3.

⁷⁵ Knudtzon 154:6; ep. *Shamash-Adad*, eponym for 823 B. C.

⁷⁶ *Samsu(t)-d(t)itana*, *Samsu-iluna*, "sun is our god," Ranke, p. 140.

⁷⁷ *KAT*.³, p. 367.

to the diviners.⁷⁸ His cult spread also to Palestine where in the Amarna period it was recognized as native and well-established. Shamash appears with Ishtar as crowning marriage with pleasure and joy,⁷⁹ and is mentioned with the *ba'alat* of Gubla,⁸⁰ and is likened to Adad dwelling in the sky⁸¹ and wielding the mighty thunderbolt.⁸² Shamash had the power to quicken by his benevolent rays and to give "rest" (prosperity) to the whole land.⁸³ The two old Palestinian place-names, *Shemesh-Edom*⁸⁴ and *Shamshan*,⁸⁵ preserve the name of this god.

Survivals of sun-worship appear in the Old Testament. The sun, standing still⁸⁶ and causing the shadow on the dial to retrograde,⁸⁷ reflects the divine prerogative of executing judgment and giving oracles. The story of Samson,⁸⁸ some think, points back to an ancient sun-myth. The keeping of horses and chariots sacred to the sun at the temple-gate,⁸⁹ the fiery chariot in Elijah's translation,⁹⁰ the worship of the rising sun in the time of Manasseh⁹¹ and of Ezekiel⁹² and many poetic personifications⁹³ may, in the light of the foregoing, be cited as evidence of the surviving influence of the solar cult of the early years. Moreover, Hebrew,⁹⁴ Phoenician,⁹⁵ Neo-Punie,⁹⁶ Aramaic,⁹⁷ Naba-

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁷⁹ Knudtzon, 21:15.

⁸⁰ Knudtzon, 116:65.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 49:14.

⁸² 147:5 ff.

⁸³ 105:11; 147:52; 149:21.

⁸⁴ *Sh'-my-sh'-y-t'-my* in North Galilee, No. 51, Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 783n.

⁸⁵ *Shamshan*, Müller, p. 166, perhaps = *Beth-Shemesh*, Josh. 15:10. Cp. *Shimshōn* who lived in the same territory, Judg. 13:24, &c.

⁸⁶ Josh. 10:12, 13.

⁸⁷ 2 K. 20:11; Is. 38:8.

⁸⁸ Judg. 13-16; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, ii. p. 172.

⁸⁹ 2 K. 23:11.

⁹⁰ 2 K. 2:11, 12.

⁹¹ 2 K. 23:5; Deut. 17:3.

⁹² 8:16.

⁹³ Ps. 84:12 (11); 121:6; Is. 49:10.

⁹⁴ *Shimshōn*, Judg. 13:24; *Shamsheray*, 1 Chr. 8:26; *Shimshay*, Ezr. 4:8.

⁹⁵ 'DN-*ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 209; 'BD-*ShMSh*, p. 335; 'DN-*ShMSh*, Ldzb., *Eph.*, i. p. 352.

⁹⁶ MKM-*ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 316.

⁹⁷ KLZYR-*ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296; *ShMSh*-*DRY*, p. 379; *ShMsh-NWRY*, Ldzb., *Eph.*, vol. ii. p. 224.

taean,⁹⁸ and Palmyrene⁹⁹ personal names and Old Testament nomenclature inherited from the former period, namely, '*Ir-Shemesh*,¹⁰⁰ "city of Shemesh," '*En-Shemesh*,¹⁰¹ "spring of Shemesh," '*Beth-Shemesh*,¹⁰² "house of Shemesh," '*Timnath-Heres*,¹⁰³ "territory of (the) sun," '*Har-Heres*,¹⁰⁴ "mount of (the) sun," carry significant evidence of the lingering influence of the Shamash-cult.

Sin. The Semites brought the worship of the moon-god Sin into Babylonia at an early date; for, according to Ranke in his study of personal names, the use of this name as an affix and the frequency with which it occurs as an element in proper names, especially from the Semitic Sippar, point to a Semitic origin of this cult.¹⁰⁵ Ur was the first center, and thence the cult spread and became prominent.¹⁰⁶

Being thus identified with the great luminary of the night, Sin easily came to be regarded, at least in Babylonia, as the father of the gods. He ruled over the days, the months, and the years, thus bearing a vital relation to the welfare of man who depended on him for the continuity of the calendar and mundane prosperity. The monthly disappearance of the moon always injected uncertainty into men's minds, which never could rest at ease until the new moon crescent made its appearance in the western sky. Accordingly the first appearance of the moon-crescent was hailed with great jubilation, for it meant that the supposed monster dragon, with whom Sin had to struggle every month, was now overcome.¹⁰⁷

Any infraction of a state-made, and therefore a divinely-

⁹⁸ *ShM-ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 379.

⁹⁹ *ShMSh-GERM*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 379; *BR-ShMSh*, p. 246; *TYM-ShMSh*, Ldzb., *Eph.*, ii. p. 425.

¹⁰⁰ Josh. 19:41.

¹⁰¹ Josh. 15:7; 18:17.

¹⁰² Josh. 15:10.

¹⁰³ *Heres* = "sun," Judg. 2:9.

¹⁰⁴ Judg. 1:35.

¹⁰⁵ Ranke, p. 35; Hommel thinks it came from the Westland, *Aufs und Abh.*, p. 158.

¹⁰⁶ *KAT.*³, p. 361.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 362; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, i. p. 110.

sanctioned, law, as for instance that connected with the ownership of land, incurred the punitive wrath of Sin who inflicted leprosy upon the transgressor, or clothed his body with an eruption which ostracised him from the haunts of men.¹⁰⁸ In one instance this god is referred to as the causer of chills and fever.¹⁰⁹

The cult spread westward to Haran, where, in the eighth century B. C., a great sanctuary existed with Sin at the center of a pantheon in which Sharratu, or Ningal, was wife; Malkatu, or Ishtar, was daughter; and Nusku was son.¹¹⁰ The inception of this cult at Haran must have been at some time previous to 1400 B. C., when the great Aramæan migration began, for the names of the three tribes of Haran, two of which migrated to Canaan at this time, bore divine names which were peculiar to this lunar pantheon. Thus, *Milkah*¹¹¹ received its name from "Malkatu," the title of Ishtar; *Sarah*,¹¹² from "Sharratu," the title of Ningal; and *Laban*,¹¹³ from *Lebanah*, a Semitic name for moon.

The moon-cult survived in Cyprus through 'Ashtart who was identified with the moon, for at the sanctuary of Kition provisions were donated "to the gods of the new moon."¹¹⁴

In Palestine the name Sin is preserved in the name of a land east of the Euphrates,¹¹⁵ in *Sinay*, the name of a mountain,¹¹⁶ in *Sin*, the name both of a wilderness¹¹⁷ and of a city,¹¹⁸ and in Old Testament personal names.¹¹⁹

Other names for the moon, similarly preserved, show lingering traces of the old reverence for Sin: thus *Yareah* is an ele-

¹⁰⁸ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 151 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *KAT.*³, p. 366.

¹¹⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 363.

¹¹¹ Gen. 11:29, &c.

¹¹² Gen. 17:15, &c.

¹¹³ Gen. 24:29, &c.

¹¹⁴ *CIS.*, i. 86; Cooke, p. 66; cp. Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 46.

¹¹⁵ *Shai-na-r-ka-y*, "the back-land Sin"; *Shai-'no-ra-g-n-na*, "the front-land Sin," Müller, p. 289.

¹¹⁶ Ex. 16:1, &c.

¹¹⁷ Ex. 16:1, &c.

¹¹⁸ Ezek. 30:15, 16.

¹¹⁹ *Shen-'assar*, "Sin protects," 1 Chr. 3:18; *Shin-'ab*, "Sin is father," Gen. 14:2.

ment in early Babylonian¹²⁰ as well as in Old Testament,¹²¹ Phoenician,¹²² and Palmyrene¹²³ personal names, and also survives in the names of two Canaanite cities: viz., *Bit-arḥa*¹²⁴ and *Yerihō*.¹²⁵ *YRH-BWL* is the name of a deity of Palmyra.¹²⁶ *Hodesh*,¹²⁷ "new moon," and *Lebanah*,¹²⁸ (the) "white," another name for moon, appear in Old Testament nomenclature and in Old Testament,¹²⁹ Phoenician,¹³⁰ Punic,¹³¹ and Hebrew,¹³² personal names. *Hilāl*, an old Semitic word for "moon," is preserved not only in a Hebrew proper name¹³³ but eventually came, probably because of the new moon-ritual at the sanctuary, to mean "praise."¹³⁴

It is difficult to determine just how little or much the moon-cult in Canaan was directly influenced by the Babylonian type. At any rate we observe that in Canaan, as in Babylon, the circuits of the moon divided the year into months; and its phases, the months into weeks; making, therefore, the first day of each year, month, and week occasions for great jubilation. In the early Hebrew period each new year's day and new moon's day was celebrated by blasts of trumpets, by royal families and clans keeping holyday by festival, by worshippers making pil-

¹²⁰ *Abī-a* (or *A)rah*, "Ab is (the) moon," Ranke, p. 58; *Abdi-(A)rah*, "servant of (the) moon," p. 58; *Yama(?)-Erah*, "Yah is moon," p. 113; *Sam-Arah*, *Zimri-Erah*, "protection is (the) moon," p. 180; *Sumu-rah*, "Sumu is (the) moon," p. 166.

¹²¹ *'Ah-rah*, 1 Chr. 8:1; *Yarah*, Gen. 10:26; *Yarōah*, 1 Chr. 5:14.

¹²² *'BD-YRH*, "servant of (the) moon," Ldzb., *HNE*, p. 334.

¹²³ *YRH-BWL*, *YRH-Y*, Ldzb., *HNE*, p. 290; *YRH-BWN*, Ldzb., *EPH*. ii. p. 417.

¹²⁴ *Bit-arḥa*, probably for *Bit Yerah*, "house of (the) new moon," Knudtzon, 83:29.

¹²⁵ Josh. 2:1 = *Yerehō*, Deut. 34:1.

¹²⁶ Ldzb. *HNE*, p. 290.

¹²⁷ *Ḥadashah*, Josh. 15:37; *Ḥodshī*, 2 Sam. 24:6.

¹²⁸ *Laban*, Deut. 1:1; *Libnah*, Josh. 10:29, &c.; *Lebanōn* (a mountain), Deut. 3:25; *Lebōnah*, Judg. 21:19.

¹²⁹ *Laban*, Gen. 24:29, &c.; *Lebanah*, Ezr. 2:45; *Libnī*, Ex. 6:17, &c.; *Ḥodesh*, 1 Chr. 8:9.

¹³⁰ *BN-ḤDSH*, Ldzb., *HNE*, p. 238; *M-ḤDSH*, *ibid.*, p. 307.

¹³¹ *BN-ḤDSH*, Ldzb., *HNE*, p. 238.

¹³² *MNHM-(L)BNH*, a potter's name in Judah, Bliss and Macal., p. 120.

¹³³ *Hillel*, Judg. 12:13, 15; cp. Baby. *Elali*, Ranke, p. 199.

¹³⁴ *hillāl*, Judg. 9:27; Lev. 19:24.

grimaces to the sanctuaries for worship, and by fasting.¹³⁵ The earliest literature of the Old Testament makes no mention of a lunar feast, probably because the Sabbath, with its humanitarian conception, came to supplant these festal occasions which undoubtedly were attended with debasing practices.

While Sin in Babylonia was active in inflicting leprosy or scab upon evil-doers, the moon in Canaan, once identified with Sharrabu, the dreaded fever-demon of the Westland,¹³⁶ was thought to smite at night his victims with the fever.¹³⁷

To the stars, as in Babylonia,¹³⁸ may have been attributed divine personalities; but the only suggestion that such was the case is the Old Testament place-name, *Kesil*.¹³⁹ The personification of the stars as "fighting against Sisera,"¹⁴⁰ is not conclusive; while the star-worship which was prevalent in Manasseh's reign¹⁴¹ and which Deuteronomy condemned¹⁴² evidently was a late introduction from Assyria.

Dagon. All scholars generally agree with the probability that the cult of Dagon was not native to Babylonian soil, but was brought in by early Semitic settlers.¹⁴³ The name of the deity appears in the names of two kings of Isin,¹⁴⁴ of two early Assyrians,¹⁴⁵ besides in other personal names mentioned on the Obelisk of Manishtusu,¹⁴⁶ in documents of the first dynasty of Babylon,¹⁴⁷ and in other Babylonian names.¹⁴⁸

¹³⁵ See pp. 58, 60 f.

¹³⁶ *sharab*, "heat," Is. 49:10.

¹³⁷ Is. 49:10; Ps. 121:6.

¹³⁸ *KAT*.³, p. 366.

¹³⁹ "Orion," Josh. 15:30.

¹⁴⁰ Judg. 5:20.

¹⁴¹ 2 K. 21:3; 23:4-6; cp. v. 12.

¹⁴² Deut. 4:19; 17:3.

¹⁴³ Dagōn was god of the Amorites whose worship was brought by them to Babylon and to Palestine. Bezold, in *ZA.*, xxi. (1908) pp. 253 ff.; Meyer, §§ 463 ff.; Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 98, cp. pp. 219 ff.; Clay, *Amurru*, p. 147; Paton, in *HERE*, iv. p. 388; Barton, p. 231; *KAT*.³, p. 358.

¹⁴⁴ *Idin-Dagān*, *Ishmē-Dagān*, Meyer, § 463.

¹⁴⁵ *Ishmē-Dagān*, *Dagān-bēl-nāsir*, *KB.*, i. p. 204; *Bayti-Duquna*, *Bīt-Daganna*, *KB.*, ii. p. 92.

¹⁴⁶ *Gimil-Dagān*, *Iti-Dagān*, *KA-Dagān*, Ranke, p. 198, &c.

¹⁴⁷ *Idin-Dagan*, *Nahum-Dagan*, *Issi(?)*-*Dagan*, *Sumu-Dagan*, *Yazi-Dagan*, *Tūri-Dagan*, *ibid.*, and n. 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Dagān-abī* and *Ibnī-Dagān*, cited by Paton, in *HERE*, iv. p. 386b.

The deity is mentioned by Hammurabi in his Code, who styles himself the "warrior of Dagon his creator."¹⁴⁹ From the facts that, in the same code, Dagon is referred to as native to the Euphrates region, and that he was connected with Bēl the earth-god, it appears that the deity was originally essentially a god of water-supply and of the soil.¹⁵⁰ This conclusion is further strengthened by an old etymology mentioned by Philo Byblius connecting the name with *corn*.¹⁵¹ This nature of Dagon, thus conceived, proves him to be a sort of Semitic Ceres, and, therefore, a close relative of the Canaanite *ba'als* of the next period. In Palestine Dagon first occurs in the name of a native of the land of this early period.¹⁵² Ramses III's annalist copies the town-name *Beth-Dagon* from an earlier list.¹⁵³ This city is to be identified probably with the city of the same name in Judah mentioned in Joshua.¹⁵⁴ Another town of the same name existed in Galilee.¹⁵⁵ In the light of the above data it seems quite improbable, if not impossible, that Dagon was a Philistine god prior to the settlement of this people in Palestine about 1200 B. C. It is to be concluded rather that the Philistines found the cult native to their new land and raised it to national importance. Dagon was the chief deity worshipped at Gaza, where celebrations were wont to be held in his honor;¹⁵⁶ and at Ashdod, where a temple of Dagon existed at one time containing his image.¹⁵⁷

Saphōn, the "north," as an abode for deities, was a favorite conception among the Semites, and came therefore to be deified.¹⁵⁸ *Ṣaphōn*, under the form of *Ba'alat Ṣaphōn*, was a goddess worshipped at Memphis in Canaanite times;¹⁵⁹ but, under the form of *Ba'al-Ṣaphōn*, was worshipped as a god in Syria

¹⁴⁹ iv. 28.

¹⁵⁰ Barton, p. 231.

¹⁵¹ *dagōn*, Paton, in *HERE.*, iv. p. 387.

¹⁵² *Dagan-takala*, Knudtzon, 317:2, 9, 13; 318:4.

¹⁵³ Müller, *Egyptological Research*, 1906, p. 49.

¹⁵⁴ *Beth-Dagōn*, Josh. 15:41; *Bit Daganna*, KB., ii. p. 92.

¹⁵⁵ Josh. 19:27.

¹⁵⁶ Judg. 16:23 ff.

¹⁵⁷ 1 Sam. 5:1-5.

¹⁵⁸ Thus Baethgen, p. 22; Nö., in *ZMG.*, xlii (1888), p. 472; Gray, p. 134; Baudissin, i. p. 278.

¹⁵⁹ Müller, p. 315.

and Palestine, being mentioned in a treaty made between Esarhaddon and the king of Tyre,¹⁶⁰ and likewise surviving in the annals of Tiglath-pileser¹⁶¹ and Sargon¹⁶² as the name of a peak of Lebanon. Also a city on the Red Sea preserves the name.¹⁶³ The simple form, *Šaphōn*, occurs in an Old Testament city east of the Jordan.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, an Assyrian eponym of the time of Ashurbanipal,¹⁶⁵ and Old Testament,¹⁶⁶ Egyptian,¹⁶⁷ Phoenician,¹⁶⁸ and Punic¹⁶⁹ personal names bear the name of this god of the north.

Šarrabu, "heat,"¹⁷⁰ and Birdu, "cold,"¹⁷¹ appearing in the Babylonian list of western deities¹⁷² as designations for the two forms of Nergal,¹⁷³ survive separately each in Old Testament personal names.¹⁷⁴ Birdu may also linger in an old Canaanite place-name¹⁷⁵ and in a Palmyrene personal name.¹⁷⁶ These facts seem to suggest that *heat* and *cold* were deified by the Amorites.

Uru, "light," as a divine name, appears as an element in Semitic names in both East and West. Urra was the god of Cutha,¹⁷⁷ and, as such, occurs in many personal names of the first dynasty of Babylon.¹⁷⁸ The cult of Uru came westward with the early Amorites and even penetrated Egypt, for as

¹⁶⁰ *Ba'al Šapuna*, *KAT.*³, p. 357.

¹⁶¹ *Ba'li-Šapūna*, *KAT.*³, p. 479.

¹⁶² *Ba'il-Šapūna*, *ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ba'al-Šephōn*, Ex. 14:2, 9; Num. 33:7.

¹⁶⁴ Josh. 13:27; Judg. 12:1.

¹⁶⁵ *Gir Šapūnu*, *Giri-Šapūni*, "client of Šaphōn," *KAT.*³, p. 479.

¹⁶⁶ *'Elī-Šaphan*, Num. 3:30; *Šephan-Yah(u)*, Jer. 21:1, &c.; *Šiphyōn*, Gen. 46:16 = *Šephōn*, Num. 26:15; *HWSH'-ŠPN*, a potter's name, Bliss and Macal. p. 119; *ŠPN-YHW*, on a Hebrew coin, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 359.

¹⁶⁷ *Šaphnath-pa'neah*, name given to Joseph, Gen. 41:45.

¹⁶⁸ *BD-ŠPN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 234; *'BD-SPN*, *ibid.*, 335.

¹⁶⁹ *ŠPN-B'L*, *ibid.*, p. 359; *ŠPN-YŠDK*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, vol. i. p. 359.

¹⁷⁰ Heb. *šarab*, "burning heat."

¹⁷¹ Heb. *barad*, "hail."

¹⁷² *KAT.*³, p. 415.

¹⁷³ See Nergal, Chap. XV.

¹⁷⁴ *Šhereb-Yah*, Ezr. 8:18, &c.; *Bered*, 1 Chr. 7:20.

¹⁷⁵ *Bered*, Gen. 16:14.

¹⁷⁶ *B'L-BRD*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 236.

¹⁷⁷ Clay, *Amurru*, pp. 109 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *ŪRRA-bani*, *ŪRRA-erishnu*, *ŪRRA-gamil*, *ŪRRA-gasheir(?)*, Ranke, p. 172.

early as the 4th dynasty there is found the beginning of the solar cult in Egypt. This was a foreign cult as may be inferred from the probable derivations of *R'a*, the Egyptian sun-god, from the Semitic '*Or*, "light," and from the fact that sun-worship was not known among the neolithic Egyptians.¹⁷⁹ In the West Uru found expression in *Uru-salim*,¹⁸⁰ a city of the Amarna period; in *Uru-milki*, the king of Gebal mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib;¹⁸¹ and in Old Testament¹⁸² and Phoenician¹⁸³ personal names. Yahweh was Israel's *UR*.¹⁸⁴

Salem, "darkness,"¹⁸⁵ giving an air of mystery to the primitive mind, would naturally be deified. Such a deity occurs in Assyrian names of the time of Sargon,¹⁸⁶ in the Amarna place-name, *Buru-šilim*,¹⁸⁷ in the personal name *Šalmu*,¹⁸⁸ in the names of a mountain¹⁸⁹ and of a town,¹⁹⁰ and in two Old Testament personal names.¹⁹¹

Tal, "dew," another natural phenomenon,¹⁹² was deified, since it appears as an element in Babylonian names¹⁹³ and in two Old Testament personal names.¹⁹⁴

¹⁷⁹ Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, London (1913), pp. 85 ff.

¹⁸⁰ Knudtzon, 289:14, &c.

¹⁸¹ *KB.*, ii. p. 91.

¹⁸² '*Ūr*, 1 Chr. 11:35; '*Ūrī*, probably for '*Ūrī-Yāh*, Ex. 31:2, &c.; '*Ūrī-el*, 1 Chr. 6:9 (24), &c.; '*Ūrī-Yah*, 2 Sam. 11:3, &c.; '*Ūrī-Yahū*, Jer. 26:20; *Shedē-Ūr*, Num. 1:5, &c.

¹⁸³ *BL-ŪR*, '*R-MLK*, Cooke, pp. 18, 20.

¹⁸⁴ Ps. 27:1; Is. 2:5; 10:17; 60:19, 20; Mic. 7:8.

¹⁸⁵ Heb. *šcl*, Assy. *šalāmu*.

¹⁸⁶ *Šalmu-aḫē*, *Šalmu-sharikbi*, *KAT.*³, p. 476.

¹⁸⁷ Knudtzon, 137:64, 85.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 7:73, 80.

¹⁸⁹ *Har Šalmōn*, Judg. 9:48.

¹⁹⁰ *Šalmōnah*, Num. 33:41, 42.

¹⁹¹ *Šalmōn*, 2 Sam. 23:28; *Šalmunna'*, Judg. 8:5, &c.

¹⁹² Gen. 27:28; Ps. 133:3.

¹⁹³ '*tali*' in *Tali-ibni*(?), Ranke, p. 218.

¹⁹⁴ '*Abi-Tal*, 2 Sam. 3:4, &c. *Ḥammū-Tal*, 2 K. 23:31.

CHAPTER XII

PANTHEON: GODS OF THE INNER CONSCIOUSNESS

As the *ba'als* were thought to enter into and dwell in certain natural objects and to reveal themselves to men through the natural phenomena attending these respective objects, so gods were also thought to enter at times into men and reveal themselves through the various human emotions. Thus the emotions of anger, fear, joy, love, and peace, which came at different times to men in their various experiences, were deified. The activity of the emotional gods, such as anger, strength, and joy, could, for special manifestations, be enhanced by participation in certain rites or even by sleeping. Thus, the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood of some holy animal, or the eating of herbs, or of the fruit and leaves of a certain sacred tree, were old customs which undoubtedly betray the intention of the participant to secure or to invite that emotion, or that deity of consciousness, which a certain sacred food was thought to awaken or to produce. On the eve of battle, warriors, by eating the sacrifice and drinking the blood¹ of some strong animal, would seek to be possessed by the god of strength or of anger. Similarly dream-states, produced by an indwelling deity, were sought and were eagerly interpreted with ominous significance. Probably sleeping near holy places especially produced states in which the deity revealed his will. Thus Jacob dreamed at Beth-el,² Solomon at Gibeon,³ and the treasure-hunting Egyptians at the traditional Sinai.⁴ The interpretation of dreams became a science at Elephantine in the fourth century B. C.⁵

For the sake of correctly interpreting states of consciousness there originated the order of *nebi'im*, "prophets," just as the priest-diviner arose for interpreting the phenomena of nature.

¹ See p. 43.

² Gen. 28:12, 19.

³ 1 K. 3:5-15.

⁴ Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 67-9, 190.

⁵ *CIS.*, ii. 137; Cooke, p. 203.

The prophets, in extreme cases, sought to suppress the normal and to enhance the abnormal states of consciousness by going through all sorts of bodily movements, as do the modern der-vishes. In this frenzied state they believed themselves to be possessed by some divine personality who could in this way best impart a revelation. Prophets of this kind existed at Gebal as early as 1118 B. C. and were numerous in the days of Samuel and of Elijah.⁶

⁶ See p. 56.

CHAPTER XIII

PANTHEON: GODS OF THE EVENTS OF LIFE

Gods of the events of life, in distinction from the nature-*ba'als* and the gods of the inner consciousness, presided over all the departments of tribal and individual life. As the *ba'als* were thought to own and to exercise authority over objects, so departmental deities owned and exercised authority over men. These, too, were given titles which were really projections into the realm of the ideal of the conceptions of family and tribal heads who were wont to exercise authority as "father-uncle," "beloved," "father," "brother," "king," and "name." While nature gods were often regarded as hostile to man and difficult of approach, the departmental deities, on the other hand, were conceived of as beneficent, as is shown by many personal names. Thus on the passive side of his nature one god or another is kind, strong, exalted, friendly, and righteous; while on the active side, he dwells, creates, knows, helps, fills, saves, hears, and gives peace and favor. A blessing was thought to be conferred on a child if he bore the name of some deity; hence arose the almost universal custom of giving theophorous names.

Interpreters of the divine will as related to life's events were known as the "wise men." These have already been discussed.

Divine titles were applied to the gods of this class just as *ba'al* was given as a title to all nature-divinities. Of this class of titles we have the following:

'Amm, "father-uncle," is a very old Semitic title, and dates from a time in polyandrous society when a child could not distinguish his own father in a group of his mother's husbands. When carrying over the conception of human relationship to the gods, the chief tribal deity would be known as 'Amm. 'Amm and all other similar titles have been preserved in proper names. Though the term in its later development came to mean any ancestor on the paternal side, and later, any relative in general, its occurrence from first to last in proper names is confirmatory

of its early divine significance.¹ *'Amm* survives in *Emu* as the deity of the land of *Suti* on the western bank of the Euphrates,² as the name of the chief deity of the Katabān Arabs,³ and as the name of a tribe in Mesopotamia.⁴ Proper names having the element *'amm*, connected with or without "i," and compounded with verbs or nouns either preceding or following, are expressive, as Paton has conclusively shown, of some affirmation of deity; and *'amm* in these names is not to be interpreted as "people" or "kinsman."⁵ This well-recognized divine element⁶ is found in a large number of proper names collected from various parts of the ancient Semitic world. Thus, it occurs in personal names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu⁷; in other ancient Babylonian personal names,⁸ particularly belonging to the time of the first dynasty of Babylon⁹; in the ancient place-name, *Dūr-'ammī*,¹⁰ "*'amm* is a fortress"; in many Assyrian personal names¹¹; in personal names¹² and the place-names¹³ of Amarna and Canaanite times; in the names of Canaanite cities taken by the Israel-

¹ Paton, in *HERE.*, vol. i. pp. 386 ff.

² *KAT.*³, p. 481.

³ Hommel, in *ZDMG.*, 1895, p. 525.

⁴ *Benē-'Ammō*, Num. 22:5 (see Heb.).

⁵ *HERE.*, vol. i. pp. 387-8.

⁶ In various forms "*Ama*," "*Ammā*," "*Ammu*," "*Hammu*," "*Emu*," "*Ami*," "*Imme*," and "*Imi*."

⁷ *Imi-ilu*, Sheil, *Textes*, pp. 6 ff.; *Ama-Sin*, "uncle is Sin," A v. 3 = *Imi-Sin* Sheil, pp. 6 ff.; *Beli-am*, "Beli is uncle," C xv. 3.

⁸ *Ami-li-'ti*, "uncle is might," *KAT.*³, p. 483; *Ilu-Imme*, *Nabu-ḥammē*, "Nebo is uncle," interchanges with *Nabū-ammē* and *Nabū-immē*, *KAT.*³, p. 481; *Ami-zabti*, Ranke, p. 183; *Ammi-Ya*, Ranke, p. 65.

⁹ *'Ammu-rabi* or *Ḥammu-rabi*, "uncle is high," Ranke, p. 85; *'Ammi-saduga*, p. 65; *'Ammi-ditana* (*satana?*), "my uncle is leader," p. 65.

¹⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 481.

¹¹ *Am-yate'u*; *'Ammu-ladin*, "my uncle is near"; *'Am-ramu*; *Bir-ammā*, "Bir is uncle"; *Zimri-ḥammu*, "mountain-sheep is uncle"; *A-a-am-me* = *Yah-am(?)*, "Yah is uncle"; *Atar-ḥamu*, "abundance is uncle"; *Shulmānu-imme*; *Shamash-imme*; *Si-'imme*; *Se-imme*, "gift is uncle"; *Yashdi-ḥammu*, "my uncle is lofty," *KAT.*³, p. 481-3.

¹² *Emmienihi*, Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 494; *Yan-ḥamu*, Knudtzon, 98:1; *Balumme*, 8:19; *Ammu-nira*, 136:29 = *Ḥammu-niri*, 137:15, 66, 69; 138:52, 132; *Y-b'-ra-'a-mu*, "Am has swallowed," Müller, p. 195 = *Yible-'am*, place-name, Josh. 17:11 = *Bil-'am*, 1 Chr. 6:55 (70); *Amā-Ya*, Knudtzon, 62:42, 45.

¹³ *Ammia*, a land, Knudtzon, 139:15; 140:11.

ites¹⁴; in the Arabic divine name '*Ammi-anas*¹⁵; in Aramæan,¹⁶ Sabæan,¹⁷ ancient Arabic,¹⁸ South Arabie,¹⁹ Ammonite,²⁰ Phoenician,²¹ and Nabatæan²² personal names; and in the names of persons, principally foreigners, living in Palestine before the eighth century.²³

Dad has essentially the same original meaning as '*Amm*, "father-uncle."²⁴ It appears as a divine title in West Semitic proper names²⁵ as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu²⁶ and the first dynasty of Babylon.²⁷ Assyrian documents²⁸ preserve many more names of this form; while the personal name *Dudu*²⁹

¹⁴ *Am-Ad*, Josh. 19:26; *Yoḳne-am*, Josh. 12:22; *Yoḳde-am*, "he who burns is uncle," Josh. 15:56; *Yokme-am*, 1 K. 4:12; *Gid-om*, Judg. 20:45.

¹⁵ A god of the Khaulān, Wellh., p. 23.

¹⁶ *Amme-ba'ali*, *KAT*.³, p. 482.

¹⁷ *Ammi-amara*, Hommel, p. 84; *Ammi-anisa*, *ibid.*, p. 51; *Ammi-yathi'a*, "my uncle has helped," p. 84; *Amm-kariba*, "uncle has blest," *CIS*. iv. p. 73; *Ammi-amuḳa*, "my uncle is wise"; *Ammi-ṣaduḳa*, "my uncle is righteous"; *Ammi-samia*, "my uncle has heard"; *Ammi-shapaka*, "my uncle has bestowed," Hommel, p. 84.

¹⁸ *Amme-ta*, *KAT*.³, p. 482.

¹⁹ *Ammi-za-da*, "my uncle has terrified"; *Ammi-dhara'a*, "my uncle has sown"; *Ammi-yada'a*, "my uncle knows"; *Ammi-yapia*, "my uncle is perfect."—Hommel, p. 84.

²⁰ *Ammi-nadab*, "my uncle has been generous," *KB*., ii. p. 240; *Ben-ammi*, "son of my uncle," Gen. 19:38.

²¹ *L-M*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE*., p. 217.

²² *M-YRT*, *Ldzb.*, *EPH*., ii. p. 421.

²³ *Yoḳe-am*, 1 Chr. 2:44; *Ammi-el*, 2 Sam. 9:4, &c.; *Ammi-Hūd*, 13:37, &c.; *Ammi-zabad*, 1 Chr. 27:6; *Ammi-nadab*, Ex. 6:23; *Ammi-shadday*, Num. 1:12; *Am-ram*, Ex. 6:18, &c.; *Ani-am*, 1 Chr. 7:19; *Ben-ammi*, Gen. 19:38; *Bil-am*, probably for *Ba'al-am*, Num. 22:5, &c.; *Elu-am*, 2 Sam. 11:3, &c.; *Malkam*, probably for *Malak-am*, 1 Chr. 8:9; *Rehab-am*, 1 K. 11:43; *Yarob-am*, 1 K. 11:26, &c.; *Yashob-am*, 1 Chr. 11:11; *Yeḳam-am*, 1 Chr. 23:19, &c.; *Yithre-am*, 2 Sam. 3:5, &c.

²⁴ Heb. *dod*, "paternal uncle."

²⁵ *KAT*.³, p. 483.

²⁶ *DA-DA*, *E-DA-DA*, *Dada*, *Gāl-dada*, Ranke, p. 211, n. 3.

²⁷ *Dadu-sha*, *Dadi-Ya*, *DA-DA-waqar*, Ranke, p. 77; *Da-wi-da-nim*, p. 78; *Dadi*, name of god in 16th year of Samsu-iluna, *Dada*, *Dadu-rabi*, *Abadadi*, cited by Ranke, p. 211.

²⁸ *Dayādi-ilu*, *Diḏi*, *Dudūa*, *Dudū*, *Dadī*, *Dadā*, *Dadai*, *Dadi-ilu*, *KAT*.³, p. 483.

²⁹ Knudtzon, 15S:1, &c.

and the place-name 'Ash-dōd³⁰ record its first appearance in Canaan. Israel, according to the Moabite stone, worshipped a deity by the name of *Dūdah*,³¹ in whose cult an altar-hearth was sacred.³² Moreover *Dūd* may have been the favorite title of the *numen* of Beer-sheba if "thy God" of the LXX of Amos 8:14 is to be used in restoring the original *dūd* in the place of the Massoretic *derek*, "way."³³ In Isaiah 5:1 *dōdī*, "beloved," is used as an appellation of Yahweh. The sacred character of this title is borne out in many old personal names.³⁴

Ab, Abu, "father," was another divine title originating in the next stage of social development known as polygamous, when the child first recognized his father. Naturally the appellation and attributive of paternity was applied to the tribal deity, as is clearly attested by the prevalence of proper names, containing the element *abu*, throughout the ancient Semitic world. Thus, personal names meet us from the time of the erection of the Obelisk of Manishtusu;³⁵ from the Amorite,³⁶ Kassite,³⁷ and Neo-Babylonian³⁸ periods of Babylonian history; and from Assyrian documents.³⁹ In the West this divine title shows its influence in *Abi-shua*,⁴⁰ an Asiatic trader who visited Egypt in the time of Sesostri III (1887-1850 B. C.); in the two personal names *Abi-milki*⁴¹ and *Hash-abu*⁴² of the Amarna

³⁰ Josh. 11:22, &c.

³¹ *MI.*, line 12.

³² Smith, *ES.*, pp. 488 f.

³³ By the similarity of the Heb. letters, "u" with "r" and "d" with "k."

³⁴ 'El-Dad, Num. 11:26; 'Elī-Dad, Num. 34:21; Mē-Dad, Num. 11:26, probably for 'Anmī-Dad; Dawīd, David, Ruth 4:17, &c.; Dōdō, Judg. 10:1, &c.; Doda-Y(w?)ahū, 2 Chr. 20:37; Bildad probably for Ba'al-Dad, Job. 2:11, &c.; Hena-Dad, Ezr. 3:9, &c.

³⁵ *Abi-da*, Hoschander in *ZA.*, 1907, p. 250; *Abu-BU*, *ibid.*, p. 253.

³⁶ *Summu-abum*(bim), Ranke, p. 166; *Abi-arah*, "my father is the moon," *Abi-eshuh*(u'?), *Abi-har*, *Abi-Yah*, *Abi-Ya*(?)*buh*, *Abi-Yatum*, p. 58; *Abi-ilu*, *Abi-li-Ya*, p. 59; *Abi-ma-Ishtar*, *Abi-ma-raš*, *Abi-rah*, *Abi-sat*(t)*d*, *Abu-Dadi*, *Abu-Yatum*, *Abu(m)-bani*, *Abu(m)-tabum*, *Abu(m)-waqar*, Ranke, pp. 60, 61.

³⁷ Very common elements are *aba*, *abi*, *abu*, *abbu*, Clay, *Personal Names*, p. 149.

³⁸ *Abu-nadib*, *Abi-yaqar*, *KAT.*^a, p. 483.

³⁹ *Abi-rāmu*, *Abi-rāme*, *Abi-ikāmu*, *Abi-Salām*, *KAT.*^a, p. 482.

⁴⁰ *Yb-sh*, "Ab is salvation," Müller, p. 36.

⁴¹ "Ab is king," Knudtzon, 147:2, &c.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 174:4.

period; in the place-names *HKL*-*'BRM*,⁴³ "Field of Abram," and *'Abi-rama*;⁴⁴ in many Old Testament personal names⁴⁵ belonging to the traditional and to the pre-Solomonic⁴⁶ periods of Israel's history; and in personal names from ancient Arabic,⁴⁷ Phoenician,⁴⁸ Punic,⁴⁹ Aramaic,⁵⁰ and Sinaitic⁵¹ sources.

Ah, Ahu, "brother," or "kinsman," is another oft-occurring divine title revealed in personal names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu⁵² and in documents of the first dynasty of Babylon⁵³ and of the Assyrian empire.⁵⁴ In the West the element survives in the Amarna personal names *Aḥ-ribi(t)a*,⁵⁵ *Aḥi-Tābu*,⁵⁶ *Kin-aḥḥi*,⁵⁷ and *A(h)-tirumna*,⁵⁸ in Old Testament per-

⁴³ *Hw-k-rw*-'-'b-'r-'m, "field of Abram," Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 715.

⁴⁴ *'Abi-ra-ma*, Müller, p. 168.

⁴⁵ *'Abi*-'*albōn*, 2 Sam. 23:31; *'Abi*-'*el*, 1 Sam. 9:1, &c.; *'Abi*-'*asaph*, Ex. 6:24; *'Abi*-'*gail*, 1 Sam. 25:14, &c.; *'Abi*-'*Dan*, Num. 1:11, &c.; *'Abi*-'*da'*, Gen. 25:4; *'Abi*-'*Yahū*, 2 Chr. 13:20, &c. = *'Abi*-'*yam*, 1 K. 14:31, &c. = *'Abi*-'*Ya*, 1 Sam. 8:2, &c.; *'Abi*-'*Yah*, 2 Chr. 29:1; *'Abi*-'*hū'*, Ex. 6:23, &c.; *'Abi*-'*Hūd*, 1 Chr. 8:3; *'Abi*-'*hail*, Num. 3:35, &c.; *'Abi*-'*tūb*, 1 Chr. 8:11; *'Abi*-'*Tal*, 2 Sam. 3:4; *'Abi*-'*ma'*-'*el*, Gen. 10:28; *'Abi*-'*melek*, Gen. 20:2, &c. = *'Akīsh*, 1 Sam. 21:11 (10), &c.; *'Abi*-'*nadab*, 1 Sam. 7:1, &c.; *'Abi*-'*no'am*, Judg. 4:6, &c.; *'Abi*-'*ner*, 1 Sam. 14:50, &c.; *'Abi*-'*Ezer*, Num. 26:30, &c.; *'Abi*-'*ram*, Num. 16:1, &c.; *'Ab*-'*ram*, Gen. 11:26, &c. = *'Abraham*, Gen. 17:5, &c.; *'Abi*-'*shag*, 1 K. 1:3, &c.; *'Abi*-'*shūa'*, 1 Chr. 5:30 (6:4), &c.; *'Abi*-'*shūr*, 1 Chr. 2:28, &c.; *'Abi*-'*shay*, 1 Sam. 26:6, &c.; *'Abi*-'*Shalōm*, 1 K. 15:2, &c.; *'Eb*-'*yathar*, 1 Sam. 22:20, &c.; *'Aḥ*-'*'ab*, 1 K. 16:28, &c.; *'Oholi*-'*'ab*, Ex. 31:6, &c.; *Yō*-'*'ab*, 1 Sam. 26:6, &c.; *'El*-'*'ab*, Num. 1:9, &c.; *Yesheb*-'*'ab*, 1 Chr. 24:13; *Shin*-'*'ab*, Gen. 14:2.

⁴⁶ With few exceptions all *Ab* names are referred by Old Testament literature to the time prior to and including the time of David. Gray, p. 28.

⁴⁷ *'Abi*-'*Yate'*, KB., ii. p. 215.

⁴⁸ *'B*-'*HLL*, *'BY*-'*B'L*, Ldzb., HNE., p. 205; *Abi*-'*ba'al*, *Abi*-'*milki*, KAT.³, p. 482; *'B*-'*B'L*, Ldzb., EPH., ii. p. 403; *'B*-'*KM*, Ldzb., HNE., p. 206.

⁴⁹ *'B*-'*B'L*, CIS., i. 378, 2; *'B*-'*Sh'N*, Ldzb., EPH., p. 352.

⁵⁰ *'B*-'*WSHW*, Ldzb., HNE., p. 205; *'BY*-'*TB*, CIS., ii. 123, 2.

⁵¹ *'B*-'*WSHW*, Ldzb., HNE., p. 205.

⁵² *Ahu*-'*hi* [or *tab(i, u)*], Hoschander, in *ZA.*, 1907, p. 260; *Ahu*-'*hu*, *Ahu*-'*išap*, 261; *Ahu*-'*patan* (or *lik*), p. 263; *Ahu*-'*sum(u, i)su*, p. 264.

⁵³ *Aḥi*-'*(a)*-'*sat(d, t)*, *Aḥi*-'*Ya*, Ranke, p. 62; *Aḥi*-'*wadum*, *Aḥi*-'*tabum*, Ranke, p. 63.

⁵⁴ *Aḥi*-'*ikāmu*, *Aḥi*-'*yaḥar*, *Aḥi*-'*nadbi*, *Aḥi*-'*milki*, *Aḥi*-'*rāme*, *Aḥi*-'*rāmu*, KAT.³, p. 482.

⁵⁵ Knudtzon, 107:14.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 8:14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8:15, 25.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 319:5.

sonal names⁵⁹ belonging, with two exceptions, to the times prior to the eighth century B. C.,⁶⁰ and in Phoenician,⁶¹ Philistine,⁶² Aramæan,⁶³ Aramaic,⁶⁴ and Hebrew⁶⁵ personal names.

Melek, "king," and **Milkah**, "queen," as titles of sovereignty were probably carried over from the tribal head to the divine counterpart. Since the god *Malik* in the Babylonian pantheon⁶⁶ held an insignificant place, he must, therefore, have been one of the products, and not the cause, of the same general tendency throughout the Semitic world to ascribe royal prerogative to deities. Thus *malik* appears in Babylonia as a divine epithet meaning *counselor*⁶⁷ in many West Semitic personal names most of which occur on the Obelisk of Manishtusu,⁶⁸ but one in a document of the first dynasty.⁶⁹ Similar personal names continue to be used till the Persian period.⁷⁰ This divine appellative is very common in Assyrian and Palestinian proper names, thus occurring in Assyrian personal names;⁷¹ in three

⁵⁹ 'Ehūd, 1 Chr. 8:6; 'Ah-'ab, 1 K. 16:28, &c.; 'Ah-ban, 1 Chr. 2:29; 'Ahū-may, 1 Chr. 4:2; 'Ahī-'am, 2 Sam. 23:33, &c.; 'Ahī-Yah(ū), 1 Sam. 14:3, &c.; 'Ahī-Hūd, Num. 34:27; 'Ah-Yō, 2 Sam. 6:3, &c.; 'Ahī-Hūd, 1 Chr. 8:7; 'Ahī-tūb, 1 Sam. 14:3, &c.; 'Ahī-tūd, 2 Sam. 8:16, &c.; 'Ahī-Mōth, 1 Chr. 6:25 (10); 'Ahī-melek, 1 Sam. 21:3 (2), &c.; 'Ahī-man, Num. 13:22, &c.; 'Ahī-ma'as, 2 Sam. 15:27, &c.; 'Ah-yan, 1 Chr. 7:19; 'Ahī-nadab, 1 K. 4:14; 'Ahī-no'am, 1 Sam. 14:50, &c.; 'Ahī-samak, Ex. 31:6, &c.; 'Ahī-'Ezer, Num. 1:12, &c.; 'Ahī-ḫam, 2 K. 22:12; 'Ahī-ram, Num. 26:38; Hīram, probably for 'Ahī-ram, 2 Sam. 5:11, &c.; 'Ahī-ra', Num. 1:15, &c.; 'Ahī-shaḥar, 1 Chr. 7:10; 'Ahī-shar, 1 K. 4:6; 'Ahī-thophel, 2 Sam. 15:12, &c.; Hī'el, probably for 'Ahī-'el, 1 K. 16:34; 'Aha-reḥel, 1 Chr. 4:8.

⁶⁰ Gray, p. 38.

⁶¹ *Ahi-milki*, KB., ii. p. 173; 'H-NDB, 'H-'LN, Ldzb., HNE., p. 212.

⁶² *Ahi-milki*, KB., ii. p. 149, 241; *Ahi-miti*, p. 65.

⁶³ *Ahi-rāmu*, KB., i. p. 75.

⁶⁴ 'H-LKD, CIS., ii. 93; 'H-MLKW, CIS., ii. 231 f.; 'H-WShN, Ldzb., EPH., ii. p. 412.

⁶⁵ 'H-M'S, Ldzb., EPH., i. p. 352; 'Ahi-Yān, 'HY-T'Y, ii. 403; 'H-WTB, ii. p. 411.

⁶⁶ A local god of the city of *Tar-ma-as*, KAT.^a, p. 469.

⁶⁷ Written *Ma-UR*, KAT.^a, p. 469.

⁶⁸ See Scheil, *Texts Élam.-sém.* pp. 41 ff.

⁶⁹ *Ilu-malik*, "god is counsellor," Ranke, p. 104.

⁷⁰ *Milhi-taribi*, *Nāhi-Milhi*, KAT.^a, p. 417.

⁷¹ *Bēl-il-milki*, *Dagana-milki*, *Huru-m(ilki?)*, *Milkai*, *Milki*, *Milka-Ya*, KAT.^a, p. 471; *Milki-ashapa*, KB., ii. pp. 149, 241; *Milki-Ya*, *Milki-Aya*, *Milki-ilu*, *Meliki-ilu*, *Milki-Ishtar*, *Milki-Ashshur*, *Milki-ba*,

old Canaanite place-names;⁷² in Amarna⁷³ and Old Testament personal names, the latter belonging mostly to the seventh century B. C.;⁷⁴ and in Phoenician,⁷⁵ Philistine,⁷⁶ Hebrew,⁷⁷ Edomite,⁷⁸ Aramæan,⁷⁹ Aramaic,⁸⁰ Nabataean,⁸¹ and Palmyrene⁸²

Milki-erba, *Milki-mudammik*, *Milki-idri*, *Milki-uru*, *Milki-larim*, *Milki-nūri*, *Milki-rāmu*, *Ilu-milki*, *Milki-rāmu*, *Il-mala(ki)*, *KAT*.³, p. 471. *Al-Nashhu-milki*, *Al-Si'-milki*, *Ilu-milki*, *KAT*.³, p. 470; *Abdi-milki*, *Adad-milki*, *Ahi-milki*, *A-Nashuh-milki*, *KAT*.³, p. 471.

⁷² *'Emek ham-Melek*, "valley of the king," Gen. 14:17; 2 Sam. 18:18; *Yw-d-h-m-rw-k*, or *Yadah-melek*, place-name, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 712; *R(e)-lc-ma-ra-ka* = *'Eli-melek*, Thutmose III's list, No. 45, *MTG.*, 1907, p. 17 = *'Allam-melek*, in Asher, Josh. 19:26.

⁷³ *Abdi-milki*, "servant of Melek," Knudtzon, 123:37; *Milk-ili*, "Melek is god," 267:4, &c.; *Milk-ilu*, 249:6; *Abi-milki*, "father is Melek," 147:2, &c.; *Ili-milku*, 151:45; 286:36.

⁷⁴ *'Abi-melek*, Gen. 20:2, &c.; *'Ahi-melek*, 1 Sam. 21:2 (1), &c.; *'Adra-melek*, 2 K. 17:31, &c.; *'Eli-melek*, Ruth 1:2; *Melek*, 1 Chr. 8:35; *'Ebed-melek*, "servant of Melek," Jer. 38:7; *Milkah*, "queen," Gen. 11:29, &c.; *Malki-'el*, Gen. 46:17, &c.; *Malki-Yah(u)*, Jer. 21:1, &c.; *Malki-Šedek*, "Melek is righteous," Gen. 14:18, &c.; *Malki-ram*, 1 Chr. 3:18; *Malki-shūa'*, 1 Sam. 14:49, &c.; *Malkam*, 1 Chr. 8:9; *Ya-melek*, 1 Chr. 4:34; *Mallūk*, 1 Chr. 6:29 (44); *Melikū* (*Melūki?*), Neh. 12:14; *Regem-melek*, Zech. 7:2; *Nethan-melek*, 2 K. 23:11.

⁷⁵ *Abi-milki*, *Ahi-milki*, *KB.*, ii. p. 173; *Uru-milki*, p. 91; *Abdi-milkuti*, *KB.* ii pp. 125 ff.; *Melki-asaph?*, *KB.*, ii. p. 241, ep. ii. p. 149; *'DR-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 209; *'HL-MLK*, *ibid.*; *BN-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 238; *B'L-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 182, &c.; *B'L-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 240; *MLK-'SR*, name of deity, *CIS.*, i. 123b, 1 ff.; *MLK-B'L*, name of deity, *ibid.*, 123, *MLK-YTN*, *CIS.*, i. 10, 2, &c.; *MLK-'ShTERT*, name of deity, *ibid.*, 8, 1; *MLK-PSh*, *MLK-RM*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 311; *MYLK-'MN MYLK-'TN*, *ibid.*, p. 308; *'HT-MLK*, *'R-MLK*, *BD-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 124, 4; *GR-MLK*, *ibid.*, 50, 2; *HN-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 260; *H-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 135, 4, &c.; *HT-MLK*, *ibid.*, 429, 2, &c.; *YD'-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 285; *YHW-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 1, &c.; *YTN-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 244, 3, &c.; *MKN-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 316; *'Z-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 189, 3, &c.; *ŠDK-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 357; *'HT-MYLK*, *ibid.*, p. 213; *H-MLKT*, *CIS.*, i. 135, 4, &c.; *HT-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 231, 1, &c.; *MT-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 438, 3 ff.; *N'-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 41, 2; *'B-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 317, 4, &c.

⁷⁶ *Ahi-milki* of Ashdod, *KB.*, ii. pp. 149, 241.

⁷⁷ *MLK-ZP*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 311; *GR-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 253; *'HT-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 213.

⁷⁸ *Kaush-malaka*, of the time of Tiglath Pileser, *KB.*, ii. p. 21.

⁷⁹ *Il-mala(ki)*, *CIS.*, ii. 1, No. 28; *Ba'al-maluku*, *KB.*, ii. p. 172.

⁸⁰ *'L-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 50; *'SR-MLK*, *ibid.*, 155b, 4; *MLK-M*, *ibid.*, 94, 2.

⁸¹ *MLK-W*, *CIS.*, ii. 158, 6; 170, 3; *MLK-YWN*, *ibid.*, 201, 1; 219, 1.

⁸² *MLK-HLS*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 311; *MLK-'L*, *CIS.*, ii. 30, 1; *MLK-BL* (deity), *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 310; *MLK-WS'*, *MLK-Y*, *ibid.*, p. 311.

personal names. A deity bearing the title *Melek*, but corrupted to *Molek*, was worshipped in the next period.⁸³

Shum, Sum, or Shem, "name," occurs as an element in West Semitic proper names in Babylonia as far back as the reign of Dungi of Ur,⁸⁴ the inscription on the Obelisk of Manishtusu,⁸⁵ and the first dynasty of Babylon.⁸⁶ Three Canaanite cities⁸⁷ and one city of the Amarna period,⁸⁸ a person of Gaza of the time of Merneptah,⁸⁹ many persons mentioned in the Old Testament,⁹⁰ and in South Arabian name-lists,⁹¹ and a few persons mentioned in Phoenician,⁹² Punic,⁹³ and Aramaic⁹⁴ inscriptions bear names variously compounded with this divine title. *Shem* became an early designation for Yahweh.⁹⁵

Of the **special gods** who presided over the affairs of life, to whom special names, in contrast to general titles, might appropriately be applied, the following should be mentioned:

'Ashtart. The worship of 'Ashtart, the primitive Semitic mother-goddess, was carried by the early Semites from their

⁸³ See Chap. XXVIII.

⁸⁴ *ŠIM-Uru*, "name is light," place-name (2286-2229 B. C.), probably = modern *Simyra*, Paton, p. 22.

⁸⁵ *Aḥu-šumu*, "brother is name," *ZA.*, 1907, p. 264.

⁸⁶ *Sumu-abum (bim)*, "name is father," *Sumu-atar*, *Sumu-ḥat(d, ṭ)nu*, *Sumu-hala*, *Sumu-ḥa-ammu*, *Sumu-la-ilu*, *Sumu-liel*, *Sumu-rah*, *Sumu-rame*, *Su-ŪH-KI*, *Sumu*, Ranke, p. 166.

⁸⁷ *Shama-Adda*, Knudtzon, 49:2; *Shum-Add(a)*, *ibid.*, 224:3; *Shamu-Adda*, 225:3; *Shumu-Hadi*, 97:1.

⁸⁸ *Sham-huna*, place-name, Knudtzon, 225:4.

⁸⁹ *Sh'-m-B'-r'-m* = *Shem-Ba'al*, "Shem is ba'al," Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 632.

⁹⁰ *Shem*, Gen. 5:32, &c.; *Shem-'eber*, Gen. 14:2; *Shemū-'el*, 1 Sam. 1:20; *Shemī-da'*, Num. 26:32, &c.; *Shemī-ramōth*, 1 Chr. 15:18, &c.; *Shim-'am*, 1 Chr. 9:38 = *Shim'a*, 1 Chr. 8:32; *Sham-gar*, Judg. 3:31, &c.; *Šem(m)a*, 1 Chr. 7:37, LXX for *Shamma'*; *Shammah*, Gen. 36:13, &c.; *Shammay*, 1 Chr. 2:28, &c.; *Ger-šom*, Ex. 2:22, &c.; *Shem-īda'*, of the time of Ahab, *S. S. Times*, Jan. 7, 1911.

⁹¹ *Sumhu-amara*, "his name has commanded," *Sumhu-apika*, "his name is powerful," *Sumhu-watara*, "his name is above all others," *Yada'a-sumhu*, "his name is omniscient," *Sumhu-yapi'a*, "his name shines," *Sumhu-kariba*, "his name is blest," *Sumhu-ali*, "his name is sublime," *Sumhu-riyāmu*, "his name is sublimity," Hommel, p. 84.

⁹² *šhM-ZBL*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 377; *šhM'*, *CIS.*, i. 51, 1.

⁹³ *šhM-HYT*, *CIS.*, i. 281, 3.

⁹⁴ *šhM-W'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 377.

⁹⁵ Gen. 4:26; 12:8; 13:4, &c.

Arabian home to every country whither they went. This famous goddess won a unique and well-defined reputation, though with local colorings, in every country settled by her worshippers. In Babylonia she was known as Ishtar, but in the Westland her name is probably etymologically better preserved.⁹⁶ In a dedicatory inscription in which Hammurabi is called the "king of Amurru" (Westland), the goddess appears as *Ashirtu* or *Ashratu*⁹⁷ and is styled the "bride of the king of heaven," "mistress of luxury and splendor," and "the merciful one who reverently implores her spouse."⁹⁸ He, according to a hymn, is "Amurru the lord of the mountain," since he is associated with "Ashratu," "the mistress of the steppe."⁹⁹ The name of this goddess appears in the West under the following cognate forms: in Assyrian as *Astartu*,¹⁰⁰ in Canaan as *Ashirat*,¹⁰¹ *Ashtart*,¹⁰² *Asherah*,¹⁰³ *Attar*, *Atar*,¹⁰⁴ and *Atargatis*,¹⁰⁵ in Moab as

⁹⁶ Several attempts have been made to trace the origin of 'Ashtart to the Babylonian Ishtar since *Ashratu* is equivalent to Ishtar as wife of Rammān (*KAT.*³, p. 433); since Palestine was greatly influenced by Babylonian religion in early times, and thither also might have gone the cult of Ishtar whence it might have returned later with western coloring, her name being changed to *Ashirta*; since Ishtar occurs long before *Ashirta*; and since *Astirtu* seems to be derived from *ashirtu*, *eshirtu*, a Babylonian word meaning "sanctuary" (*KAT.*³, p. 437). These arguments are not conclusive enough to prove the thesis, since if they were true Ishtar's popularity would then be quite out of proportion to that of the other Babylonian deities in the west; and the 'Ashtart-cult in the west would manifest more of the Ishtar-type. Moreover, 'Ashtart is the primitive Semitic form, while the phonetic changes involved in the derivation of all the separate, but cognate, forms of 'Ashtart from Ishtar are impossible. *KAT.*³, p. 436.

⁹⁷ *Ashratum* occurs on a seal cylinder. *KAT.*³, p. 433; *Bēlit-šēri* in Assyrian names = *Ashratu*, *ibid.*, p. 434.

⁹⁸ *KAT.*³, pp. 20, 179, 432 ff.

⁹⁹ *KAT.*³, p. 433.

¹⁰⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 434.

¹⁰¹ The goddess of Taanach. Sellin, p. 114.

¹⁰² Vocalized later with the "bosheth" vowels as 'Ashtoreth.

¹⁰³ Taken from the designation for the wooden post sacred to her cult in western sanctuaries.

¹⁰⁴ An Aramaic-Arabic deity referred to by Assyrian inscriptions. Compare names *Atar-samain*, a goddess of a north Arabian tribe, *Atar-bi'di*, *Ataridri*, *Atar-gabri*, *Atar-sūri*, &c. *KAT.*³, p. 434 ff.

¹⁰⁵ See article in *HERE.*, ii. pp. 164 ff.

'*Ashtar*,¹⁰⁶ in Sabaea as '*Athtar*'; in Abyssinia as '*Astar*'; and in Phoenicia and her colonies as '*Ashtart* and '*Astarte* (Aphrodite, enus).¹⁰⁷ These various forms reveal not only the antiquity of the name but also how widespread the cult of this goddess was in the western world. The name of the goddess is left on record in the Amarna period in the place-name '*Astarte*'¹⁰⁸ and in the personal names '*Abdi-Ashtarti*'¹⁰⁹ and '*Abdi-Ashirta*'.¹¹⁰

Wherever her worship has gone '*Ashtart* has preserved a well-defined character, with slightly varying aspects, as goddess of maternity, fertility, sexual love, and war. In metronymic society, at a time when the mother of the tribe was regarded as the supreme authority, it was natural to attribute the same characteristics to deity, so that the deity was conceived of as a mother-goddess who preserved from the divine side the integrity of the tribe. In Babylonia *Ishtar* appears in various rôles reflecting the aspects of mother-goddess. In one case she is the midwife, in another the one bearing, and in still another the potteress who forms men out of clay.¹¹¹ This function of presiding over child-bearing is clearly attested as a prominent conception of the mother-goddess in Palestine in the next period by the maternal features of many images and by Old Testament implications.

In the second place, the goddess in all her various cults is the cause of human and animal as well as of vegetable fertility. For human and animal offspring and field increase her aid was sought; and, in return for these boons, worshippers brought as offerings the first-born of man and of beast¹¹² and the first-fruits of the ground. Field and arboreal fertility are closely associated with water supply which in the desert was the spring. '*Ashtart* was closely related to sacred springs and trees both in primitive and in Canaanite times. This relationship in primitive times is well exhibited in the original character of *Ishtar*

¹⁰⁶ *MI.*, 17.

¹⁰⁷ See *HERE.*, ii. pp. 115^a.

¹⁰⁸ Knudtzon, 197:10; or '*Ashtarti*', 256:21 = '*Ashtarôth*', Deut. 1:4, &c.

¹⁰⁹ Knudtzon, 63:3; 65:2.

¹¹⁰ 82:23, 25; 84:8; 85:64.

¹¹¹ *KAT.*, p. 429.

¹¹² See Offerings, p. 41.

as a water-goddess who was thought to be connected with some sacred tree to which the spring gave life.¹¹³

In the third place, the goddess presided over war, since the conception of her as leader in battle was merely an extension of her prerogative as mother-goddess, the protectress of the tribe. Thus, in Babylonia and Assyria, Ishtar was long revered by the war-loving kings, who styled her the "musterer" or "assembler" of the hosts.¹¹⁴ Ishtar of Arbela appears clothed in flames, equipped with quiver, short sword, and sheath, and standing on a leopard.¹¹⁵ 'Ashtart, as represented on the monuments of Egypt belonging to the next period, was the fearful goddess of war among the Canaanites,¹¹⁶ being mentioned along with 'Anath as the shield of Ramses III in battle.¹¹⁷ The trophies of war, as in the case of Saul's armor,¹¹⁸ were presented at her shrines. The astral aspect of Ishtar as the "queen of heaven," so popular in Babylonia, and possibly an outgrowth of her being regarded as the leader of the hosts in battle, is, before the time of Manasseh, entirely absent from Canaan.

The loose conjugal relationship existing in the matriarchal tribal life was destined to show itself in the realm of religion. Accordingly, the mother-goddess also became the patroness of unmarried, sensuous love. As such her character was well portrayed in that of the Babylonian Ishtar who enticed¹¹⁹ her many paramours that she might either destroy or divorce them at will.¹²⁰ Her retinue was composed of both male and female prostitutes who kept up those rites which later and purer religion regarded as shameful.¹²¹ This aspect of the nature

¹¹³ Barton, p. 86.

¹¹⁴ *KAT.*³, pp. 430 f.

¹¹⁵ KB. ii. p. 227:80; 251:52.

¹¹⁶ Müller, p. 314.

¹¹⁷ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 105.

¹¹⁸ 1 Sam. 31:10, probably at Ashkelon, Herod. I. 105.

¹¹⁹ As Ukhat she enticed man to desire from the animals. (Gilgam. Epic, translated by Jastrow, *The Rel.* p. 477 ff.) With Ishtar's descent to the underworld all desire failed men and beasts, *KAT.*³, p. 428.

¹²⁰ In Gilgam. Epic, wife of lion, eagle, and horse. *Hebraica*, 1893, x. pp. 12-13.

¹²¹ *KAT.*³, p. 422. Sargon's mother was a priestess who conceived in secret. *Hebraica*, x. p. 25. "Son of priest of Ishtar" frequent in con-

of 'Ashtart gave a unique character to the cult of the goddess of love wherever her cult spread, as for instance, to Assyria, Canaan, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Carthage, and Asia Minor.¹²²

Adōn, 'lord,' or Adōnī, "my lord," was probably the favorite title applied by the Phoenicians and the Canaanites to an unnamed primitive Semitic god who was considered to be the *son* and, by a later social development in tribal society,¹²³ the *lover* of 'Ashtart, the goddess of the oases.¹²⁴ This god in Babylonia became *Tammuz*; in South Arabia, *Dhu'l-Shara*; in Phoenicia, probably *Eshmun*¹²⁵ and perhaps also the *ba'al* of Lebanon;¹²⁶ and in Greece, *Adonis*. Barton suggests that the origin of this god may have been in some ancient tree-worship which was closely connected with the never-failing spring, the primitive natural shrine of the mother-goddess.¹²⁷ Wherever the worship of the mother-goddess went, traces of the cult of the unnamed god appear in more or less close connection.

In Babylonia Tammuz was primarily the god of the city of Eridu on the Persian Gulf, making his home in the shade of the tree of life which stood in the midst of the garden of Eridu that was watered on two sides by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates.¹²⁸ The Babylonian legends picture him as a beautiful young shepherd suddenly slain by a boar and grievously mourned by the admiring goddess Ishtar who, by a famous descent to the lower world, went to seek her lover. Because of his connection with sacred trees, Tammuz probably came to be identified with the life of spring vegetation which, because of the torrid heat of summer, withered and died. This annual dying of vegetation announced the death of the god, whose funeral feast was celebrated on the second day of Tammuz by "the wailing of

tract-tablets, cp. *Hebraica*, x. p. 19. All women were required to submit to prostitution at the temple of Aphrodite at Babylon in Herodotus' time. Herod. i. 199.

¹²² Barton, in *Hebraica*, ix. pp. 131-134; Barton, p. 83.

¹²³ Barton, pp. 85 ff.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 264 ff.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 265 ff.

¹²⁶ Since the worship of Ashtart and Adonis was inaugurated there. So Frazer, p. 18.

¹²⁷ Barton, in *Hebraica*, 1893, vol. x. p. 73.

¹²⁸ "Tammuz" in *HDB*.

men . . . and women'' with the words of the grieving lover Ishtar, ''O my brother, the only (son),'' to which the mourners further added, ''Ah me, Ah me!''¹²⁹ During Ishtar's absence from earth all sexual desire ceased among men and animals, so there could be no conception till her return in the spring.

Similar legends surround the Greek deity Adonis, whose name probably sprang from the earlier Semitic title *Adōni*, ''my lord.'' In the country surrounding Byblos, where the Semitic goddess was worshipped from ancient times, a tradition was learned by Lucian which accounted for the origin of the rites of Adonis that were carried on both at Byblos and at Aphek. It was related that the gods were jealous of Adonis' good fortune in winning the affection of the *ba'alat*, and, therefore, had him, while hunting, killed by a wild boar at the great spring Aphek in Lebanon. Here was celebrated on a certain day the annual nuptials of the goddess and the beloved Adonis brought back from the under-world; and, the day following, a great lamentation was made over the slain god. The spring in Aphek is the source of a river, then called Adonis, that runs into the sea. In mid-summer the river-water, after the spring freshet, is turned, by the infiltration of the red marl of Lebanon, into a reddish hue which tradition attributed to the influx of blood from the wound of Adonis slain in the mountains. This ruddiness of the water became, throughout the country, therefore, the signal for an annual lamentation, which consisted of wailing; beating and lacerating the breasts of the devotees; performing funeral rites of the dead Adonis; and, upon the day of his resurrection following the seven days of mourning, shaving the heads, and casting dust into the air. Instead of cutting off and sacrificing their hair women had the alternative of sacrificing their chastity at the temple of Aphrodite.¹³⁰ Furthermore, ''gardens of Adonis'' were planted, and wooden figures of the god were set in pots filled with earth along with cuttings of herbs which soon withered away.¹³¹

Traces of the old cult of Adōn are undoubtedly discernible in

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Cp. Greek *ailinon* = ''woe to us,'' and the mythological *Linos*.

¹³⁰ Lucian, *De Syra dea*, §§ 4, 6, 8, 9. Trans. by Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 31.

¹³¹ ''Tammuz,'' in *HDB*.

Canaanite customs. Ezekiel refers to women sitting at the north gate of the Temple weeping for Tammuz.¹³² Similar rites are found in the lamentation annually observed by the women of Mizpah in Gilead,¹³³ a rite which was undoubtedly of Canaanite origin, since the traditions of the Danites extended back to pre-Israelite times.¹³⁴ The "oak of weeping"¹³⁵ below Beth-el, where Deborah was buried, as well as the mourning rites at the sanctuaries¹³⁶ is suggestive as a survival of the cult of Adōn. Furthermore, the formulas of lamentation, "Ah my brother! Ah sister!" "Ah lord! Ah his glory!"¹³⁷ and "Alas, my brother!"¹³⁸ used over the dead reveal evidence of the old custom of weeping for Adōn whose death coincided with and typified the annual death of vegetation.¹³⁹ The mention of "sister" probably implies a close association of Adōn, as of old time, with 'Ashtart. The annual mourning in Palestine fell, according to the Canaanite calendar, on the fifth day of the last month of the year.¹⁴⁰

The idolatrous practices of the Hebrews about 734 B. C. in making "plantings of pleasantness, the twigs of a strange (god),"¹⁴¹ obviously suggest the "plantations," or "gardens of Adonis." These gardens were pots filled with earth in which grain, etc., were sown and tended for eight days. These plants grew rapidly under the sun's heat but withered soon afterwards. The power of Adonis thus manifested in the growth of the plants was often sought in this way to enhance the fertility and growth of plants.¹⁴² Whether or not these private gardens were in any way regarded as miniatures of the gardens of oaks is not known. At any rate, idolaters in Israel are said

¹³² 8:14.

¹³³ Judg. 11:40. Thus Smith, *RS.*, pp. 415 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, p. 305.

¹³⁴ Cp. *MI.*, 10.

¹³⁵ Gen. 35:8.

¹³⁶ See p. 107.

¹³⁷ Jer. 22:18; cp. 34:5.

¹³⁸ 1 K. 13:30; cp. "mourning for an only son," Am. 8:10.

¹³⁹ See Jensen, p. 197; Jeremins, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 32, 41; Barton, *Semitic Ishtar Cult, in Hebraica*, vol. x. pp. 73, 74.

¹⁴⁰ Ezek. 8:1.

¹⁴¹ Is. 17:10.

¹⁴² See Gray, *Isaiah*, in *Int. Crit. Com.*, p. 302.

to have consecrated themselves unto gardens¹⁴³ of oaks¹⁴⁴ under the shade¹⁴⁵ where they made sacrifices¹⁴⁶ and participated in unchaste rites.¹⁴⁷ Possibly the rites of prostitution, so prevalent in the high places, may have been particularly sacred to the cult of Adōn-'Ashtart, the sacred men and the sacred women playing respectively the rôles of the living god and goddess.¹⁴⁸

Ya seems, from its frequent appearances as an element in proper names, to have been a well-recognized deity among the Amorites and Canaanites. In Amorite names of the first dynasty of Babylon this divine name appears as *Yama*,¹⁴⁹ or *Yam*,¹⁵⁰ or *Yaum*,¹⁵¹ and *Yawi*;¹⁵² in Canaanite proper names as *Yawi*, or *Yami*;¹⁵³ *Yau*;¹⁵⁴ *Ya*,¹⁵⁵ or *Y'a*;¹⁵⁶ in Assyrian personal names as *Yawa*,¹⁵⁷ *Yau*,¹⁵⁸ or *Ya'u*;¹⁵⁹ and *Ya*;¹⁶⁰ in Kassite personal names as *Ya*;¹⁶¹ in Aramaic personal names as *Yau*;¹⁶²

¹⁴³ Is. 66:17.

¹⁴⁴ Is. 1:29.

¹⁴⁵ Hos. 4:13.

¹⁴⁶ Is. 65:3.

¹⁴⁷ See p. 53.

¹⁴⁸ So Frazer, p. 14.

¹⁴⁹ *Yama-erah* (?), Ranke, p. 113; *Yama-num*, *ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁵⁰ *Yamlik-ilu*, *Yam-zi* (?), *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Yaum-baya* (?), *ibid.* *Yaum-ilu*, *KAT.*³, p. 468.

¹⁵² *Yap* (= *w*)*i'-ilu*, *Yap* (= *w*)*i-um*, Ranke, p. 114. *Ashirat-Yawi*, Clay, *Amurru*, p. 204.

¹⁵³ *Ahi-Yawi* (or *-Yami*), Sellin, p. 115.

¹⁵⁴ *Nathan-Yau*, Gezerite tablet, Clay, *Amurru*, p. 204.

¹⁵⁵ Personal names: *Ya-pahi*, Knudtzon 297:3; *Ya(h)-tiri*, 296:4. Place-names: *Ya-rami*, 333:10; *Amm-Ya* (?), 73:27, &c.; *Ba-ti-ya-a* = *Bati-Ya* = *Bēth-Ya*, list of Thutmose III, No. 97, cp. *Bith-Ya*, 1 Chr. 4:18, *MFG.*, 1907, p. 216.

¹⁵⁶ Place-names: *Sha-na-y-'ā* = *Shana-Y'ā*, *ibid.*, No. 115; *Ba-bi-y-'ā* = *Babi-Y'ā*, No. 118; cp. *Ha-ni-m-'ā* = *Hanim-'ā*, *ibid.*, No. 95.

¹⁵⁷ *Yaua*, *KAT.*³, p. 465 = *Yehū'*, Jehu, 1 K. 19:16, &c.

¹⁵⁸ *Ya-hazi*, *KAT.*³, p. 465 = *Yehō'-ahaz*, Jehoahaz, for Ahaz, 2 K. 10:35, &c. *Hazaki-Yau* = *Hezki-Yahū*, Hezekiah, 18:1, &c.

¹⁵⁹ *Azri-Yā'ū* = 'Azar-Yahū, Azariah, 15:6, &c.

¹⁶⁰ *Gadi-Ya*, *KAT.*³, p. 467.

¹⁶¹ *Ya-Ba* (?)*u*, *Ya-bua*, Clay, *Personal Names*, p. 82.

¹⁶² *Azri-Yau*; *Azri-a(u)*; *Izri-Yau* (= *Azri-Yau*); *Y'DY*, prince on Zenjirli inscr. *KAT.*³, pp. 54, 262, 465; *Yau-bi'di*, king of Hammath, *ibid.*, 66, 465.

in Hebrew personal names as *Ya*;¹⁶³ and in personal names of the Neo-Babylonian period as *Yama*,¹⁶⁴ or *Yawa*,¹⁶⁵ or *Yami*.¹⁶⁶ These variations in writing the name do not arise from the position of the element, whether first or last, in the theophorous name; for *Yama*, *Yawi*, *Yau*, *Ya*, the most oft-recurring forms, appear in either the first or second position. Perhaps these slight differences may be explained as merely dialectal. Without doubt, then, it may be asserted that we have in *Ya* the name of an Amorite god, the knowledge of whom has survived only in theophorous names and in the not infrequent application by ancient Hebrew poets of this same name to Yahweh.¹⁶⁷

What original connection, if any, existed between the Amorite-Canaanite god *Ya* and Yahweh, the volcanic god of the Kenites, whom the Hebrews adopted under the leadership of Moses, is not known. The name *Yahweh* appears to be derived from the old Semitic root *hawah*, meaning "to be." The form of the name may be either in the simple stem, meaning "he will be," or in the causative, meaning "he causes to be." It is significant, however, that when the Hebrews settled among the Canaanites the name of the Canaanite *Ya* and that of the Hebrew *Yahweh* were, probably because of the similarity of sound, identified, as is shown by the use of these names in proper names and in the poetic use of *Ya* for *Yahweh*. Thus *Yahweh* appears as the initial element in some compound Hebrew names as *Yehō*¹⁶⁸ sometimes contracted to *Yō*,¹⁶⁹ and in some Babylonian names of the Neo-Babylonian period as *Yahū*,¹⁷⁰ and as the final element in other Hebrew names as *Yahū* or *Yah*.¹⁷¹ Confirmatory of this identification is the fact that the Assyrian royal scribes transliterated the Hebrew initial *Yehō* and

¹⁶³ *Abi-Ya* = Abijah, and others, Gray, pp. 162 ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Ahi-Yāma*, *Gadal-Yāma*, *Ḥanani-Yāma*, *Yadēh-Yāma*, *Igdal-Yāma*, *Pad-(Y)āma*, *Pili-Yāma*, *Tiri-Yāma*, *KAT*.³, pp. 466 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Abi-Yawa*, Clay, *Business Documents of the Murashū Sons*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ *Ah-Yami*, *ibid*.

¹⁶⁷ Ex. 15:2; 17:16 (emended text); Is. 38:11; Song of Sol. 8:6; Ps. 68:19.

¹⁶⁸ *Yehō-nathan*, 1 Sam. 14:6, &c.; *Yehō-shūa'*, Deut. 3:21, &c.; *Yehō-'ash*, 2 K. 12:1, &c.; and others.

¹⁶⁹ *Yō-tham*, 2 K. 15:5, &c.; *Yō-'el*, 1 Sam. 8:2, &c.; and others.

¹⁷⁰ *Yahū-lakim*, *Yahū-lunu*, *Yahū-natanu*, *KAT*.³, p. 466.

¹⁷¹ See Gray, p. 162 f.

the final *Yahū* in Hebrew royal names as *Yau*,¹⁷² which as we have seen above, is a cuneiform variation of *Ya*.¹⁷³

Ya'kob, the "supplanter," appears to have been a deity in Canaan since the name appears in *Yakob-'el*, a place-name recorded by Thutmose III,¹⁷⁴ and in *Yakob-her*, the name of a Hyksos king.¹⁷⁵ The parallel *Yakub-ilu*, "Yakub is god," in the Babylonian lists¹⁷⁶ confirms this conclusion and suggests a great antiquity for the cult of this god. Furthermore, the best interpretation of the Hebrew tradition, ascribing the origin of the sanctuary at Beth-el to Jacob,¹⁷⁷ is that *Ya'akob*, the old numen of the sacred stone, was worshipped by Israel; and finally, because of the supremacy of Yahweh, was lowered to the level of an ancestor. Somehow the name of the numen of Beth-el gave its name to the worshipping tribe, as well as to its city or district; and, when the native tribe was absorbed and its god adopted by Israel, the transaction could easily pass over into the later tradition accounting for the change of Jacob's name to that of *Israel*.¹⁷⁸

Possibly this deity, according to a poetic reference,¹⁷⁹ won the title of *abir*, "the strong," from which the inference may be drawn that the bull was already sacred to the god of Beth-el long before Jeroboam made Beth-el the royal sanctuary.¹⁸⁰

Shalōm, "peace," is a West-Semitic deity who seems to have had some early connection with *S(h)almāti*, an Elamite name for NINIB.¹⁸¹ This deity was received into the Assyrian pantheon, as a number of personal names,¹⁸² of which one is

¹⁷² See notes 157-159 above.

¹⁷³ For further discussion see *KAT*.³, pp. 465 ff.; Jastrow, in *JBL*, xiii, pp. 101 ff.; *ZA*, x, pp. 222 ff.; Clay, *Light on the Old Testament*, pp. 241 ff.; *Amurru*, p. 202 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Y-'k-b-'ā-ra*, Müller, p. 162.

¹⁷⁵ "Jakob is satisfied," Breasted, *HE.*, p. 220; Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 282.

¹⁷⁶ Ranke, p. 113.

¹⁷⁷ Gen. 28:10-22; Meyer, *ibid.*, pp. 278-286; von Gall, pp. 94 ff. See p. 32.

¹⁷⁸ Gen. 32:29(28).

¹⁷⁹ Gen. 49:24.

¹⁸⁰ 1 K. 12:28 ff.; Am. 7:13.

¹⁸¹ *KAT*.³, p. 474.

¹⁸² *Sh(S)ulmānu-nūnu*, *Temēn-Salīmi*, *Shulmāni-nūnu-shar-ilāni*, *Shalim-ukīn*, *Sh(S)ulmānu-imme*, *KAT*.³, p. 475.

that of a king,¹⁸³ clearly attest. In the West the early mentioned place-names *Uru-Salim*,¹⁸⁴ *Shalma-yāti*,¹⁸⁵ *Shalamna*,¹⁸⁶ *Salem*,¹⁸⁷ and *Shalom*¹⁸⁸ and many personal names compounded with *Shalōm* from many sources—namely, the Old Testament,¹⁸⁹ cuneiform texts,¹⁹⁰ and Phoenician,¹⁹¹ Nabataean,¹⁹² Sinaitic¹⁹³ Palmyrene,¹⁹⁴ and Hebrew¹⁹⁵ inscriptions—reveal no small degree of influence exerted by this cult. Possibly *shalōm*, the Hebrew farewell greeting,¹⁹⁶ is a survival of an ancient invocation of this god.

'Amor, who was probably the eponym of the 'Emōrī, "Amorites,"¹⁹⁷ evidently was a deity because this name frequently occurs in proper names. It appears to be present in Babylonia in *Ammuru*,¹⁹⁸ in the two Amorite names of the first dynasty *Amri-ilishu*¹⁹⁹ and *Humurum*,²⁰⁰ in personal names of the Kassite period.²⁰¹ In the West the land of *Amor*,²⁰² men-

¹⁸³ *Shulmān-asharīdu* = *Shalman-'eser*, 2 K. 17:3.

¹⁸⁴ Knudtzon, 289:14, &c. = *Yerū-Shalaīm*, Josh. 10:1, &c.

¹⁸⁵ Knudtzon, 155:6, 26, 42, 50.

¹⁸⁶ *Sha-ra-ma-na*, Spiegelberg, *ZA.*, xlii. (1898), pp. 120 ff.

¹⁸⁷ Gen. 14:18.

¹⁸⁸ *S'-r'-m*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 356; Müller, p. 220.

¹⁸⁹ *Salmōn*, Ruth 4:21; *Salmay*, Ezr. 2:46; *Shillem*, Gen. 46:24, &c. = *Shallūm*, 2 K. 15:10, &c.; *Shelōmō*, Solomon, 2 S. 12:24, &c.; *Shelōmōth*, 1 Chr. 24:22; *Shelōmīth*, 1 Chr. 26:28, &c.; *Shelōmī*, Num. 34:27; *Shel-ūmī-'el*, Num. 1:6; *Shelem-Yah(ū)*, Jer. 36:14; 'Abī-*Shalōm*, 1 K. 15:2; *Salami-el*, Num. 34:20, LXX for *Shemū-'el*; *Selemios*, Jer. 43:12, LXX (36:12 Heb.) for *Shema'-Yahū*; *Bishlam*, Ezr. 4:7, probably for *Ben-Shelam*.

¹⁹⁰ *Salamānu*, *KB.*, ii. p. 21; ep. Hos. 10:14.

¹⁹¹ *ShLM-N-*, name of a deity, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 377; *B'L-ShLM*, *CIS.*, i. 95, 3; 338, 3; 679, 3; *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 241.

¹⁹² *ShLM-W*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 376.

¹⁹³ *ShLM-W*, *ShLM-YW*, *ShLM-NTN*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, pp. 376, 377.

¹⁹⁴ *ShLM-'*, *ShLM-WY*, *ShLM-Y*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 376; *ShLM-LT*, *ShLM-T*, *ShLM-N*, *ibid.*, p. 377.

¹⁹⁵ *ShLM-SLWN*, *ibid.*, p. 377; *ShLM*, a potter's name, Bliss and Macal, p. 119.

¹⁹⁶ Gen. 43:23; Judg. 6:23; 18:6; 19:20; 1 Sam. 1:17; 25:6, &c.

¹⁹⁷ Num. 21:13.

¹⁹⁸ *KAT.*, p. 447.

¹⁹⁹ Ranke, p. 65.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁰¹ See Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 54 ff.

²⁰² *Y-m-r*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 141, &c.

tioned in Seti I's accounts; the Amarna personal names *Amur-ba'alu*,²⁰³ the Old Testament place-name *'Immer*,²⁰⁴ and several Old Testament,²⁰⁵ one Aramaic,²⁰⁶ one Nabataean,²⁰⁷ and two Palmyrene²⁰⁸ personal names are to be noticed for native survivals of this divine name.

Han, or *Hen*, "favor," evidently was a West-Semitic deity as inferred from the occurrence of this element in early Babylonian names²⁰⁹ in parallelism with similar names in the West, namely, the Amarna place-name *Sham-Huna*,²¹⁰ which appears later in the form *Beth-Hanan*,²¹¹ and in many Old Testament,²¹² and in a few Phoenician,²¹³ Punic,²¹⁴ Hebrew,²¹⁵ Nabataean,²¹⁶ and Sinaitic²¹⁷ personal names.

Bes (?), the Egyptian name for some unknown Semitic god whose worship entered Egypt probably through Canaanite influences long before 2000 B. c. appears, according to the oldest Egyptian representations, to have been a lion-killer and a protector against wild animals and snakes;²¹⁸ and, therefore, to

²⁰³ Knudtson, 170:38.

²⁰⁴ Ezr. 2:59, &c.

²⁰⁵ *'Imrī*, 1 Chr. 9:4, &c.; *'Amar-Yah(ū)*, 1 Chr. 23:19; *Ūmar*, Gen. 36:11, &c.; *'Immer*, 1 Chr. 24:14, &c.

²⁰⁶ *'MR'*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 221.

²⁰⁷ *'MRY-*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 221; *'MRW*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, ii. p. 412.

²⁰⁸ *'MR-Sh'*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 221; *'MR-Sh'*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 361.

²⁰⁹ *Hani-rabi*, "Han is high," Ranke, pp. 86, 199.

²¹⁰ Knudtson, 225:4.

²¹¹ 1 K. 4:9.

²¹² *Ba'al-Hanan*, Gen. 36:38; *Hen*, Zech. 6:14; *Hannah*, 1 Sam. 1:2, &c.; *Hanan*, 1 Chr. 11:43, &c.; *Hanūn*, 2 Sam. 10:1, &c.; *Hannī-'el*, Num. 34:23, &c.; *Hanan-'el*, Jer. 31:38, &c.; *Hena-dad*, Ezr. 3:9, &c.; *Hananī*, 1 K. 16:1, &c.; *Hanan-Yahū*, Jer. 36:12, &c.; *Han-Nathōn*, place-name, Josh. 19:14.

²¹³ *HNN-B('L)*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278; *'L-HNN*, p. 217; *HN-'ShTET*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 355.

²¹⁴ *HN-SD*, *HN-TS*, *HN-B'L*, *HN-MLKRT*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278; *HN'*, *HNDR*, p. 277; *MLKRT-HN*, *MLKRT-HN'*, p. 312; *HN'-MLK*, *HN-YHD?*, *'L-HNN*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 355.

²¹⁵ *B'L-HNN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 240; *HNN-YHW*, p. 278; *YHW-HNN*, p. 286; *'L-HNN*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 352; *HNN*, p. 406; *HNN-YH*, ii. p. 406.

²¹⁶ *HN-'L*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, ii. p. 416; *HN-TLN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278; *HN-'L*, p. 277.

²¹⁷ *HN-TLW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278.

²¹⁸ Müller, pp. 310, 311.

have been a type of the Babylonian Gilgamesh. As an Egyptian god his worship returned to Palestine during the next period.

Har-Sopd, a protecting god of the desert residing eastward from the land of Goshen, was known to the Egyptians.²¹⁹ He may have been a Semitic deity.

Pathah, the "opener," appears as the name of a Semitic god whose cult obtained an early foothold in northern Egypt. His name and possibly his cult seem to have been continued in Egypt in the name and worship of Pitah, the artificer god.²²⁰ The Canaanite place-names *Yiphtah-'el*²²¹ "the opener is god," and *Yiphtah*,²²² the Gileadite hero-name *Yiphtah*²²³ and the Hebrew personal name *Pethah-Ya*,²²⁴ appears to preserve the name of this old Semitic god.

²¹⁹ Erman, A., *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 1907, p. 18.

²²⁰ Hall, *The Ancient Religion of the Near East*, pp. 85 ff.

²²¹ Josh. 19:14, 27.

²²² 15:43.

²²³ Judg. 11:1, &c.

²²⁴ 1 Chr. 24:16, &c.

CHAPTER XIV

PANTHEON: CULT OF THE DEAD¹

It was the common belief of all primitive peoples that the spirits of the departed not only retained their spiritual powers possessed in life but also acquired new supernatural powers which rendered them worthy of worship as gods. As such they were worshipped with the same rites as the other gods. In Babylonia they were called *ēkimmu*, "ghosts of the departed," and in Canaan *'elōhīm*, "gods," and *repha'im*, "shades." It was, moreover, believed that the superior knowledge and the supernatural power which these disembodied spirits possessed put them in a position to bring blessing or bane upon the living, according as the latter rendered, or failed to render, them honor through the rites of burial and of offering.

1. **The sanctity of tombs.** The veneration which everywhere was accorded the graves of the dead is in itself conclusive evidence that the spirits of the dead were worshipped. The ancient Arabs made their graves like the sanctuaries, surrounding them with a *hima*, or sacred enclosure, and erecting pillars.² Nearly every hill-top to-day in Palestine has its tomb where some *wely*, "patron," *sheikh*, "chief," or *neby*, "prophet," is worshipped by all sects. Many of the Canaanite sanctuaries, which the Hebrews adopted, were centers of the worship of old heroes whom the Hebrews, after years of occupation, came to regard as their own tribal ancestors. The stories which cluster about these tombs in the Old Testament narrative are popular traditions that clearly show the desire on the part of the writer to prove them to be ancestral tombs and, therefore, the legitimate places of worship in the early religion of Yahweh. These Canaanite sanctuaries, whose worship was, partially at least, set apart to the cult of heroes and ancestors, were *'Abel-mis-*

¹ For the most important literature on Ancestor-worship among the Hebrews see *BW.*, vol. 35 (1910), p. 80.

² Wellh., p. 184.

rain,³ 'Ayyalōn,⁴ Beth-Lehem,⁵ 'Emek-repha'im,⁶ Gib'ath Phīnehās,⁷ Kadesh,⁸ Kamōn,⁹ Kīryath-'arba',¹⁰ Mahaneh-Dan,¹¹ Mōserah,¹² Ōbōth,¹³ Pir'athōn,¹⁴ Shamīr,¹⁵ Shekem,¹⁶ and Yabesh-gil'ad.¹⁷ Tombs are known also to have been connected with the sanctuaries at Beth-'el,¹⁸ Gezer,¹⁹ Beth-Shemesh,²⁰ Megiddo,²¹ and Taanach.²² The tombs of the kings of Judah, which the writer of Kings is ever careful to mention, were, to infer from Ezekiel 43:7-9, adjacent to the sanctuary on Mount Zion. The "abominations" which Ezekiel says were carried on here could have been none other than the cult of the dead. The uncleanness which came through personal contact with a corpse or a tomb in later Yahwism²³ had its origin in the developing conception that the worship of the spirits of the dead at the grave was subversive of the sole authority of Yahweh. The uncleanness came from the *nephesh*, or "soul," which was thought to reside in the bones, and not from the bones themselves.

2. Of the rites connected with the cult of the dead we are sure of the following:

a. *Fasting* was probably a ceremonial preparation for par-

³ Gen. 50:11.

⁴ Judg. 12:12; cp. Gen. 46:14; Num. 26:26.

⁵ Judg. 12:10.

⁶ "valley of shades," 2 Sam. 5:22-24.

⁷ Josh. 24:33.

⁸ Num. 20:1.

⁹ Judg. 10:5; cp. Num. 32:41.

¹⁰ Or Hebron, Gen. 23:1-20; 25:9, 10; 49:29-32; 50:13.

¹¹ Judg. 16:31.

¹² Deut. 10:6.

¹³ "Ghosts," Num. 21:10.

¹⁴ Judg. 12:15.

¹⁵ 10:1.

¹⁶ Josh. 24:32.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. 31:13; 1 Chr. 10:12.

¹⁸ Gen. 35:8.

¹⁹ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 392 ff.

²⁰ *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 58 ff.

²¹ Sellin, pp. 14 ff.

²² See p. 39.

²³ Lev. 21:1-11; 22:4; Num. 5:2; 6:6, 11; 9:6-10; 19:11 ff.; Deut. 26:14; Ezek. 43:7 ff.; Hag. 2:13; Matt. 23:27.

taking of the sacred meal,²⁴ and was therefore analogous to the Roman Catholic custom of fasting before communion. This rite was practiced in the cult of the dead, commonly lasting till sundown on the day of death,²⁵ when the body was buried and the funeral-feast spread. On one occasion, which must have been an exceptional one, the period extended over seven days,²⁶ food being taken, as in the Mohammedan feast of Ramadan, only after sun-down.

b. Removal of garments, as an act of mourning, probably had its origin in the thought of self-humiliation; since the mourner, in the act of communing with the departed spirit, did not wish by wearing a garment to appear to a greater advantage than the corpse, which was buried naked, as a Babylonian relief shows. Among the ancient Arabs it was customary for mourning women to expose their faces, breasts and, sometimes, their entire bodies; while bearers of evil tidings either wholly or partially divested themselves of their garments.²⁷ Frequent representations of naked worshippers in Babylonian art presuppose an old custom of removing one's garments before approaching the deity.²⁸ The ancient Arabs were wont to encircle the sacred Ka'aba in a condition of nudity; while, to-day, only a loin-cloth is allowed. Similarly the old Hebrew seers, whose origin as a guild is Canaanite, also practiced such things. Saul, in a state of religious ecstasy, stripped off his clothes, and lay naked all night.²⁹ Prophets, in symbolizing the act of mourning, sometimes went naked.³⁰ These primitive customs, however, because of rising standards of decency, became mitigated by the prophet wearing a hairy mantle³¹ and mourners, sackcloth on their loins.³² It is significant that *shakku*, the special mourning and penitential garment among the Babylonians,³³ bears an evident

²⁴ Smith, *RS.*, p. 434.

²⁵ 2 Sam. 1:12; 3:35.

²⁶ 1 Sam. 31:13.

²⁷ Wellh., pp. 177, 195.

²⁸ Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 666.

²⁹ 1 Sam. 19:24.

³⁰ Is. 20:2; Mic. 1:8.

³¹ Cp. 2 K. 1:8 with 1 K. 19:13, &c. See XXIII. 2.

³² Gen. 37:34; 2 Sam. 3:31.

³³ *KAT.*³, p. 603.

connection with the Hebrew *sak*, "sackcloth." A still later custom was to remove simply the sandals³⁴ or to rend the upper garments.³⁵

c. *Cutting off the hair, or the beard, or both.* Among the ancient Arabs the men shaved off their hair and their beards, and the women cut off their hair in the rite of mourning. This was done probably for the purpose of making an offering of hair to the dead.³⁶ Among the Syrians, offerings of hair were made by the women to the goddess; and, among the Hebrews, by the Nazirites to Yahweh.³⁷ As strength was thought to reside in the hair,³⁸ an offering of hair to the dead was intended to impart strength to them. Shaving the head³⁹ and the beard⁴⁰ were common acts of mourning among the Hebrews. These acts the later law prohibited because they were associated with the cult of the dead.⁴¹ Shaving the head was conventionalized later into merely shaving a spot above the forehead⁴² or into pulling out some of the hair.⁴³

d. *Cutting the flesh* may have been practiced, in connection with mourning, for the purpose of supplying blood as an offering to give strength to the feeble shades.⁴⁴ Or it may have been the means of establishing a blood-covenant with the shades.⁴⁵ This was customary among the Hebrews⁴⁶ and the ancient Arabs;⁴⁷ and was not proscribed by the Hebrew law till after the Exile, when it, together with tattooing the face, was strictly forbidden because of its connection with the cult of the dead.⁴⁸ Tattoo marks branded one as a constant devotee of the deity.

³⁴ Ex. 3:5; Josh. 5:15; 2 Sam. 15:30; Ezek. 24:17.

³⁵ Gen. 37:34; Lev. 21:10; Num. 14:6; Ezr. 9:3.

³⁶ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 323-326. See Wellh., pp. 181, 195 ff.

³⁷ Num. 6:18.

³⁸ Judg. 16:17.

³⁹ Lev. 14:8, 9; 21:5; Num. 6:9; Deut. 21:12; Is. 15:2; 22:12; Jer. 16:6; 47:5; 48:37; Mic. 1:16.

⁴⁰ Is. 15:2; Jer. 41:5; 48:37.

⁴¹ Lev. 21:5.

⁴² Deut. 14:1.

⁴³ Ezr. 9:3.

⁴⁴ Jevons, F. S., *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 191 ff.

⁴⁵ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 322 ff. Cp. 1 K. 18:28.

⁴⁶ Jer. 16:6; 41:5; 47:5; 48:37.

⁴⁷ Wellh., p. 181.

⁴⁸ Lev. 19:28.

e. Covering one's self with dust or ashes was an act of mourning both among the Hebrews and the Arabs.⁴⁹ With the Hebrews it varied from wallowing in the dust⁵⁰—its most original form—to simply putting dust on the head,⁵¹ or sitting in dust or ashes.⁵² It was undoubtedly expressive of the mourner's desire to become identified with the dead by this symbolic act of burial.⁵³

*f. Covering the head and face*⁵⁴ was either a substitute for cutting off the hair and beard, which were regarded as personal adornments, and was thus an act symbolizing self-humiliation; or it was an act designed to protect the eyes from beholding the ghost.⁵⁵ This fear of beholding the deity was shared by the Hebrews.⁵⁶

g. Prayer and lamentation. Lamentation, among the Semites, was an accompaniment of all solemn supplications at the sanctuary,⁵⁷ being an outward sign of sincerity and of repentance for sin. Naturally lamentation came to accompany prayer also in the cult of the dead. The Babylonians formally lamented the dead, employing professional mourners to mourn and to sing dirges.⁵⁸ The period of mourning extended from three to seven days. The ancient Arabs while mourning addressed the dead with the usual invocation "Be not far away."⁵⁹ Among the Hebrews the custom was originally to address by a bewailing cry a prayer to the departed spirit in such terms as, "O my son,"⁶⁰ "Ah my brother," "Ah sister,"⁶¹ and "Ah, lord."⁶² Lamentations were originally addressed to the dead;⁶³ but, as

⁴⁹ Wellh., p. 177.

⁵⁰ Esth. 4:3; Jer. 6:26; Ezek. 27:30; Mic. 1:10.

⁵¹ Josh. 7:6; 1 Sam. 4:12; 2 Sam. 1:2; 13:19; Esth. 4:1; Job 3:12; Lam. 2:10; Ezek. 27:30.

⁵² Job 2:8; Is. 26:19; 47:1; 52:2; 58:5; Ezek. 28:18.

⁵³ Paton, in *BW.*, vol. 35 (1910), p. 83.

⁵⁴ 2 Sam. 13:19; 15:30; 19:5(4); Esth. 6:12; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7.

⁵⁵ G. Margoliouth, in *HERE.*, i. p. 448.

⁵⁶ Ex. 3:6; 33:20; 1 K. 19:13.

⁵⁷ Judg. 11:38-40; cp. Am. 8:10; Zech. 12:11.

⁵⁸ Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 604.

⁵⁹ *HERE.*, i. p. 672a.

⁶⁰ 2 Sam. 19:1 (18:33).

⁶¹ Jer. 22:18; cp. 2 Sam. 1:26.

⁶² Jer. 22:18; 34:5.

⁶³ 2 Sam. 1:26.

time went on, they became crystallized into set formulas and dirges⁶⁴ in which every vestige of prayer was lost. Professional mourners now did the mourning for the family.⁶⁵ Prayer to Abraham and to the patriarchs at the tomb in Hebron has probably been offered through all the centuries.⁶⁶ It is offered to-day by the Jews, Moslems, and Christians.

3. Offerings to the dead were made, not only to supply the needs of the spirit in its new existence, but also to pay it homage lest its restlessness should cause it to roam the earth and do harm. This appears to have been a universal custom among primitive peoples reaching as far back as the age of the mammoth.⁶⁷ It was extremely important that the corpse should be properly buried and that common articles of everyday life should be deposited with it. The deposits which the Babylonians made with their dead were determined by the principles that the future life was a repetition of the present, and that the soul needed those things to which it was accustomed in this life. Thus, with dead children, toys were deposited; with women, ornaments, flowers, and cosmetics; with men, weapons; and with all, food and drink offerings. Entrances were made to tombs⁶⁸ for renewed offerings, and fresh water was directed thither by means of clay drains.⁶⁹ As far back as 2200 B. C. it was customary to hold funeral festivities in honor of departed kings and to offer sacrifices to them.⁷⁰ Sons, particularly the eldest, and other descendants took the leading part in these celebrations, in which the people generally shared. The rite of offering incense to the dead is clearly depicted on an ancient bronze tablet.⁷¹ One late Assyrian king dedicated gold and silver vessels as offerings to his father.⁷² Another "appears at the tombs" of his ancestors "with rent garments, pours out a

⁶⁴ 1:17; 3:33.

⁶⁵ 2 Chr. 35:25; Jer. 9:16 ff. (17 ff.); Am. 5:16.

⁶⁶ Cp. Is. 63:16.

⁶⁷ D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 17; De la Saussaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion*, pp. 111 ff.

⁶⁸ Peters, *Nippur*, ii. pp. 173 ff.

⁶⁹ Koldewey, in *ZA.*, ii. (1887), p. 414.

⁷⁰ Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 561.

⁷¹ Maspero, pp. 690 ff.

⁷² L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 49.

libation to the memory of the dead, and offers up a prayer addressed to them."⁷³ Similar customs are found among the Greeks and the ancient Arabs. Ulysses poured out the blood of sheep, and poured libations of honey, sweet wine, and water to the shades.⁷⁴ The Arabs were wont to tether a camel, that had previously been rendered useless by laming, near the grave and let it starve to death with the evident intention of furnishing a means of conveyance to the departed soul. About 1100 A. D. certain Arabs of northern Yemen, in showing honor to a dead man according to this ancient custom, broke 1,000 swords and 300 bows, and lamed 70 horses.⁷⁵ Rendering these things useless for the service of the living helped the primitive mind to fancy that they were dedicated to the service of the dead. There are traces of such offerings having been offered to the dead as hair, incense, food, and drink.⁷⁶

The excavations in Palestine reveal abundant evidence that offerings of all kinds were deposited with the dead; which fact, taken in connection with the custom given above and with survivals among the Hebrews, warrants us in positing similar practices for the early Semites of Canaan. In the first three Semitic levels, food and drinking vessels, gifts of ornaments, weapons, and other things which the spirit was thought to need in the future life, are usually found deposited with the dead.⁷⁷ In the later levels lamps are found in great profusion;⁷⁸ which fact suggests that, as the Babylonian conception of the dead descending into Sheol came gradually to dominate the older and more primitive view that the *nephesh* lingered about the tomb, the idea gained currency that the soul would need a light to find its way in the region of darkness.⁷⁹

⁷³ Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 605.

⁷⁴ *Odyssey*, xi. 26 ff.

⁷⁵ Wellh., pp. 180 ff.; *HERE.*, i. p. 672b.

⁷⁶ Wellh., pp. 177 ff.; Doughty, i. pp. 450 ff.; Curtiss, pp. 188 ff.; *HERE.*, i. p. 672b.

⁷⁷ Gezer—Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 392 ff.; Taanach—Sellin, pp. 33, 34; Megiddo—Schumacher, pp. 13 f., 25, 54 ff.; Lachish—Petrie, *TH.*, p. 32; Beth-Shemesh—*PEFA.*, 1912-13, pp. 40 ff.; Tell Zekariyeh—Bliss and Macal., p. 151.

⁷⁸ E. g., Gezer—Macalister, *EG.*, pp. 393 ff.; Beth-Shemesh—*PEFA.*, pp. 47, 65, 70.

⁷⁹ See Chap. XVI. ii.

The radical opposition of Yahwism to the cult of the dead may account for the meager traces among the Hebrews of the practice of offering gifts to the dead; but enough survives to give no uncertain confirmation of the existence of this universal custom. The loyal worshippers of Yahweh, according to the Deuteronomic law, were expected to disclaim any connection with the heathen practice of partaking of funeral feasts and "giving thereof for (or to ?) the dead."⁸⁰ It was the usual custom, as in the case of Asa,⁸¹ to "make a burning" for the dead king.⁸² Ezekiel implies that the cult of the dead kings was carried on under the very shadow of the temple.⁸³ "Neither shall men break bread for a mourner to comfort him for the dead, nor shall one give him the cup of consolation to drink on account of his father or his mother," nor shall one "go into the house of feasting to sit with them to eat and drink,"⁸⁴ are commands which reveal the ban put upon this cult. Participation in the funeral repast⁸⁵ rendered one unclean for approach to Yahweh because it involved paying homage to another god. Yahweh was provoked by the forefathers who "ate the sacrifices of the dead,"⁸⁶ and also by certain post-Exilic idolaters who "dwelt among the graves and lodged among the tombs"⁸⁷ for the purpose of consulting the dead.

The conception inherent in the funeral feast, as in other mourning rites, was undoubtedly that of a communion between the mourner and the dead.

The important function of offering sacrifices to the dead devolved upon the first-born son, as is indicated by the Babylonian custom mentioned above and by the importance which the Hebrews attached to male offspring. In view of this duty the eldest son was given a double portion of the inheritance.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Deut. 26:14.

⁸¹ 2 Chr. 16:14.

⁸² 2 Chr. 21:19; Jer. 34:5.

⁸³ 43:7-9.

⁸⁴ Jer. 16:7, 8 (emended text); cp. Ezek. 24:17, "eat the bread of mourning" (emended text).

⁸⁵ Deut. 26:14; Hos. 9:4.

⁸⁶ Ps. 106:28.

⁸⁷ Is. 65:4.

⁸⁸ Deut. 21:15 ff.

To have no son was considered the greatest misfortune⁸⁹ and a mark of the deity's displeasure.⁹⁰ To overcome such a condition various expedients were resorted to, such as the husband's taking a concubine,⁹¹ or adopting a son,⁹² or the wife's seeking, according to the levirate law,⁹³ offspring through marriage with a brother of the deceased or with his nearest male kin. The son thus obtained was to carry on the cult of his father so as to give the spirit rest.

4. **Necromancy.** In process of time the functions of consulting the dead, like similar methods of seeking revelations from deities, came to be taken by a specialist known as the necromancer. Among the Arabs every magician has his *tābī*, "follower," or familiar spirit, whom he consults for revelations on favorable occasions. Gilgamesh called up the ghost of Eabani;⁹⁴ and the witch of En-dor, the shade of Samuel. Down through the period of the kings, in spite of the attempt of Josiah to stamp out the custom,⁹⁵ the people were wont to consult, on behalf of the living, the ghosts and familiar spirits that gibber and moan rather than Yahweh.⁹⁶ It is significant, as connecting necromancy with offerings to the dead, that *kispu*, the Babylonian word for "food-offering" for the dead,⁹⁷ appears to have an etymological connection with *kesheph*, the Hebrew word for sorcery.⁹⁸

⁸⁹ E. g., Gen. 30:1.

⁹⁰ 1 Sam. 1:5; cp. Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Deut. 5:9.

⁹¹ Gen. 16:1 ff.

⁹² 15:2 ff.

⁹³ 38:8; Deut. 25:5; Ruth 2:20; 4:1 ff., &c.

⁹⁴ Gil. Epic, xii. Col. 3.

⁹⁵ 2 K. 21:6; 23:24.

⁹⁶ Is. 8:19; cp. 19:3; 29:4; 47:12, 13.

⁹⁷ KAT³, p. 640.

⁹⁸ Is. 47:9, 12; Mic. 5:11(12); Nah. 3:4.

CHAPTER XV

PANTHEON: FOREIGN CULTS

Babylonian Influence. During the supremacy of the Babylonian civilization in the West-land many elements of that civilization were adopted in Palestine, of which the most important was the use of the Babylonian cuneiform¹ as a medium of official correspondence even down through the two centuries of Egyptian supremacy which lasted to about 1300 B. C. Other evidences of the eastern civilization in the West are found in fashions of dress; in art-motives in pottery; in architectural designs; in temples; in ancient seal cylinders pictured with religious scenes found in the old levels;² and in a tablet, found in the first Semitic level at Gezer, impressed with a zodiacal cylinder on which were represented several Babylonian gods.³ The mythological conceptions furnishing the basis for the monotheistic revisions that now appear in the Old Testament accounts of creation, garden of Eden, the flood, and of the birth of Moses possess a distinct Babylonian coloring in spite of the lapse of time from their reception in Canaan during Amorite times down to their incorporation into Hebrew life and thought.⁴ Along with these influences and ideas there came Babylonian religious elements which continued down through the Canaanite period and left their impression on Hebrew religion. Summarized briefly, these are the technical terms of religious rites; the special kinds of offerings; the doctrine of Sheol; the reverence for certain sacred numbers, for religious rites, such as prostitution, swearing, and divination, and for a priesthood requiring strict ceremonial cleanness; and the sacred annual, monthly, and weekly feasts.⁵ In this enumeration the archæologist is ever confronted with the difficulty of finding the line of cleavage

¹ Amarna letters found at Tell el Amarna, Egypt.

² Bliss and Macal., pp. 41, 153; Sellin, p. 105.

³ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 344 ff.

⁴ Consult Paton, pp. 49 ff.; Meyer, § 469; *KAT.*³, p. 506 ff.

⁵ Cp. Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix. (1900), pp. 55 ff.; See Rites, chapter VIII.

between the purely Babylonian and the purely Semitic. A careful survey of the facts will force the investigator to admit that the Babylonian culture and religion was, on the whole, less warmly welcomed in Canaan than among the Assyrians, Lulubæans, and Gutæans;⁶ and, when account is taken of the unique Palestinian developments, especially in the religious field, one is struck with the paucity of Babylonian religious conceptions. Several gods of the Babylonian pantheon left slight traces of their cults, particularly in the superficial way of surviving geographical and personal names, the latter of which are few and uncertain.

Nabu, or Nebo, bears a genuine Semitic name meaning in Assyrian "to announce."⁷ According to Barton,⁸ he was a Semitic deity before he received his Babylonian coloring. If this be true, he was first the god of deep water and fertility, the protector of agriculture, and the waterer of the fields.⁹ Probably his later association with Ea led to his becoming the god of wisdom, the protecting patron of literature and the art of writing. He is represented as the scribe who records for the gods on the tablet of destiny the fate of men.¹⁰ Bearing also the name *Papsukal*, "highest or holiest messenger," he was also the herald of the gods. Whether or not Nebo won his way into Palestine prior to his assumption of Babylonian coloring is not known; but, at any rate, his name finds expression in *Ka-ira-ti'n-bu*, "city of Nabu,"¹¹ of the thirteenth century; in *Nebō*, both a mountain¹² and a city¹³ of Gad; in *Nebō*, a town of Judah;¹⁴ in *Nob* of Benjamin,¹⁵ and possibly in *Nabai* of Gilead.¹⁶ It survives also in Old Testament,¹⁷ Phœnician,¹⁸

⁶ Meyer, § 469; Cook, p. 112.

⁷ *nabū*.

⁸ Barton, p. 212.

⁹ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 118.

¹⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 401; Jastrow, *ibid.*, p. 121.

¹¹ Müller, p. 174.

¹² Num. 33:47, &c.

¹³ 1 Chr. 5:8; Jer. 48:1 = *NBH* in *MI.*, 14.

¹⁴ Ezr. 2:29; Neh. 7:33.

¹⁵ 1 Sam. 22:19; perhaps = Is. 10:32.

¹⁶ LXX *Nabai* for *Nobah* (*MT*), Judg. 8:11.

¹⁷ *Nabōth*, 1 K. 21:1, &c.; *Nabau*, LXX for *Nobah*, Num. 32:42.

¹⁸ -NB-⁴LZ, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 321.

Aramaic,¹⁹ and Palmyrene²⁰ personal names. Whether or not the Canaanite prophetism had its origin in the Nabū-cult, it is interesting, at least, to observe an analogy between the two. The Hebrew word for prophet, *nabī'*, may be related to *Nabū*.²¹ The prophetic functions of bearing messages,²² speaking in frenzy,²³ deciding the destiny of kings,²⁴ and possibly of guarding and encouraging literary productions; and the conception of Yahweh's "book of remembrance";²⁵ and of Israel's election bear remarkable resemblance to the nature and functions of Nabū.²⁶

Nergal, like NIN-IB, was god of war and of the chase.²⁷ He held also the offices of god of disease, of the glowing sun, of the waxing and waning moon, and of the underworld. During the shortening days before the winter solstice and the lengthening days after it, Nergal, as the sun, was thought to tarry in the underworld. This annual waxing and waning of the sunlight being attributed to the influence of Nergal, lent an analogous conception to the waxing and waning lunar crescent.²⁸ Thus Nergal won the name of *twin moon*, or *double moon*, being revealed in the two forms, *Lugalgira* and *Shitlam-taĕa*, which in the Westland were designated *Sharrabu* and *Birdu*,²⁹ the two desert demons who were also identified in the West with the waxing and the waning moon, and respectively inflicted upon man the fever stroke and the chills.³⁰ Nergal's rôle as a god of fever and of pestilence may be seen in a letter

¹⁹ *NBW-LH*, *NBW-NTN*, *NBW-ShLM*, *NBW-SR-DN*, *NB-RB*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, pp. 320, 321; *'BD-NBW*, *ibid.* p. 205; *GD-NBW*, *ibid.* p. 249; *'RD-NBW*, *ibid.* p. 345; *NBW-RP*, Ldzb. *EPH.*, ii. p. 419.

²⁰ *NBW-BD*, *NBW-GDY*, *NBW-ZBD*, *NBW-KW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, pp. 320, 321; *BD-NBW*, *ibid.*, p. 245; *TBD-NBW*, *ibid.*, p. 265; *NBW-ZBD*, *NBW-LH*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 364; *NBW-Z*, *NBW-ZDD*, *NBW-L*, *ibid.*, ii. p. 419.

²¹ *KAT.*³, p. 400.

²² Ex. 7:1; Deut. 18:15, 18; Judg. 6:8; 1 Sam. 3:20; 1 K. 17:1.

²³ See p. 56 and Chap. XXIII. 1.

²⁴ 1 K. 19:15, 16; 20:42; 2 K. 9:1-3.

²⁵ Mal. 3:16; cp. Ex. 32:32; Ps. 69:29 (28); Is. 4:3.

²⁶ *KAT.*³, p. 404 ff.

²⁷ *KAT.*³, p. 412; Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 157.

²⁸ *KAT.*³, p. 413.

²⁹ See p. 79.

³⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 415.

written by the king of Cyprus to the king of Egypt: "My lord, Nergal, has killed all the people of my land. . . . The hand of Nergal is in my land."³¹ Also belonging to the Amarna period is a genuine Canaanite seal-cylinder, found at Taanach, bearing, in Egyptian hieroglyphics and early Babylonian cuneiform, the inscription: "Atanahili, son of Habsi, servant of Nergal."³² In both these cases Nergal may be merely a Babylonian name for a native deity; but, even in that case, the use of the name implies a lingering Babylonian influence as does also the discovery, among the Amarna letters, of a tablet containing the myth of Nergal and Eresh-kigal.³³ Nergal was worshipped by the Phoenicians at Piræus as late as the second century B. C.³⁴

NIN-IB was chiefly the old Babylonian god of war and of the chase. The Semitic equivalent for his ideographic name has been preserved only in Aramaic where it appears as 'NWSht and is best pronounced³⁵ *En-nammasht*, "lord of the creatures."³⁶ He is represented as a warrior heavily armed and mighty in battle. He revealed himself particularly in the thunder and lightning of the storm. The constellation Orion; the planet Saturn; possibly at one time Mars; and the eastern, southern, and western sun were his various astral identifications. On the beneficent side of his nature he protected fields, watched over boundary-stones and states, healed sickness, raised the dead, and forgave sins.³⁷

The name of the god appears in Amarna times in that of two cities both called *Bēt NIN-IB*³⁸ and in the personal name '*Abdi-NIN-IB*.'³⁹ The fact that swine were sacred to *NIN-IB*, thus giving him the surname *Humušīru*,⁴⁰ "pig," may account

³¹ Knudtzon, 35:13, 14, 37.

³² Sellin, p. 105. Vincent, p. 170, fig. 117.

³³ *KAT*,³ p. 413.

³⁴ *CIS*, i. 119; Cooke, pp. 100 ff.

³⁵ Clay reads this *En-Mashti*, i. e., *En-marti*, which in Sumerian is equivalent to Bēl-Amurru, "lord of the Amorite," *Bab. Expl. Univ. of Penn.*, x. p. 5 ff.; *JAOS*, xxviii. (1908), pp. 135 ff.; *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, i. pp. 287 ff.; *Amurru*, pp. 195 ff.

³⁶ Hrozný, in *Revue Sémitique*, 1908, pp. 339 ff.

³⁷ *KAT*,³ pp. 408 f.; Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 154.

³⁸ (1) Near Jerusalem, Knudtzon, 290, 16. (2) Near Gebal, *ibid.*, 74:31.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 84:39.

⁴⁰ *KAT*,³ p. 409-410, Heb. *ḥazīr*, "pig."

for the origin of the uncleanness which the Hebrews attached to the pig.⁴¹ This uncleanness probably arose out of an ancient taboo which seems to find confirmation in the name *Hezîr*,⁴² an order of Hebrew priests. *Sakkut*, an epithet of the god,⁴³ appears, in its Hebrew form, in *Sakkûth* in the corrected text of Amos 5:26 in parallelism with *Kēwān*, "Saturn," the planet sacred to him, thus indicating some idolatrous custom:

"Ye have borne the *Sakkûth* of your king
And the *Kēwān* of your images."

Rammān, the Babylonian god of the storm and of the weather, whose name originated in the native word *ramāmu*, meaning "to cry," "roar," because of his like nature, came to be identified with *MAR-TU* or *Amurru*, the West Semitic name for the weather god *Addu*. It cannot yet be determined with certainty whether Rammān was originally native to the Sumerian-Babylonian pantheon or was introduced by the Amorites, but probably the latter was the case. Rammān is represented in Babylonian sculpture with four bull-horns, brandishing an axe in his right hand and a bundle of lightning-shafts in his left. In nature he is both beneficent and destructive, since he sends or withholds rain, causes cloudbursts and floods, and directs the destructive thunderbolt. The flood represents his rage and wins him the title, "lord of the flood." In one instance he is called, *Rāgimu*, "the roarer."⁴⁴ The cult of Rammān was probably carried by settlers westward to Assyria where, because of his destructive nature as a storm-god, he won favor as a war-god.⁴⁵ Assyrian kings often liken themselves to the roaring of Rammān and the overflowing of his waterspouts.⁴⁶ Still further westward his cult spread, for Tiglath Pileser refers to Rammān as the god of the "west country"⁴⁷ and Shalmaneser II, at Hallaba (Aleppo), paid homage to him.⁴⁸ He was worshipped

⁴¹ Lev. 11:7; Deut. 14:8.

⁴² 1 Chr. 24:15, &c.

⁴³ See Rogers, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, p. 749.

⁴⁴ *KAT.*³, pp. 445 ff.

⁴⁵ Barton, p. 226.

⁴⁶ *KAT.*³, pp. 447 ff.

⁴⁷ Barton, p. 226.

⁴⁸ *KAT.*³, p. 447.

at Damascus where his primitive nature was preserved as a soil-god.⁴⁹

It is not definitely known whether the Babylonian cult of Rammān divided the honors with that of Addu in Palestine during the first Semitic period or entered the land during the next period with Aramaic influence. However, place-names as early as the time of Thutmose III⁵⁰ and the Amarna period⁵¹ reveal the name Rammān in the form of *Rimmōn* which may be the Aramaean form. This form appears in four Old Testament place-names⁵² probably of Canaanite origin, in one Old Testament,⁵³ in one Aramaean,⁵⁴ and in two Aramaic⁵⁵ personal names.

The cult of **Anu**, the king and father of the Babylonian gods, who dwelt in the northern sky seated on his judgment throne,⁵⁶ seems to have extended to Palestine, where traces of his name possibly appear in the place-name (*E*)-*nu-h(e)-r-tu*, mentioned by Thutmose III,⁵⁷ in the personal name *Ben-Ana*⁵⁸ of the Amarna times, and in several Old Testament personal names.⁵⁹ The Old Testament accounts of the tower of Babel,⁶⁰ of Jacob's ladder,⁶¹ of Elijah's translation,⁶² and of the visions

⁴⁹ 2 K. 5:18; *Hadad-Rimmōn*, Zech. 12:11.

⁵⁰ *Ra-na-ma*, *MVG.*, 1907, p. 19.

⁵¹ *Giti-rimunima*, Knudtzon, 250:46 = *Gath-Rimmōn*, Josh. 19:45; 21:24 ff.; 1 Chr. 6:54 (69).

⁵² *Sela' ha-Rimmōn*, "the cliff of Rimmon," Judg. 20:45, 47; '*En-Rimmōn*, "spring of Rimmon," Neh. 11:29; Josh. 15:32; 19:7, probably = '*Ain Rimmōn*, Josh. 15:32; 19:7; Zech. 14:10; *Rimmōn Pereš*, Num. 33:19, 20; *Rimmōn*, Josh. 19:13 = *Rimmōnō*, 1 Chr. 6:62 (77).

⁵³ *Rimmōn*, 2 Sam. 4:2, &c.

⁵⁴ *Tab-Rimmōn*, 1 K. 15:18.

⁵⁵ *SDK-RMN*, *RMN-NTN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, pp. 357, 369.

⁵⁶ *KAT.*³, p. 352.

⁵⁷ No. 52 = '*Ana-harath*, Josh. 19:19.

⁵⁸ Knudtzon, 170:37.

⁵⁹ '*Anah*, Gen. 36:2, 24; '*Unni*, 1 Chr. 15:18, &c.; '*Ana-Yah*, Neh. 8:4, &c.; *Ba'anah*, probably for *Ben-'Anah*, 2 Sam. 4:2, &c.; *Ba'anah*, probably for *Ben-'Anāh*, 1 K. 4:12, &c.; cp. '*Anam-melek*, god of Sepharwaim, 2 K. 17:31.

⁶⁰ Gen. 11:4 ff.

⁶¹ 28:12.

⁶² 2 K. 2:11.

of Micaiah⁶³ and Isaiah,⁶⁴ and many other references⁶⁵ locating Yahweh's abode and throne in the heaven or northern sky, point evidently to the conclusion that Babylonian conceptions of *Anu* prevailed in Canaan prior to their assumption by the later Yahwistic theology.

Bel is the Semitic name for the Sumerian *En-lil*, "lord of wind," of Nippur. He was the lord of the mystical sky-mountain, like Anu, and later came to be regarded as the lord of the inhabited earth.⁶⁶ Bel bore no relation to *ba'al* as one might infer from the similar formation of the names. Bel may possibly survive in the two Amarna place-names *Balummē*⁶⁷ and *(B)-(Sh)a(m)m(a)*⁶⁸ and in many other personal names from the Old Testament⁶⁹ and from Aramaic,⁷⁰ Nabataean,⁷¹ and Palmyrene⁷² inscriptions.

Lahmu, a deity of fertility, is evidently contained in the place-name *Beth-Lehem*, "house of Lahmu."⁷³ That the second element of the name has reference to the Babylonian deity is borne out by the fact that in the Greek version of Mic. 5:2(1) *Beth-Lehem* is explained as the "house of Ephratha,"⁷⁴ i. e., "house of fertility." The place-name *Lahmā*⁷⁵ may contain the name.

⁶³ 1 K. 22:19.

⁶⁴ Is. 6:1.

⁶⁵ Yahweh on Sinai, Ex. 19:11, 20; 34:5; throne in heaven, Is. 40:22; 66:1; Ezek. 1:26; in the northern sky, Ps. 48:3(2); Is. 14:13; light streams from his throne, Dan. 7:9, cp. Ezek. 1:27.

⁶⁶ *KAT.*³, p. 355.

⁶⁷ Knudtzon, 8:18.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 37: 26.

⁶⁹ 'Ash bel, Gen. 46:21; *Iasbel*, LXX for MT *Yahse'el*, Gen. 46:24; *Iōbel*, LXX for MT *Ga'al*, Judg. 9:26; *Iobel* or *Iōbel*, LXX for MT *Yabal*, Gen. 4:20; *Bela'*, Gen. 36:32, &c.; *Bil'am*, Num. 22:5, &c.; *Gaibel*, LXX for MT 'Ebal, Gen. 36:23; *Bil-gah*, 1 Chr. 24:14, &c.; *Bil-Dad*, Job 2:11, &c.; *Bil-Han*, Gen. 36:27, &c.

⁷⁰ *BL-TN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 236.

⁷¹ 'YTY-BL, *ibid.*, p. 214.

⁷² 'LH-BL, p. 216; *BL-BEK*, p. 236; *BL-KB*, *BL-ShWR*, *BL-ShWRY*, p. 237; *YDY-BL*, p. 285; *KMRY-BL*, p. 297; *MLK-BL*, a god, p. 310; *NDR-BL*, *NWR-BL*, p. 322; 'BD-BL, p. 333; *ShKY-BL*, p. 375; *TKLY-BL*, p. 386; *ZBD-BL*, p. 265.

⁷³ One in Zebulun, Josh. 19:15, another in Judah, Ruth 1:19.

⁷⁴ LXX: Βηθλεέμ οἶκος Ἐφραθα. 'Ephrathah in MT, Mic. 5:2 (1); Ruth 4:11.

⁷⁵ Or *Lahmas*, Josh. 15:40.

Sheba'. The group of evil demons known as "the seven," often invoked in incantations, evidently had some connection with the deity *Sibitti*, "seven," who represented the seven stars of the Pleiades.⁷⁶ The facts that the Hebrew word *sheba'* means both "swear" and "seven," and that this name survives in the old place-name *Be'er-Sheba'*,⁷⁷ and in the personal names *Bath-Sheba'*,⁷⁸ *'Eli-Sheba'*,⁷⁹ *Yehō-Sheba'*,⁸⁰ and *Sheba'*⁸¹ show that the cult of this Babylonian god, or group of demons, made its influence felt in Palestine. Probably the famous oath-ritual of Beer-sheba, which Amos condemned,⁸² involved the invocation of these evil demons in making covenants.

Sacred Numbers. The numbers *seven*, *twelve*, and probably *ten* and *forty*, when considered in their respective relation to sacred objects, events, and rites, possessed a sacrosanct value. This veneration for sacred numbers must have originated in Babylon where religious reflection had a chance to crystallize. The origin of the early calendar, which the Hebrews probably adopted from the Canaanites, dividing the year into twelve lunar months and each month into four weeks of seven days each, undoubtedly grew out of Babylonian astral worship.⁸³

The seven heavenly bodies, including the sun, moon, and five planets; the seven-day division of the week;⁸⁴ and the seven-demon god *Sibitti*⁸⁵ probably helped to form a basis for the evident reverence for *seven* which is found surviving in the West. Such survivals are found in the seven-fold obeisance to which the Palestinian princes often made reference when writing to Pharaoh,⁸⁶ and by which Jacob showed courtesy on one occasion;⁸⁷ in the invocation of the seven demons implied in the oath-formula;⁸⁸ in the number of altars and offerings

⁷⁶ *KAT.*³, pp. 459, 620 f.

⁷⁷ Gen. 21:31, &c.

⁷⁸ 2 Sam. 11:3, &c.

⁷⁹ Ex. 6:23.

⁸⁰ 2 K. 11:2.

⁸¹ 2 Sam. 20:1, &c.

⁸² S. 14. See p. 86.

⁸³ *KAT.*³, p. 620; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, pp. 62 ff.

⁸⁴ Ex. 34:21; Deut. 5:14.

⁸⁵ See above. Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 174, 292.

⁸⁶ See "Obeisance," Chap. XXII.

⁸⁷ Gen. 33:3.

⁸⁸ Skinner, *Genesis*, on 21:22-34. See Oath, p. 51.

used by Balaam;⁸⁹ in the number of pillars standing at one time at Gezer;⁹⁰ in the duration of the days of fasting,⁹¹ of uncleanness from leprosy,⁹² of encompassing Jericho,⁹³ and of the feasts of unleavened bread⁹⁴ and tabernacles;⁹⁵ and in the seven-year period ending with the year of release.⁹⁶

The twelve months of the year and the twelve signs of the zodiac⁹⁷ evidently left a reverence for the number *twelve* which may linger in the number of the tribes of Israel,⁹⁸ the springs of 'Elim,⁹⁹ the pillars erected at Sinai,¹⁰⁰ the stones composing the sacred heap at Gilgal,¹⁰¹ and the rough stone altar on Carmel.¹⁰²

What ancient basis existed for the sacredness of the numbers *ten* and *forty* is not known. At any rate, in the oldest literature of the Old Testament the number *ten* finds a possible sacred content in the ten words given on Sinai¹⁰³ and in the tithe-offering required at the sanctuary of Beth-el;¹⁰⁴ while *forty* shows the regard with which it was held in the duration of the days of fasting¹⁰⁵ and of Moses' communion with Yahweh in the mount¹⁰⁶ and of the years of wandering in the wilderness.¹⁰⁷

Egyptian Influence in Canaan during this early period is necessarily insignificant owing to the fact that the early Egyptian kings did not have the passion for conquest that the later

⁸⁹ Num. 23:1 ff.

⁹⁰ See *Gezer*, Chap. XVIII.

⁹¹ 1 Sam. 31:13.

⁹² Num. 12:15; cp. 2 K. 5:10, 14.

⁹³ Josh. 6:14 ff.

⁹⁴ Ex. 13:6; 23:15; 34:18.

⁹⁵ Deut. 16:13. .

⁹⁶ Deut. 15.

⁹⁷ *KAT.*², p. 620.

⁹⁸ Ex. 24:4, &c.

⁹⁹ 15:27.

¹⁰⁰ 24:4.

¹⁰¹ Josh. 4:8.

¹⁰² 1 K. 18:31.

¹⁰³ Ex. 34:28.

¹⁰⁴ Gen. 28:22.

¹⁰⁵ Ex. 34:28; 1 K. 19:8.

¹⁰⁶ Ex. 24:18; 34:28; Deut. 9:9, 11, 18; 10:10.

¹⁰⁷ Deut. 2:7; 8:2, &c.

kings had. However, three expeditions northward into Asia are known to have been undertaken in this period: one by Snefru of the third dynasty in order to secure cedar lumber from Lebanon;¹⁰⁸ another by Uni, a general of Pepi I of the sixth dynasty, in order to subdue the coast towns (c. 2570);¹⁰⁹ and another by Sesostris III of the twelfth dynasty (c. 1875).¹¹⁰ The Amorite seal-cylinder found at Tanaach¹¹¹ which combines the Babylonian cuneiform with an Egyptian emblem shows at least an interesting point of contact between the two contemporaneous civilizations.

¹⁰⁸ Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 89.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, §§ 311-313.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, §§ 676-687.

¹¹¹ Sellin, p. 105.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONCEPTION OF LIFE AFTER DEATH

It is only by gathering up the primitive Semitic beliefs from ancient Babylonian, Canaanite, Hebrew, and ancient Arabic sources, as well as from primitive Semitic survivals of to-day, that we are able to determine what must have been the belief of the Amorites relative to the life after death. The facts that throw light on this subject naturally arrange themselves into two distinct systems of belief, which had two independent origins, but which were woven into one system, with no thought of incongruity, by the eastern and western Semites. One group of ideas, easily recognizable by its primitive character, belongs in common to all Semitic peoples; while the other belongs to the Semites who came in closest contact with the old Sumerian civilization, namely the Amorites of Babylonia and the West. This distinction has been made clear by Professor Paton whose results have largely been embodied here.¹

I. Primitive ideas of the soul after death

1. Among all ancient peoples the fact of death led to the discrimination between the animating principle of the body and the body itself. This animating principle, which manifested itself in acting, feeling, and knowing, left the body at death; while the corpse remained to decay. Since the cessation of breathing and the flowing of blood from a mortal wound were the accompaniments of death, it was natural for the primitive mind to see in the breath and the blood the very seat of the soul. This hypothesis is sustained by the fact that, in many languages, the words for *spirit* are either identical with the words for "breath" or "wind," or are cognates of them. The Hebrew *nephesh*, "soul," which was either identical with the blood² or resided in it, bears a significant relation with the Arabic *nafs*, "soul," "blood," and *nafas*, "breath"; the Ethio-

¹ *BW.*, xxv. (1910), pp. 8 ff.

² Gen. 9:4; Lev. 17:11, 14; Deut. 12:23.

pic *nafes*; the Syrian *nafshā*; and the Assyrian *napishtu*, "breath."

2. Belief in the soul's survival is a common heritage of every primitive as well as every civilized race of men. There has been no exception to this rule in any race of the past or of the present. As far back as the period of the mammoth in western Europe such a belief is clearly indicated by the discovery in tombs of food vessels, weapons, implements, and ornaments.³ Similarly, in the ancient tombs at Tello and at Nippur in Babylonia,⁴ at Gezer,⁵ at Megiddo,⁶ and at Beth-shemesh⁷ these common every-day articles, together with food and drinking vessels, show that the future life was regarded in some way as a repetition of the earthly. Moreover, the belief that spirits of the dead, as for instance Samuel, could appear to the living, and the application of the Hebrew term *nephesh*, which stood primarily for "breath," "soul,"⁸ to the corpse itself,⁹ surely reveal survivals of this primitive belief.

3. The *nature* and *character* of the soul in the future state was conceived in terms of breath, wind, shadow, specter, and reflection. Among the Greeks, the shades of the dead were smoke-like and intangible,¹⁰ and so weak that only by drinking the warm fresh blood of sacrificial victims could they be revived to activity.¹¹ In Babylonia the evil spirits, which in reality were the restless shades of the dead that plagued the living, are described in incantation sentences as "roaming wind-blasts," "evil wind-gusts."¹²

Hebrew conceptions are in perfect accord with this unsubstantial nature of the shade, since the Hebrew word *nephesh* originally meant "wind," "breath," and since the usual word

³ D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 15 ff.

⁴ Peters, *Nippur*, ii. p. 173; Maspero, p. 686.

⁵ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 392 ff.

⁶ Sellin, pp. 14 ff.

⁷ *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 58 ff.

⁸ 1 K. 17:21, 22; Job 11:20; 31:30; Jer. 15:9.

⁹ Lev. 19:28; 21:11; 22:4; Num. 5:2; 6:6, 11; 9:7, 10; 19:11, 13; Hag. 2:13.

¹⁰ *Iliad*, xxiii. 99-107; *Odyssey*, xi. 204-224.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xi. 34 ff.

¹² Thompson, i. pp. xxvii, 77

for shades is *repha'im*,¹³ "feeble ones." The old Testament pictures them as "weak,"¹⁴ "helpless,"¹⁵ "groping like the blind," and "stumbling at noonday."¹⁶ From these analogies one can be safe in positing for the Amorites a similar conception of the unsubstantial nature of departed spirits.

Moreover, the nature of the disembodied soul was never conceived by the ancient Semites as apart from the body which it once animated. The following observations make this plain:

a. The soul was thought to present, though in a paler and more shadowy degree, a corporeal appearance; and this appearance was an exact likeness of the body at death. Accordingly, the shades of fallen heroes appear to Ulysses as "mangled by the spear and clad in bloody armor."¹⁷ The warriors of cruel nations are represented by Ezekiel as slain by the sword and lying in their graves.¹⁸ The shade of Samuel was recognized by his hoary appearance and his accustomed robe;¹⁹ while the kings of the earth are distinguished, in the conception of one writer, by their habit of sitting on thrones clad no doubt in their royal robes.²⁰

b. The soul could not be thought of apart from the corpse and its resting-place. The departed spirit among the ancient Arabs was known as *hāma* which meant originally "skull," the most characteristic part of the body.²¹ At her tomb in Ramah the soul of Rachel was heard "weeping for her (captive) children."²² Graves, among the Babylonians, and burying-grounds among the Arabs, were places whence issued ghosts to plague men and Jinn to scare the living.²³ The disembodied spirit felt the pain of scars and wounds on its corpse as keenly as if it

¹³ Job 26:5; Ps. 88:11(10); Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16; Is. 14:9; 26:14, 19.

¹⁴ Is. 14:10.

¹⁵ Ps. 88:5(4).

¹⁶ Is. 59:10.

¹⁷ *Odyssey*, xi. 40-43.

¹⁸ Ezek. 31:18; 32:21 ff.; cp. Is. 14:19.

¹⁹ 1 Sam. 28:14.

²⁰ Is. 14:9; cp. 19.

²¹ *HERE*, i. p. 672^a.

²² Jer. 31:15.

²³ Doughty, i. p. 448.

were in a living body.²⁴ The universal custom of depositing useful articles and offerings of food and drink with the dead,²⁵ and the Hebrew taboo which was attached to any one who touched a corpse,²⁶ find their only explanation in the belief that the departed soul still lingered about the body.

c. Finally the belief in the lingering presence of the spirit near its corpse and its tomb is shown in the great care that was exercised by the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs in the burial of their dead. Should the corpse be left unburied²⁷ to be devoured by wild beasts and birds, or should even a tomb be desecrated,²⁸ the soul haunting that corpse or that tomb was thus made to suffer grievous discomfort. Such an outrage, among the Assyrians, Babylonians,²⁹ and ancient Arabs,³⁰ was committed only against the worst criminals and the most hated enemies.

The Hebrews were also careful to bury their dead. Dying fathers strictly charged their sons to perform the usual funeral rites.³¹ Improper burial, as when a body was left on the ground,³² or was torn by beasts and birds,³³ was regarded as the greatest calamity that could come to the soul, which in consequence would suffer the greatest torture. The ordinary criminal, according to a humane law, was given proper interment;³⁴ but notorious transgressors, or most despised foreign enemies, were, for punitive reasons, often refused burial³⁵ or were burned.³⁶ Burning the bones from desecrated tombs was justifiable when practiced against transgressors,³⁷ but was condemned when practiced against a foreign king.³⁸

²⁴ 1 Sam. 17:51 ff.; 18:25, 27; 2 Sam. 4:12; 20:22; cp. Job 14:21 ff.

²⁵ See p. 12.

²⁶ Num. 19:11.

²⁷ Cp. *Gil Epic* (xii. Col. 6) and Sophocles, *Antigone*, 27 ff., &c.

²⁸ Annals of Ashurb., vi. 70 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 73 ff.; vii. 45.

³⁰ *HERE.*, i. p. 672a.

³¹ Gen. 47:30.

³² 1 K. 14:13; Is. 14:19 ff.; Jer. 22:19; 25:33; 36:30.

³³ Gen. 37:33; 1 Sam. 17:44, 46; 2 Sam. 21:10; 2 K. 9:35 ff.

³⁴ Deut. 21:22 ff.; Josh. 7:24-26.

³⁵ 1 Sam. 17:44, 46; Ezek. 29:5.

³⁶ Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; Josh. 7:15, 25; Is. 30:33.

³⁷ 1 K. 13:2; 2 K. 23:16, 20.

³⁸ Am. 2:1.

This belief that the soul lingered near the corpse also accounts for the Hebrew expression for burial, namely, "gather unto one's fathers,"³⁹ which implies that the soul could have fellowship with the spirits of the fathers in the family sepulcher. It was fitting, therefore, that Abraham should secure a family tomb, that Jacob's bones should be carried thither, and that the kings of Judah should be buried with their fathers in the royal sepulcher. Burial outside of the family tomb meant a deprivation of this enjoyment with kindred spirits, and was, therefore, calamitous.⁴⁰

4. *The powers possessed by the soul after death were spiritual, apparitional, and locomotive.*

a. The spiritual powers such as knowledge, feeling, and will were in no wise diminished but increased, though the physical powers of the dead were gone. The soul of the murdered Arab remembered the wrong done, called through an owl for vengeance upon his slayer, and could not be appeased without drinking, through means of a libation poured on the grave, the blood of his murderer.⁴¹ Among the Babylonians the ghosts of those who die childless or unmarried, and of those who met other untimely deaths, as through murder or through childbirth, remembered so keenly these misfortunes that they could not rest in their graves.⁴² Besides memory they possessed greater knowledge than the living in that they could foresee future events and could reveal such facts to the living through a seer. Thus the ancient Arab magician had a *tābī'*, "follower," or a *rā'ī*, "one who sees," that is, a familiar spirit who occasionally revealed secrets to him.⁴³ Among the Hebrews also it was the belief that the dead had powers of memory, perception, feeling, and foreknowledge. The soul which resided in the blood of the murdered Abel was conscious of wrong done and cried for vengeance unto Yahweh from the ground;⁴⁴ and the souls under the altar were heard by John to cry out, "How long, O Master, . . . dost thou not judge and avenge our

³⁹ 2 K. 22:20.

⁴⁰ 1 K. 13:22; Ps. 26:9; cp. 2 Sam. 18:17; 2 K. 21:18.

⁴¹ *HERE*, i. p. 272^a.

⁴² Thompson, i. pp. 39 ff.

⁴³ *HERE*, i. p. 671^a.

⁴⁴ Gen. 4:10.

blood on them that dwell on the earth?"⁴⁵ The spirit of Samuel remembered Saul and the words that he himself had spoken relative to the king's downfall.⁴⁶ The blessing or the curse of a dying father upon his son carried a potency after death because his spirit could secure its fulfilment.⁴⁷ The feeling of grief by Rachel over the captivity of her children,⁴⁸ that of joy by the spirits of the dead over the downfall of Babylon,⁴⁹ and that of comfort by the shade of Pharaoh over the multitudes of the dead,⁵⁰ all show belief in the continued consciousness of the shades and in their interest in the events of life. The soul of Samuel and all other *yidde'ōnīm*, "familiar spirits,"⁵¹ which were consulted by the *rō'eh* "seer," were regarded as having supernatural insight into the future, and could, therefore, give valuable advice to the living.

b. The belief in the apparitional and the vocal powers of departed spirits, who appeared and spoke to the living, is well-nigh universal. The wind-like, transparent specter of Eabani appeared to Gilgamesh and talked with him.⁵² Among the Babylonians it was the belief that departed spirits, as specters, lurked in the desert, the mountain, the sea, and the graveyard lying in wait for man.⁵³ The Greeks also believed that ghosts appeared and spoke to men.⁵⁴ Likewise, among the Hebrews the *'ōb*, "ghost," was thought to gibber from the ground;⁵⁵ and the shades of the dead were believed to talk with seers and with other persons.⁵⁶

c. Although the soul was thought to maintain usually a close relation with the decaying body; yet, at the same time, it had the power of leaving the body and moving over the earth with infinite rapidity. According to a Babylonian incantation,

⁴⁵ Rev. 6:10.

⁴⁶ 1 Sam. 28:16 ff.

⁴⁷ Gen. 27:3 ff.

⁴⁸ Jer. 31:15.

⁴⁹ Is. 14:9 ff.

⁵⁰ Ezek. 32:31.

⁵¹ 1 Sam. 28:3, 9; 2 K. 21:6; Is. 8:19; 19:3.

⁵² *Gil. Epic*, xii.

⁵³ Thompson, i. pp. xxiv. ff.

⁵⁴ *Odyssey*, xi. 59 ff., 155 ff., &c.

⁵⁵ Is. 29:4.

⁵⁶ 1 Sam. 28; Job 4:15 ff.; 2 Macc. 15:12-15.

“They are the children of the Underworld.

The children born of Earth.

The highest walls, the thickest wall:

Like a flood they pass.

From house to house they break through;

No door can shut them out,

No bolt can turn them back,

Through the door like a snake they glide;

Through the hinge like a wind they blow.”⁵⁷

In accordance with this supernatural power they could take up their abodes in material objects and the bodies of men and animals. To obviate such a possibility an effort was made to confine, if possible, the spirit near its grave by the erection at the grave of an upright stone called, in North Arabic *nus̥b*, in Hebrew, *maṣṣebah* “pillar,” or *yad*, “monument,” and in Aramaic, *nephesh*, “tombstone.” The ancient Arabs erected such a stone, or made a pile of stones at the grave, for an abode of the departed spirit. It is significant that the old word for soul came in North Semitic to designate “tombstone.”⁵⁸ In Babylon images of hideous animal monsters were often placed at the doors of houses and temples for the purpose of inviting the dreadful demons to enter and dwell within them.⁵⁹ The Hebrews likewise were accustomed to erect *maṣṣebahs*, or *yads*, or *gals*, “heaps,” at graves, presumably for the same purpose.⁶⁰

Spirits which possessed men caused all sorts of physical, mental, and emotional phenomena. In Babylonia all kinds of sickness were attributed to the possession of demons whose hold could be loosened only by repeated incantation and invocations by the exorciser. Among the Arabs insanity was explained as possession by the Jinn whence the name *majnūn*, “insane.” Yahweh absorbed the functions of the Canaanite lesser spirits; and, for that reason, Saul’s insanity is represented as due to “an evil spirit from Yahweh.”⁶¹ The leper was regarded as afflicted

⁵⁷ Thompson, i. pp. 51, 53.

⁵⁸ Cooke, p. 214.

⁵⁹ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 281.

⁶⁰ 2 Sam. 18:18.

⁶¹ 1 Sam. 16:14.

by a demon which only powerful incantations could drive away.⁶² The hereditary transmission of this disease may have been explained as issuing from the spirits of departed relatives.⁶³ The demoniacs of New Testament times need only to be mentioned.

Spirits also took possession of animals. The raven and the hawk among the Babylonians, and the owl among the Assyrians and Arabs, were regarded as birds that possessed supernatural powers, and were naturally of ill omen because they were embodiments of evil demons.⁶⁴ Demons also took the forms of beasts and of serpents both in Babylonia and in Arabia.⁶⁵ Perhaps it was a taboo resting on certain animals regarded as demon-possessed which eventually determined the Hebrew list of unclean beasts. At any rate, these birds of ill omen and the serpent were listed with the unclean beasts of the Hebrew code.⁶⁶

II. Sheol, the Realm of the Dead

Alongside of this universal primitive Semitic belief that the spirit of the dead lingered about the grave there existed another conception, which for us is radically contradictory, but which by the early Amorites could readily be amalgamated with the more primitive idea. This was the belief that departed spirits went to a great subterranean cavern. It had its origin among the Sumerians, then passed over to the Babylonian Semites, then to the western Semites through Babylonian rule in the west, and so on down through the centuries to the Hebrews.⁶⁷

By the Babylonians, this abode was known as *Aralū*; *Kigal*, or *Kigallu*, "great beneath" or "underworld," and *Irkalu*, "great city"; and was described as "Land of the Dead," "Mountain-house of the Dead," "House of Tammuz," "Dead," "Earth,"⁶⁸ *Nakbu*, "the hollow,"⁶⁹ and "the Hole of the

⁶² 2 K. 5:11.

⁶³ 5:27.

⁶⁴ Thompson, i. p. 1.; *HERE.*, i. p. 272a.

⁶⁵ Lev. 11; Deut. 14.

⁶⁶ Wellh., pp. 152, 157, 185.

⁶⁷ The whole subject is presented by Lewis B. Paton, in *BW.*, xxxv. (1910), pp. 159 ff.

⁶⁸ *Gil. Epic.*, XII iv. 2.

⁶⁹ G. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 16.

Earth."⁷⁰ *Aralū* was located in the depths of the earth, as is implied by the expressions "go down to" and "come up from." It was so vast and deep that it was thought of as the subterranean counterpart of the celestial dome of the earthly firmament.⁷¹ The soul on its journey to *Aralū* pursued a westward course, similar to that of the heavenly bodies, to the great region of darkness. On this journey it crossed the Great Sea in a boat, as Gilgamesh did attended by a ferryman;⁷² entered the "Waters of Death" beyond the strait of Gibraltar and finally reached the western horizon. The soul then passed through seven successive gates⁷³ which pierced the seven respective enclosing walls of *Aralū*, and which were fastened with bars and were opened by a porter. This vast cavern to which the shades came was a region of darkness, being described as a "dark dwelling" where those who enter are "deprived of light,"⁷⁴ for "they see not the light: they dwell in darkness."⁷⁵ Since it was the abode of the dead, it is represented—to harmonize with the primitive conception of a tomb in the earth—as a vast tomb which includes many individual ones, the same ideogram being used for "grave" that is used for *Aralū*. To carry out this conception of a grave, *Aralū* is pictured as a place where dust is strewn "over door and bar"—dust being the food and nourishment of the shades⁷⁶—and where worms eat every thing that the heart of the living delights in on earth.⁷⁷ Moreover, the realm of the dead, in analogy with an earthly kingdom, was ruled by a king. This ruler was *Nergal*, or *Irkalla*; and *Eresh-kigal*, "Mistress of the Underworld," was his wife. They had, in their service, the death-demon *Namtāru* and his host of evil spirits who were wont to wander

⁷⁰ *KB.*, vi. p. 262.

⁷¹ Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (1887); *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, in *Der Alte Orient* (1900); Jensen; *KAT.*³, p. 635; Warren, *Earliest Cosmologies* (1900); Jastrow, *Die Kel.*, i. pp. 65, 157, 354.

⁷² *Gil. Epic*, *KB.*, vi. 217-23.

⁷³ *Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 37-62.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, obv. 7.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁷ *Gil. Epic*, XII iv.

over the earth securing new subjects for *Aralū* by disseminating deadly diseases. Sooner or later these demons were successful in their mission; for it was the prevailing belief that "the day let no one go." "He who at eventide is alive at daybreak is dead," so went a proverb. When once the watchman seized a man there was no release:⁷⁸ he must abide forever in the "Land of No Return."⁷⁹ Hence the Babylonians did not conceive of any resurrection from the dead. It was possible, on exceptional conditions, to be snatched from death and be translated to the abode of the gods as was Ut (Šit?, Pir?) = napish-tim,⁸⁰ the Babylonian Noah; but this was not a resurrection. Furthermore, the Babylonians never conceived of *Aralū* as a place of rewards and punishments for conduct in this life. No divisions were made there separating the righteous from the wicked, for all the shades had all things in common. However, some shades suffered greater discomfort and restlessness than others; but this was caused by improper burial of the body and by the lack of the customary offerings for the dead.

Turning now to the Amorite and the Canaanite conceptions of the abode of the dead that survive in the literature of the Hebrews who came into possession of these beliefs after entering Canaan, we find the utmost harmony with the Babylonian view just presented. The abode of the dead was known as *Sheol*, which was frequently put in parallelism with *Maweth*, "Death,"⁸¹ or was referred to as *Methim*, "the dead,"⁸² or 'Ereš, "Earth,"⁸³ and was often called 'Ereš-tahtiyōth,⁸⁴ "Lowerland," or "Underworld," and *Shahath*,⁸⁵ or *Bör*, "Pit."⁸⁶ Sheol was in the depths of the earth, even below the waters under the earth.⁸⁷ Corresponding to the earthly firmament it was deep as the heights of heaven,⁸⁸ and was lower than

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, XII iii.

⁷⁹ *Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 1, 6, 41.

⁸⁰ *Gil. Epic*, xi, 198-204.

⁸¹ 2 Sam. 22:5, 6; Hos. 13:14.

⁸² Ps. 115:17.

⁸³ Ex. 15:12; Is. 14:9; 29:4; Eccl. 3:21.

⁸⁴ Ezek. 26:20; 31:14; 32:18, 24.

⁸⁵ Job 33:18, &c.; Is. 38:17, &c.; Ezek. 28:8.

⁸⁶ Ps. 28:1, &c.; Prov. 1:12, &c.; Is. 14:15, &c.; Ezek. 26:20, &c.

⁸⁷ Job 26:5; Lam. 3:54; Jonah 2:4 ff. (3 ff.).

⁸⁸ Job 11:8; Ps. 139:8; Is. 7:11; Am. 9:2.

the foundations of the mountains.⁸⁹ The departed spirit "went down to," or was "brought down to" Sheol; while the convalescent who escaped death was "brought up from Sheol." The shade, in his journey to Sheol, according to the author of Enoch,⁹⁰ apparently pursued a westerly course; and, according to the parallelism of "crossing the seas" with "going up into the heaven,"⁹¹ crossed the Great Sea. The Babylonian conception of the "waters of death" comes to frequent expression in Hebrew poetry whenever the writer describes the narrow escapes of the soul from the snares of death. Thus the soul is "cast into the depth, into the heart of the seas"; is encompassed with the "waves of death," "the floods of Belial," is submerged in "waves" and "billows," and is ensnared in "the weeds" of the deep and the "cords of Sheol."⁹² The seven-fold division of Sheol, though not mentioned except in later Jewish theology, is, nevertheless, implied by the expressions "gates of Sheol"⁹³ and "porters of Sheol."⁹⁴ Beyond the "gates" and "bars" of Sheol,⁹⁵ the soul enters the "chambers of death"⁹⁶ and the "recesses of the pit"⁹⁷ which are "the land of darkness and of deep gloom; the land dark as thick darkness; the land of deep gloom without any order, where the light is as thick darkness."⁹⁸ The soul lies "down in the dust."⁹⁹ This place is pictured as a vast tomb¹⁰⁰ where worms crawl over the corpses¹⁰¹ and cover them. Like *Aralū* Sheol is ruled by a potentate who is known to the Canaanites as *Mūth*¹⁰²

⁸⁹ Deut. 32:22; Jonah 2:7(6).

⁹⁰ 22:1-4.

⁹¹ 22:1-4.

⁹² Deut. 30:12 ff.; Ps. 18:5 ff.(4 ff.); Jonah 2:4-6 (3-5); cp. Ps. 88:8(7); 124:4, 5; Am. 9:3.

⁹³ Job 38:17; Ps. 9:13; 107:18; Is. 38:10.

⁹⁴ Job 38:17 (LXX).

⁹⁵ Job 17:16; Jonah 2:7(6).

⁹⁶ Prov. 7:27.

⁹⁷ Is. 14:15; Ezek. 32:23.

⁹⁸ Job 10:21, 22; cp. 17:13; 38:17; Ps. 88:7(6), 13(12); 143:3.

⁹⁹ Job 7:21; 17:16; Is. 29:4.

¹⁰⁰ Ezek. 32:17-32.

¹⁰¹ Is. 14:11.

¹⁰² See Chap. XXVIII.

and *Sheol*,¹⁰³ and to the Hebrews as *Bala'-'el*¹⁰³ whose nature is well depicted by poetic parallelisms and personifications as "Death,"¹⁰⁴ "Shepherd,"¹⁰⁵ "King of Terrors,"¹⁰⁶ and "Destroyer."¹⁰⁷ He is represented as a hungry monster whose immense jaws are ever open and eager to swallow men.¹⁰⁸

Active in the service of this god in securing new recruits for *Sheol*, are evil demons which, as personified diseases, are represented as "Destroyers,"¹⁰⁹ "Terrors,"¹¹⁰ "Plagues of Death,"¹¹¹ "Pangs of Death," "Pains of *Sheol*,"¹¹² "Destruction,"¹¹³ "Calamity," and "First-born of Death."¹¹⁴ Sooner or later man had to go "the way of all the earth"¹¹⁵ "to the house appointed for all living"¹¹⁶ from which there was no return.¹¹⁷ Enoch and Elijah escaped death by translation; but this was not a resurrection which for the early Semites was an unknown idea. In the realm of the dead there was no partition separating the wicked from the righteous, as for instance, Samuel from Saul;¹¹⁸ but there was a common existence in one place.¹¹⁹ However, some shades suffered more discomfort and unrest than others; but this was not apportioned according to a law of rewards and punishments depending upon the earthly existence, but was conditioned on the proper or improper funeral and burial rites.¹²⁰

¹⁰³ See Chap. XXVIII.

¹⁰⁴ Job 30:23; Ps. 49:15(14); 107:18.

¹⁰⁵ Ps. 49:15(14).

¹⁰⁶ Job 18:14.

¹⁰⁷ Ex. 12:23.

¹⁰⁸ Prov. 1:12; 27:20; 30:15 ff.; Is. 5:14; Hab. 2:5; cp. Jonah 2:3(2).

¹⁰⁹ Job 33:22.

¹¹⁰ 18:11, 14.

¹¹¹ Hos. 13:14.

¹¹² Ps. 116:3.

¹¹³ Hos. 13:14.

¹¹⁴ Job 18:12, 13.

¹¹⁵ Josh. 23:14; I K. 2:2.

¹¹⁶ Job 30:23.

¹¹⁷ 2 Sam. 12:23; 14:14; Job 7:9, 10.

¹¹⁸ 1 Sam. 28:19.

¹¹⁹ Gen. 37:35; Job 3:13-19; Is. 14:9 ff.; Ezek. 31:18.

¹²⁰ Is. 14:19; Ezek. 31:16.

STUDIES IN ISAIAH

KEMPER FULLERTON

OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

I. On Is. 2:5 and Mi. 4:5

Is Is. 2:5 a call to repentance or an exhortation to enjoy a privilege? It has usually been taken in the former sense. The reason for this is the desire to explain the 'כ of vs. 6: the call to repentance is necessary because the people at present are *not* walking in the light of the Lord but quite the contrary, as is shown by vs. 6 ff.¹ But this connection cannot be original; the transition to vs. 6 ff. is altogether too abrupt and harsh. The next step is therefore to hold that vs. 5, which is supposed to establish this faulty connection with what follows, is a gloss.² But the interpretation of vs. 5, upon which this critical conclusion is based, is false. Vs. 5 is not expressed as a call to repentance. We would expect in that case the use of the verb שׁוּב³. Vs. 5 is an exhortation to enjoy a privilege, and its connection is with what precedes.⁴ The thought does not rest upon the logical antithesis that the House of Jacob may not be enjoying the privilege. It rests upon the positive thought of the privilege to be enjoyed.⁵ The author is not thinking of the darkness in which they *are* walking but of the light in which they *may* walk.

But vs. 5 lies outside the most probable strophical scheme of the poem in vss. 2-4, i. e. three stanzas of six lines each.⁶ Accordingly vs. 5 is probably to be regarded as a later comment upon the poem. Was it added by the editor who is responsible for the

¹ Cf. Ges., Hitz., Di.

² Cf. Duhm.

³ It is interesting to note how Gesenius and Hitzig insert the words *wenden* (Ges.) or *bekehren* (Hitz.) in their paraphrases.

⁴ For the connection with what precedes cf. Ew. Ch. Marti, though in none of these writers is the exact force of the verse adequately brought out.

⁵ Cf. Rejoice in the Lord alway, etc., Phil. 3:1.

⁶ Cf. Duhm and J. M. P. Smith at Mi. The five stanzas of four lines (Marti and Gray) require an unnatural stanza-division in the middle of vs. 3 and also the addition of Mi. 4:4.

present position of the poem in Isaiah? Probably not. If the editor of Isaiah had tinkered with the poem at all it would have been in the direction of adding to it some sort of a connecting link to adjust it to what follows, but this is exactly what he has not done.

Is Mi. 4:5 a call to repentance or an exhortation to enjoy a privilege? It is neither. Is it the record of a vow or the statement of a fact? The verse is not quite unambiguous in its mode of expression. If we work back from לעולם ועד we might argue that נלך is to be translated either by *will* or *shall* (*wollen* or *werden*). In that case vs. 5b will be either the record of a vow or the statement of a *future* fact. But if נלך is to be given the force of a future, it is natural, because of the parallelism, to assign the same force to ילכו.¹ But what then is the precise purpose of the statement that all the peoples will hereafter walk, each in the name of its god? It is difficult to say unless it was intended to contradict in express terms the statement of the prophecy in vss. 1-3. Vss. 1-3 state that in the future many nations will turn to Jahweh, vs. 5 would state that in the future all nations will walk in idolatry. It is not advisable to posit a contradiction as aggressive and violent as this would be unless there is some compelling reason to do so. If we take ילכו as a present and vs. 5a as the statement of a fact in the present, and work forward, then, because of the parallelism, it is most natural to assign to נלך the same force. We would then have two contrasted statements of *present* fact. The nations walk in the name of their gods and we walk in the name of ours.² But what then of לעולם ועד?

¹ So Hitzig.

² Cf. Well. and Nowack for the present force of the two tenses. It has been objected that if it were desired to express a present fact, a participle would be used. That the participle would be an appropriate mode to describe the present situation is of course recognized, but that the imperfect can be used with equal propriety is equally certain; though admittedly the imperfect is less frequent. Cf. Jer. 9:3, Job 9:11; Is. 1:23, Ps. 99:6, 1 K. 17:6 (in these three cases in parallelism with the participle) and especially 1 S. 11:5a and Jer. 6:4b. In the two latter cases the frequentative idea of the imperfect is almost lost. But at Mi. 4:5 this frequentative idea is probably present, in which case the interpretation of the tenses as present is absolutely normal. Since the imperfect as well as the participle can certainly be used of the present, the question as to its force in any passage is purely a matter of exegesis. Cf. Driver, *Heb. Tenses*, secs. 32, 33; König, *Syntax*, sec. 160.

This must be regarded as a slight afterthought and as reflecting back upon נל a secondary reference to the future: We walk [now and will continue to walk] for ever and ever.⁹ Thus, while Mi. 4:5 allows of several interpretations so far as its tense values are concerned we have certainly neither a call to repentance nor an exhortation to enjoy a privilege and probably neither a vow nor a description of a future condition but rather a statement of a present fact. This conclusion is borne out when we come to examine the relationship of vs. 5 to its context. Here there can be no question that it is to be connected with what precedes because of the 'נ. But what is the force of this conjunction? The commentators have too often failed to explain it.¹⁰ Wellhausen, so far as I have observed, has made the only suggestion that is worthy of consideration. According to him the verse will say: Every nation has its own god, only we have the true God to whom *therefore* all nations will hereafter come. This explanation may do for want of a better but no one would claim that the thought here suggested is naturally expressed. Paraphrased the thought on this interpretation runs thus: Many nations will come to Jahweh hereafter because ('נ) all nations at present are idolaters but we Jews worship the true God. It is clear that the first clause in vs. 5b is introduced in the most awkward way if it is the intention of the writer to express the thought suggested by Wellhausen. The simple statement of the present antithesis between the religion of the heathen and the religion of the Jews is not in itself an adequate explanation for the future conversion of the heathen. It could be just as easily, or rather more easily, a reason for the future destruction of the heathen. Further, when one examines into vs. 5 more carefully it is seen that in thought and temper it differs too widely from vss. 1-3 to be regarded as an explanation of these verses. In vss. 1-3 breathes a spirit of universalism and magnificent tolera-

⁹ Cf. Caspari long ago.

¹⁰ Hitzig holds that vs. 5 is the delayed reason for the change from the threat of chap. 3 to the promise of chap. 4! Ewald translates by *Wenn . . . so wollen wir*, and so also J. M. P. Smith: *Though . . . yet we will*, but the latter scholar neither justifies nor explains this translation. Nowack translates by *denn*, but explains the verse really as an antithesis: *Jetzt ist es noch nicht so wie eben geschildert*. Marti omits all explanation. Caspari made an honest attempt to explain the connection but was able to do so only by reading into the passage a whole series of dogmatic ideas.

tion almost unrivalled in the Old Testament.¹¹ In vs. 5 there is the spirit of post-exilic Jewish exclusiveness. The emphatic **אֲנַחְנוּ**, to which commentators do not pay sufficient attention in estimating the peculiar quality of the verse, will contrast the privileges and piety of Judaism with the obstinacy and idolatry of the heathen. It is therefore after all highly improbable that vs. 5 was intended to be an explanation of vss. 1-3. Accordingly it must be regarded as an explanation of vs. 4 or all connection with what precedes must be given up. Here it is necessary to consider the probable meaning and connection of vs. 4. In the first place vs. 4 is expressed individualistically (**אִי**), not nationalistically. It is each individual, not each nation, that is here thought of. This at once raises the question whether vs. 4, in spite of the seemingly appropriate liturgical conclusion of vs. 5, is really the original conclusion of the prophecy in vss. 1-3. In the next place we have seen that on the most probable strophical analysis of the poem vs. 4 would be excluded. But what then is the purpose of this accretion? In the third place it has often been noticed that the statement of vs. 4 is applied elsewhere to Israel (cf. 1 K. 5:5 and Zech. 3:10). This at once suggests that vs. 4 really has Israel rather than the nations in mind.¹² This suggestion at once confirms the suspicion that vs. 4 is a gloss and explains its purpose. It will show how the international peace prophesied in vss. 1-3 will redound especially to the advantage of Israelites. If vs. 4 is thus interpreted the relationship of vs. 5 to it at once becomes apparent. The reason why we Jews will dwell safely is not so much because war in general will be no more, but because we walk in the name of Jahweh while the other nations are idolaters. Vss. 4 and 5 taken together are thus seen to be, not an explicit contradiction of what precedes as they would be if the tenses in vs. 5 were construed as futures, but certainly a qualification of what precedes in the interest of Jewish exclusiveness.

Are vss. 4 and 5 by the editor who assigned the prophecy, vss. 1-3, to its present position? To this question no conclusive

¹¹ Duhm's attempt to weaken the universalism of the passage in order to save it to Isaiah cannot be regarded as successful.

¹² For the limitation of vs. 4 to Israel cf. even Keil as well as later critical scholars, Well., Du. (*Theologie der Propheten*, p. 181), Bertholet (*Stellung d. Isr. zu d. Fremden*, p. 97), Now., J. M. P. Smith.

answer can be given. But since it is unwise to assume complicated critical processes where there is no obvious reason for doing so, it is fair to assume that the editor and the glossator were one and the same. This assumption may possibly be confirmed by two considerations drawn from the immediate context. The purpose of placing 4:1-3 in its present position was to nullify the terrible threat of total destruction of the temple found at the end of chap. 3. In other words the purpose of locating the prophecy just here and not somewhere else has a certain apologetic bias which well agrees with the Judaism of vss. 4 and 5. Again the temper of 4:11-13 agrees with the temper of vss. 4 and 5.

The critical conclusions which have thus far been obtained are the following. 1. Is. 2:5 is an editorial comment or exhortation based upon the old poem vss. 2-4, but this comment was not made by the editor of Isaiah who placed this prophecy in its present place in Isaiah. It was found by him already attached to the poem. 2. Mi. 4:4 and 5 are editorial comments or qualifications of the same poem added to it by the editor who placed the poem in its present position in Micah. The relationship of the respective editors of Isaiah and Micah to Is. 2:5 on the one hand and to Mi. 4:4 and 5 on the other is different. The editor of Isaiah found 2:5 already attached to the poem. The editor of Micah added 4:4 and 5 himself.

We are now prepared to examine the question, so often discussed, of the relative originality of this celebrated poem in Isaiah and Micah. I assume without further debate that neither Isaiah nor Micah could have placed this prophecy in the positions which they now occupy. The connections of the prophecy in both cases are manifestly secondary. The question concerns the relationship of editors, not of original authors. What, now, is the relationship between Is. 2:5 and Mi. 4:5? The condition to which Is. 2:5 exhorts to attain is affirmed by Mi. 4:5 to already exist.¹³ It is hardly possible to think of these two verses as absolutely independent of each other. But if related, on which side does the dependence lie? Marti urges that Is. 5 depends

¹³ This is recognized with increasing clearness by Marti, Gray and J. M. P. Smith. Contrast Che, *Intro.*, p. 14, where the real difference between the two verses is ignored.

upon Mi. 5. Is. 5 exhorts to the fulfilment of the claim (*Versicherung*) made in Mi. 5. The reason given for this view is that Is. 5 is shorter than Mi. 5 and looks like an intentional abbreviation.¹⁴ But as Gray rightly points out, if the intention was to abbreviate, why is *Oh House of Jacob* added in Isaiah? He also calls attention to the fact that the *Come and let us walk* of Isaiah is in much closer agreement with the language of the prophecy than is the *We walk* of Micah. But what force is there, after all, in an exhortation to achieve a result that is described as already existing. *When once the exact meaning of the two forms of the verse is clearly recognized it will be seen that Mi. 5 must be a correction of Is. 5.* What Is. 5 exhorts to is affirmed by Mi. 5 to exist. The whole trend of the revision of the earlier documents also favors the view that Mi. 5 is a correction of Is. 5. One of the great tendencies in the post-exilic development of Judaism is at work in this correction, namely the emphasis of the contrast between Judaism and the heathen world. We therefore conclude that the editor who placed Mi. 1-3 in its present position and added vss. 4, 5 depends upon Is. 2:5, that is, he found the prophecy with vs. 5 already attached to it. But did the editor of Micah borrow it from its present position in Isaiah? This is not so clear. We saw that Is. 5 was probably attached to the prophecy *before* it was adopted into Isaiah's prophecies. But further, would it be likely for the editor of Micah to ascribe this prophecy to Micah if he had found it already ascribed to Isaiah with the explicitness, the unusual explicitness, with which this is done in Isaiah (cf. Is. 2:1)? To my mind this is very unlikely. We are therefore driven to conclude that the view which holds that both the editors of Micah and Isaiah derived this prophecy quite independently of each other from an older source, is the correct view. In that case the prophecy was no doubt anonymous and relative to the time of the two editors it was also old. Its anonymity coupled with its supposed age will most naturally account for the fact that it was ascribed to two different prophets of the early pre-exilic period.

¹⁴ Cheyne, *Intro.*, p. 14 f., likewise holds that Is. 5 is an abbreviation of Mi. 5. The statement of Cheyne's position in Gray p. 48 seems to be a mistake.

II. On Is. 7:7-9

Vss. 8 and 9 are intended to confirm positively what was stated negatively in vs. 6. Two things in these verses demand attention, the meaning of vs. 8a and vs. 9a and the genuineness of vs. 8b. 1. The clauses vs. 8a and 9a are obscure. The simple historical statement that Damascus is the capital of Aram and Reşin the ruler of Damascus, and that Samaria is the capital of Ephraim and Ben Remaliah the ruler of Samaria, affords, in itself, no intelligible basis for the promise of encouragement preceding. This statement must therefore be supposed to suggest something which it does not definitely express. But what does it express? To modern commentators many things. *a.* The usually assumed *implicitum* is that neither Damascus nor Samaria will be able to enlarge their territory at the expense of Judah.¹ Damascus is the capital of Aram and will remain so. Neither Reşin nor the son of Remaliah will rule over any wider territory than they now possess. On this view we have a fact stated (the names of the capitals and of the chiefs of the two kingdoms opposed to Ahaz) and a prophecy implied (these kingdoms will not extend their power beyond their present borders). The encouragement would therefore consist not in the stated fact but in the implied prophecy. This is very singular. We would naturally expect that the thought upon which the whole meaning of the passage depends would be formally expressed. Does the statement that Damascus is the capital of Aram really suggest that it is to remain *only* the capital of Aram? *b.* Hence others have tried to find the ground of encouragement only in the stated fact. There is no cause to fear, for these nations "are only the well-known neighboring peoples with capitals over which the Davidic dynasty has already ruled and with kings who have been robbed of their dignity."² The bare mention of these capitals and kings ought, it is assumed, to be sufficient to remind Ahaz of their impotence. But would they? Would they not suggest the very opposite? Ahaz was in a panic (vs. 2). The simple mention of Aram and Ephraim

¹ Cf. Ges., Di., Gray.

² So Du., and also Marti, after Hitzig. That the Davidic dynasty of that time had already developed a tradition of a one-time sovereignty over Damascus is incidentally more than doubtful.

might suggest comfortable thoughts to a critic complacently sitting in his study three thousand years after the war, but they would suggest to Ahaz' terrified imagination a very different train of thought, I fancy. If Isaiah sought to cure the fear of Ahaz by suggestion he certainly took a very strange way to do it.³

From the foregoing it is clear that vs. 8a and vs. 9a, when taken by themselves, are not sufficiently definite to serve as a basis for the encouragement in vs. 7. They need some further qualification in order to show in what sense they are to be taken. Ahaz needs a more definite assurance than these clauses are able to convey. If we now turn to vs. 8b we immediately find something definite. Ephraim is to be destroyed within a certain time. This is a statement Ahaz can grasp. He does not need to be an exegete in order to fathom its meaning. Vs. 9a read in the light of vs. 8b now becomes intelligible. Ahaz is panic-stricken at the thought of a coalition between Aram and Ephraim. These two powers loom large in his imagination. Vs. 9a is not the cryptic promise of the prophet; it voices the fear of Ahaz. Vs. 9a and similarly vs. 8a are really what Ahaz is forever timorously repeating to himself and vs. 8b is the prophet's answer to these fears. But this interpretation would necessitate placing vs. 8b *after* vs. 9a. This leads us to a consideration of vs. 8b. 2. We wish something definite, but vs. 8b overdoes it a bit. Both because of its position and the singularly definite but quite inappropriate time element in the clause it has been rejected by practically all modern scholars. The detailed statement of the grounds for the deletion need not be rehearsed. I am quite prepared to admit that if we must choose between accepting vs. 8b in its present position and in its present textual form or rejecting it I should join the general chorus and delete it as a gloss. But is this the only alternative? We have seen that some such clause as vs. 8b is really necessary to the proper understanding of vs. 9a, only it should stand after

³ Marti refines somewhat upon the second interpretation. The clauses, according to his view, were intended to suggest that Rezin and Pekah were alone in their attack upon Judah, the other nations holding themselves aloof from the coalition. But it is difficult to read this idea out of the words and it is more than doubtful if Isaiah could have intended such an idea since it would not have corresponded with historical fact.

vs. 9a instead of before it. But if vs. 8b is once placed after vs. 9a the real gap in the passage immediately becomes apparent. We would expect a parallel clause referring to the destruction of Damascus in the position now occupied by vs. 8b. But further, since the sixty-five years of vs. 8b is an impossible terminus, we must suppose that this definite time-limit has taken the place of the more indefinite time-limit originally assigned by Isaiah in harmony with the prophetic chronology in 7:14, 16, and 8:4.⁴ When the present date was substituted for the original vaguer date in order to make it agree with a crisis in the fate of the people of Northern Israel in which some scribe had a special interest, the reference to the time of the destruction of Damascus was lost as not agreeing with the new date, and by an accident vs. 8a was transposed to its present position. The passage, if the above suggestions are adopted would read somewhat as follows:

For (while)⁵ the head of Aram is Damascus
 And the head of Damascus is Reşin
 [Within . . . Damascus shall be destroyed.]
 And (while) the head of Ephraim is Samaria
 And the head of Samaria is Ben Remaliah
 [Within . . . Damascus shall be destroyed.]
 shall not be a people.

⁴ This suggestion was advanced by Bredenkamp and Delitzsch.

⁵ I have felt justified in inserting 'while' since Isaiah is really expressing the thoughts of Ahaz to which his prophecy is set in an implied antithesis. Ewald rejected vs. 8a with Ges. and Hitz. but correctly felt that vs. 8a and vs. 9a by themselves were incomplete. He conjectured a line after vs. 9a: "But Judah's head is Jerusalem and Jerusalem's head is Jahve"!

RITUAL IN THE PSALMS

JOHN P. PETERS

NEW YORK CITY

The Psalms are a collection of ritual hymns, i. e. they are intended primarily for ritual use. The general heading, *Tehillim*, indicates¹ that the primary ritual use for which they were intended was sacrificial. They were the praise songs to be sung at the moment of performing the sacrifice. The simplest form of sacrificial praise song, or *tahlil*, to use the old Arabic term, was the *halleluiah*, the antiquity of which as a ritual formula is indicated by the preservation of the ancient divine name *Yah*. The halleluiah psalms are developments of this sacrificial formula or praise ery, and indicate by the use of that formula their ritual purpose. It is these psalms particularly to which belongs the title *tehillim*.

It is with a collection of halleluiahs that the entire Psalter closes, hence the title *Tehillim*. The halleluiah collections are, it is true, as collections, among the latest of all the collections of Psalms. These halleluiahs are, however, in essence old, a simple development of the ancient sacrificial ritual formula; and their position in the Psalter and the designation of the Psalter as a whole by their title, *Tehillim*, evinces the primary intention and theory of the collection of the Psalms as a whole, namely as sacrificial hymns, a ritual hymnody.

The ritual sacrificial use of a number of Psalms is indicated by their headings: 30, 38, 70, 88, 100, 102, 105-107, 118, 136, 138, 145, and all the *tehillahs* and *halleluiahs*; perhaps also 8, 9, 22, 32, 81, 84. A ritual, if not a sacrificial use is indicated further in the case of 45, the marriage hymn, the *al-tashheths*, 57-59, 75, and the various *tephillahs*.

This does not prove that these Psalms were written for the uses indicated in the headings, but it is evidence that they were so used, and it is further evidence that they were so used at the time the present collection was completed. These headings are combined in books 1, 2 and 3, but not in 4 and 5, with other

¹ *JBL.*, vol. XXIX, part I.

headings containing musical notes and instructions pertaining to ritual use. These ritual and musical directions became obsolete and largely, if not altogether, unintelligible, but with a faithfulness familiar in liturgical history, they were preserved as a part of the Psalms to which they were attached. This stage had been reached some time before the LXX translation was made, as the unintelligibility of those notes to the compilers of that translation testifies, and apparently even before the compilation of Chronicles. It had been reached before the collections of the 4th and 5th books of Psalms were made, and before the Psalter was completed by the combination of those books with the earlier collections united in books 1-3, as is testified to by the absence of such ritual and musical directions in the 4th and 5th books, which are by general consent the most ritualistic, and the least occasional part of the Psalter.

Besides these notes contained in the Hebrew Psalms themselves we have also notices and traditions of the liturgical use of certain Psalms contained in the LXX and in the Talmud, as for instance the proper Psalms for the days of the week in the LXX, the Passover and other festival Psalms in the Talmud; but these notices and traditions are all much later than the former.

More important is the evidence which some of the Psalms contain in themselves of the particular purpose for which they were used, and this is frequently evidence also of the purpose for which they were composed, and that they were composed for ritual purposes, so the *halleluiahs* and *tehillahs*² and the Thank-offering Psalms.³ Psalms 3 and 4 were for the regular morning and evening sacrifice; 5 and 6 rituals to be used in connection with the sin-offerings (Lv. 4 ff.), and for a similar purpose, or for thank-offerings in connection with deliverance from evil, 7, 12-14, 17, 32, and many more, for this general category is numerous. 16 and 30 were more specifically for deliverance from sickness; 18 was a royal sacrificial triumph hymn; 20 for the sacrifice before battle, and 21 for the thank-offering after

² 111-117, 135, 145-150. 109 is headed as a *tehillah*, and v. 30 is plainly a sacrificial praise cry; but the Psalm is far from being a *halleluiah*.

³ 100, 105-107, 118, 136, 138. These are indicated as thank-offering hymns by their content as by their titles; 106 being indicated as both a *tehillah* and a *todah*, or thank-offering.

battle. 24 is a liturgy for the return of the Ark after battle; and 68 an elaborate ritual of the going forth of the Ark. 61 is for the royal vows or free-will offerings (cf. vv. 6 and 9), 65 for the offering of the first-fruits, and 67 a thank-offering for a bountiful harvest. Vows, peace-offerings, freewill and thank-offerings of various kinds are indicated in a number of Psalms.⁴

While the title *Tehillim* suggests primarily a collection of hymns for the sacrificial ritual, and while many hymns of the Psalter are indicated by their headings or by internal evidence as meant for use in the temple ritual, there are others which are specifically indicated for use on other occasions. Some of these would seem to have been special liturgies for festivals in the community life. Such notably is 45, designated in its heading, as by its contents, a wedding hymn. Of this nature perhaps are the *gittith* hymns, 8, 81, 84, if these are meant to be sung at the vintage; but both 81 and 84 appear intended for use at some *haj* or pilgrim feast, as does also the double psalm 42, 43. The *al-tashheth*, or "destroy not" psalms, 57-59, 75, were connected in some way with the vintage, and it may not be fantastical to suppose that the men who plucked or trod the grapes were in pretence dealing with their foes, "washing their feet in the blood of the wicked," the wine that is red, whose dregs their foes shall drain. 78 is for such instruction as is ordered in Deut. 11 from a father to his children on an occasion like the Passover; and 88 and its ilk for national fasts.

Apparently also the Synagogue made itself felt in the Psalter, and we have a number of Psalms whose use seems to have been entirely instructional. Of such is the great Praise of the Law, Psalm 119. The alphabetic acrostic form in this and other cases was for mnemonic purposes, similar in intent to the beads in rosaries used in various religions. The appearance of this mnemonic device in Psalms of the earlier books (cf. Ps. 9, 10, 34, 37) suggests that even at a relatively early period Psalms were composed and used for personal and group purposes quite unconnected with sacrifice. They were liturgies, however, although not part of the sacrificial ritual. For that reason they were included in the Psalter.

The Psalter may be described, then, as a collection of liturgical

⁴So, in addition to those already noted, 86.

poems or hymns, primarily for the sacrificial ritual, but containing also hymns for use on other occasions and for other purposes.

A fairly early tradition ascribed the origin of Temple Psalmody as of heroic lyrics to David, and ultimately the Psalter as a whole was ascribed to David, as legislation was ascribed to Moses, and gnomic literature to Solomon. There was in due time an effort made to assign the composition of the Psalms to specific occasions, precisely as in the history of Christian liturgies we find an effort to assign the Magnificat, the Nunc Dimittis and the Te Deum to specific occasions. The existence in the Book of Samuel of some poems ascribed to David on specific occasions suggested the method of doing this, and accordingly we find a number of headings of Psalms in the first three books, and notably in the collection of the Prayers of David in book II (51-72), stating the supposed occasion of the composition of the Psalm. These headings are taken from the Book of Samuel, and apparently therefore antedate the composition of the Book of Chronicles, a conclusion confirmed by the fact that no such headings are to be found in the last two books of Psalms.

Modern scholars with one accord reject these headings as unreliable, *ex post facto* guesses; but while rejecting the individual headings, they have practically accepted the principle on which those headings were based and proceeded on that same principle to furnish new headings of their own. They have treated the Psalms not as hymns composed or used for liturgical purposes, but as occasional poems composed to celebrate some historical event; not as hymns composed like Wesley's to be sung by choir or congregation, but as a national anthology, the lyrical effusions of court poets celebrating the triumphs or bemoaning the misfortunes of king or people. This mistaken principle of identification of the Psalms as occasional lyrics led inevitably to a further mistake in identification of their date and occasion by their contents, as that penitential Psalms must indicate a period of calamity, and joyful and triumphant Psalms a period of prosperity. This method of treating the Psalter has largely vitiated modern criticism and commentation on the Psalms, and led us into a pathless wilderness of subjective and conflicting vagaries. The true key to the method of study of the Psalter is to be found in the history of liturgies. The study of the hymns

of the Christian Church, of Wesley, Luther and their ilk, and of the great olden hymns, the Kyrie Eleison, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Gloria in Excelsis, and Te Deum, their origin and growth and cause and use, their conservation of the ancient, their adaptation to new conditions, doctrines and rituals throws much light upon the Psalter. Of equal if not greater importance is the study of the ancient ritual hymns of India and Persia, Egypt and Babylonia, and especially of the last, because of their closer affinity to the Hebrew Psalter.

We possess considerable collections of Babylonian liturgies and ritual hymns, covering in all a period of 3,000 years or thereabouts, in origin Sumerian, adapted and often translated, but still to the last mainly Sumerian, just as Roman hymnody is still mainly Latin in thought and form, and largely in language. The first thing we notice about these hymns is their persistency. One Sumerian hymn, originating in Nippur presumably as early as 3000 B. C., contains a colophon stating that it was copied in 97 B. C. It was apparently still in use at that period. That it was an act of religious merit to preserve and to propagate these hymns is shown by a prayer of Ashurbanipal, attached to a series of tablets containing liturgical hymns, in which he claims favor from the gods because he has had these tablets copied for his library. But while they thus persisted as ritual hymns they did undergo changes to adapt them to use in new conditions. Hymns originating at Nippur were changed by the addition of other verses to make them suitable for use in other temples, especially in Babylon.

A priori, in view of the persistence of ritual and liturgies in general, we should expect something of the sort in the case of Hebrew ritual and liturgies. This is, roughly speaking, the oldest element in religion, and the most persistent. We have abundant evidence of the existence before the Exile of Temple psalmody in connection with ritual acts, and especially with sacrifice. It would be an astonishing thing if all this were cast away, and a new psalmody created at a time when the greatest efforts were being made to restore the ancient Temple, and to collect and conserve the ancient writings and the ancient traditions. In point of fact, as has been already incidentally pointed out, the very latest Psalms in the Psalter retain an otherwise obsolete name of the divinity, and are in fact extremely

primitive in form, mere developments, and iterations of the *halleluiah*. There is, I believe, evidence in the Psalms themselves that old Israelite hymns were adapted to a new use in the Jerusalem Temple in precisely the same way in which the hymns of Nippur were adapted to the use of Babylon. This principle has been recognized in the critical analysis of the prophets Amos and Hosea, and verses applying the Israelite prophecies to Judah and Jerusalem identified as insertions, redactionary glosses on old material. But the critics have failed to recognize the same process of adaptation in the Psalter, where the hymns of Dan, and Shechem, and Bethel have been adapted for use in Judah and Jerusalem, and here a comparison of the old Babylonian liturgies is most illuminating. So, for instance, in a "Psalm on the flute to En-lil" (Langdon, *Babylonian and Sumerian Psalms*, XXXII), En-lil is besought to "repent and behold thy city." Nippur, and the Temple E-Kur, its parts, gates, store-houses, etc., are enumerated, following which come similar lines with Ur and Larsa taking the place of Nippur. That is, this hymn, originally a Nippur hymn, was later adapted for use in the other temples also. This is very common in these hymns. To a similar adaptation of a hymn of one temple to use in the ritual of another I would ascribe the appearance of Jerusalem in Josephite or Danite⁵ hymns (cf. Pss. 48 and 79); the appearance of the same psalm in a Yahwistic and an Elohistie recension (cf. 14 and 53, 40 and 70), or the occasional appearance of Yahweh in an Elohistie Psalm.

Sometimes these old Sumerian-Babylonian hymns correspond singularly in minor matters of ritual with the Hebrew. Commentators have noted in the case of Psalm 10 that it commences with a half verse, which is a sort of caption to the Psalm.⁶ But this is a customary method in Sumerian. So, for instance, a hymn is headed:

"Of the Lord his word, his word."

This is the theme, and the poem proceeds to tell what his word has wrought, in iteration and reiteration:

⁵ For discussion of Danite origin of Korah Psalms, cf. *Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects* (Scribner, 1911), V, The Sons of Korah.

⁶ Among other Psalms commencing with a half verse are 16, 23, 25, 66, 100, 109, 139.

"Of the Lord his word afflicts the folds with trouble.

"The word of Anu his word, etc.,

"The word of Enlil his word, etc."

Or again:

"The princess, the princess wails over the city in sorrow."

After which follow a long series of repetitions in which the princess is named, as: "the Queen of Nippur wails over the city in sorrow, etc., etc." It reminds me of the songs, and especially the war songs, among my Arabs at Nippur. One, a chief or leader, would spring forward, stamp, leap in the air, brandishing his weapon, and chant a line. All would dance about, brandishing their weapons and repeating this, until the chief or a leader gave another new motif. Somewhat similar in idea are the hymns cited above.

A marked characteristic of the old Sumerian hymns is the series of honorific names with which they frequently commence, those of Enlil being regularly seven in number, fairly well conventionalized and traditionalized. Compare with this the opening of the 18th Psalm, with its series of honorific names of Yahweh. Honorific names are introduced also at other points in Babylonian hymns, or their equivalents in the form of repetitious phrases containing titles in various form, reciting deeds and attributes, or possessions, as temples, walls, etc. The object is to appease the deity by these recitals, and so bind him to the appeal of the suppliant. Even penitentials often contain material of this description to such an extent that at first sight they seem like exultations. For a similar use of honorific titles, deeds, etc., in the body of the hymn compare Psalms 62, 65, 66, 68, 71, 73, 77, 89, and notably the *halleluiahs* Psalms at the close of the Psalter.

At or near the end of many of these old Babylonian liturgies we find a summons to sacrifice:

"Unto the temple of god upon a lyre let us go with a song of petition.

"The psalmist a chant shall sing.

"The psalmist a chant of lordly praise shall sing.

"The psalmist a chant upon the lyre shall sing.

"Upon a sacred tambourine, a sacred *lilissu* shall sing.

"Upon the flute, the *manzu*, the consecrated lyre shall sing;"

Or again:

“Father Enlil, with song majestically we come, the presents of the ground are offered to thee as gifts of sacrifice.

“O Lord of Sumer, figs to thy house we bring; to give life to the ground thou didst exist.

“Father Enlil, accept the sacred offerings, the many offerings,”

Or:

“We with offerings come, let us go up with festivity,”

which resembles most strikingly the Hebrew.

Many of the Hebrew psalms exhibit a similar composition, and a similar purpose. So in Psalm 65, after the purification of the worshipper (v. 4), we find him entering God's courts with offerings of fruits of the earth (5); then follows an outburst of praise of God's miraculous bounty, containing a recital of His marvelous works and signs, which cause those of distant lands to stand in awe (6-9); from His heavenly rivers He waters the earth, making grain to grow and gladdening the ground (7-14); and at the very end comes, as so often in the Sumerian, the call to shout and sing, or play instruments, as the gifts are actually presented in sacrifice. In 66 it is a presentation of vows of whole burnt-offerings, bullocks, rams and goats (vv. 13-15). Perhaps the actual method of presentation of the sacrifice and the relation of the Psalm as a liturgy to that sacrifice are most clearly exhibited in Psalm 118. This is a thank-offering ritual. After a long processional ceremonial, and responsive chanting connected therewith, we come finally, near the end of the Psalm, as seems to be commonly the case in the Sumerian sacrificial liturgies which we possess, to the actual sacrifice, indicated by the remains of a rubric directing that the sacrifice be offered (v. 27), and followed by the sacrificial praise song which Jeremiah tells us was in use in the Temple in his day (33:11).⁷

Frequently Psalms end merely with an outburst of praise,

⁷ See Notes on some Ritual Uses of the Psalms, *JBL.*, vol. XXIX, Part II, 1910, where I note that Psalm 100 also ends in the same way, also 136 and 138.

singing and making melody on various instruments to the Lord, like the first of the Sumerian psalms cited above. This would seem to be the *tehillah* of the Psalm, to be sung at the actual sacrifice. Cf. Psalms 18:50, 33:11, 71:22-24, 73:25-28, 74:21-23. In 77 the *tehillah* or praise cry is apparently the grand hymn of the thunder storm with which that psalm closed (vv. 17-21). At least this follows immediately after the point at which from some other analogies we should expect the sacrifice, namely the point of favorable answer; here, that God has redeemed Jacob and Joseph. Sometimes the sacrifice seems to be indicated at an earlier point in the Psalm, however, and sometimes the whole psalm constitutes a *tehillah*, as in the case of the *Halleluiahs* at the close of our collection of Psalms. The following seem to me to indicate with a reasonable degree of plainness the point at which sacrifice was offered: 21:14, 22:26-30, 27:6, 28:5-6, 29:9, 30:13, 31:24-25, 32:11, 35:27-28, 44:9, 47:6-9, 48:10-12, 51:21, 52:11, 61:6-9, 66:11 ff., 109:30.

Certain stock phrases or ritual formulae occur over and over again in the Sumerian as in Hebrew Psalms; and occasionally we find the same formula in both. The phrase "how long" is one of continual use in the Babylonian hymns, and is recognized so clearly as a specific ritual phrase that lamentations or penitentials are frequently designated as "how longs"; or more fully "how long thy heart." The same formula is used in Hebrew psalmody, most notably in Psalm 13, where four half verses commence with an "how long!"⁸

These "how longs" are sometimes connected in the Babylonian as in the Hebrew by calls to God to show himself, and followed by passages which seem to show an answer to the prayer. Such is a hymn entitled: "Like the sun arise." All is destruction; no libations are offered; the psalmist speaks no word; the "how long thy heart" is stilled; in city as in temple all is desolation. So it goes on for forty lines, and then comes a broken and fragmentary clause, the rest being lost, but enough to indicate the nature of the part lost, and to show us why the hymn was entitled "like the sun arise," viz.—"Thou turnest back, thou causest to abound, thou bringest to an end," etc. This psalm is apparently a liturgy to accompany a sacrifice for deliverance from dangerous sickness. The success of

the sacrifice is indicated in the last verse, which assumes a favorable answer.⁹

Certain divine titles are common to the Babylonian with the Hebrew psalms, as steer, bull, hero, shepherd; and certain activities, such as casting down the mighty and exalting the poor or the lowly.¹⁰ These have become in both cases stock phrases of the ritual; so also the stretching forth of the arm, the lifting up the head or face of the deity, which arrests heaven itself. Some other phrases from the Babylonian hymns, such as "from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun," are strikingly similar to those used in Hebrew poetic language.

More important for our purposes is the use of the *word* or *spirit*. In a number of the Sumerian liturgies, originally from Nippur, which Langdon calls *er-šem-ma* psalms, the word or spirit of Enlil seems to be the cause of disaster. (At times it is almost hypostatized, as in some of the Hebrew Psalms.) Temples and houses are destroyed, and great havoc wrought. Langdon supposes the destruction to be wrought by external foes, such as the Elamites, and these psalms to be penitentials after or against foreign invasions. In almost all, if not all cases, a careful examination fails to reveal outside foes. It is the storm, the rain, the thunder and lightning which have wrought the destruction. It is Enlil, lord of the storm demons, whose word and whose spirit work devastation in the rain floods of winter, which wash down walls, and bring disaster on the mud-built towns and temples. To me, who have twice wintered in Nippur, these *er-šem-ma* psalms seem very natural and vivid pictures of

⁹ For "how long" cf. also *JBL.*, vol. XXIX, part II (1910), p. 118.

¹⁰ Cf. with this Psalm 40, among others. Note the frequent use of קוֹמָה; so, for instance, 9:20, 10:12, 17:13, קוֹמָה, and similar words and phrases in the Psalms as ritual indications, i. e. as marking a particular point in the liturgy to be accompanied by ritual acts.

¹¹ Cf. also a series of hymns and prayers found in the Theban Necropolis, from the time of the 19th Egyptian dynasty, 1350-1200 B. C., which express the religion of the poor, and which are very illuminating for comparison with some of the Hebrew Psalms. The general spirit of these hymns, memorials for deliverance from trouble caused by their own sins, from the bondage resulting from those sins, setting forth the sweetness of the love and mercy of the gods, with an ardent desire to make this known to all men, reminds one much of our Psalms. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, Part II (April 1916).

the winter storms and their devastation, terror and misery, bringing back many occasions where I could well imagine priests and people supplicating in just such lamentations. The following verses taken from one of these liturgies, originally of Enlil from Nippur, later adapted to Babylon and Marduk, will, I think, establish the correctness of my interpretation:

- "The word which stilleth the heavens on high,
- "The word which causeth the earth beneath to shudder,
- "The word which bringeth woe to the Annunaki,
- "His word is an onrushing storm, which none can oppose,
- "His word stilleth the heavens and causeth the earth to retire,
- "Mother and daughter like a reed mat it rends asunder.
- "*The word of the lord prostrateth the marsh in full verdure.*
- "*The word of the lord is an onrushing deluge,*
- "His word rendeth asunder the huge *sidr* trees."

The similarity of this passage to the pictures of the storm in Psalms 18 and 29, especially the latter, cannot fail to strike any reader. In general, I fancy, these *er-šem-ma* psalms were penitential liturgies to avert Enlil's wrath and the devastation of his winter storms, or else to be used in connection with the annual repairs and restorations of temple and town at the close of the rainy season. And this, I think, throws light on some of the Hebrew penitential psalms which have been supposed to indicate conditions of national disaster, oppression by a foreign enemy, and the like. They indicate rather foes of another sort; they are a part of the ritual, the hymns and liturgies accompanying the sacrifices offered for release from calamities due to unwitting sins, to overcome the evil spirits of disease and disaster invoked by the wily imaginations of enemies, to avert pestilence, famine, cloud bursts and much more due to the wrath of God or to demon powers. They are frequently exaggerated in their representations of calamity and sin after the convention of liturgies.¹¹ They are to be studied first and fore-

¹¹ Psalm 35 is a good example. The first few verses sound like a battle hymn, but what follows shows that it is really a liturgy not against foreign warriors, but against machinations of neighbors and consequent calamities. It must be remembered to what extent calamities were supposed to be due to the workings of evil spirits invoked by secret devices of enemies. A considerable number of Psalms are, I fancy, liturgies connected with sacrifices

most in connection with the calendar of feasts and fasts, the sacrificial ritual and the temple services, not in connection with the political and military history of Israel.

This does not mean that there is no national element in the Psalms, and that they were utterly divorced from the political life of the nation. That undoubtedly played its part, and the history and economics of Israel are reflected in the Psalter; but essentially the Psalms are ritual hymns, and their occasion and their use are to be determined not so much by the study of the political life as by the study of the religious practices of Israel. They are to be connected not primarily with military events, and the deeds and disasters of great leaders, but with the needs and experiences of worshippers and the requirements of the leaders and directors of that worship.

intended to procure deliverance from calamities resulting from such adversaries. Such are 5, 6, 7 (a thank-offering for such deliverance), 12, 19, 22, 36, 52, 66. 53 and 55 are of this general type, but more exactly, perhaps, exorcisms; and the latter has in fact an alternative, supplementary form, with a rubric directing that it may be used in case of failure of the first form (vv. 21 ff.). In other Psalms the calamity is recognized as due to the guilt of the individual himself, as 25 and 32. Sometimes the calamity is clearly specified as dangerous sickness, as in 13 and 30. These Psalms are often liturgies to be used with the thank-offerings for deliverance from calamity in sickness or from other causes.

NOTE:—The translations of Sumerian hymns in this article are taken from Langdon's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*. While these translations perhaps leave much to be desired in the matter of accuracy, they may, I believe, be trusted for the general purpose for which they are here used.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE CURSE ON THE SERPENT

In the third edition of his commentary on *Genesis* (Göttingen, 1910) p. 20 Gunkel translates the last line of the Curse on the Serpent: *He may tread upon thy head, and thou mayest snap at his heel*. In the Notes he states, Gressmann had called his attention to the fact that we had here a paronomasia: in the first hemistich the verb *šûf* meant *to tread down*; in the second, *to snap*. I pointed out more than 33 years ago (BAL 102)¹ that we had a play upon words in the last line of the Protevangelium, adding that I failed to see why *šûf* could not have two different meanings in the two hemistichs; the Heb. verb *šûf*, to tread under foot, was connected with Assyr. *šêpu*, foot, and *îššûfêka rôš* meant *he will crush thy head*. My explanation is recorded in n. 157 of Casanowicz's *Paronomasia in the OT* (JBL 12, 160). In the same year (1893) I published a *Note on the Protevangelium* in JHUC, No. 106, p. 107. I showed there that we have in Assyrian a Piel *ušîpû*, he crushed. In the last line of the additions to iv R² 15, col. 1 (cf. CT 16, 43, 1. 63) we read: *nišê mâti ušîpû*, they crushed the people of the land, just as 𐎶 has in Ps. 94:5 '*ammâk Iahûê îššûfûn* for 𐎶 '*ammêkâ Iahûê îdakkê'û*, they crush Thy people, O JHVH; cf. Lam. 3: 34: *lê-dâkkê tâht raglâû kol-âšîre 'ârç*, to crush under his feet all the prisoners of the land, and Ps. 143:3: *dikkâ la'ârç haijâtî*, he crushed my life to the ground.

In the OT the verb *šâf*, he crushed, is generally spelled *plene* with an *Aleph* (GK § 72, p). In the gloss Am. 2:7^a we must read: *Haš-šâfim lû-afâr dallim uê-darôk 'ânûnim la-'ârç*, who crush the poor to the dust, and tread the humble to the ground. *Bê-rôš* is a gloss to *šâfim* as in Gen. 3:15; for the prefixed *bê*-see JBL 32, 112, n. 19; 113, n. 23; contrast WF 217, iii. For

¹ For the abbreviations see vol. 34 of this JOURNAL, p. 41.

'*al-'afar* read *lā-'afar*, and for *ärç* read *la-'ärç* which must be inserted after '*ānaṣīm* (read '*ānūṣīm*). For *lā-'afar* and *la-'ärç* see JBL 29, 97, n. 12; *Mic.* 77, 1. 6. *İaṭṭû* after '*ānaṣīm* in *Am.* 2:7^a is dittography of *iaṭṭû* in the following verse. In *Am.* 8:4 we must read: *Šim'û-zôt haš-šâfîm âbîôn u-maššîkîm la-ānūṣîe 'ärç*, Hear this, ye who crush the poor, extortioners of the humble in the land! Secondary and tertiary additions to this passage are preserved in 5:10-12 and 9:13-15. The *la-* of *la-ä-lāšbîṭ* must be prefixed to the following word (*cf.* *Deut.* 23:20).

The *scriptio plena* of *šâf*, he crushed, must not be confounded with *ša'áf*, he snapped, snuffed, snorted, panted, puffed, blew. In my paper on the Semitic roots *qr*, *kr*, *xr* (AJSL 23, 248) I explained this stem as an old causative of *af*, nose. I have subsequently noticed that Tuch in his commentary on *Genesis* (Halle, 1871) p. 70 assumed a connection between *ša'af* and *anaf*. In Ethiopic, *af* means, not *nose*, but *mouth* (NBSS 174). The *n* in *Eth.* and *Arab.* *anf*, nose, may be secondary as it is in *Aram.* *qēnāt* = *Heb.* *qûç* (*Nah.* 31, below). In *Assyrian*, *appu* means, not only *nose*, but also *face*, *Syr.* *appê*, *Heb.* *appâim*; *cf.* our *to nose* = *to face*. The original meaning of both *pa*, mouth (AJSL 22, 258) and *af*, nose, is *blower*, respiratory organ: *pa* expresses expiration, and *af*, inspiration; *cf.* our exclamations *pook*, *puff*, *ouf*, and our privative *to blow* = *to put out of breath*.

In *iv R*² 19, 46^b we find: *nakru dannu kîma qanî êḏî ušîpânî*, the mighty foe has crushed me like a single reed (*cf.* Halévy's translation in *RP* 11, 160). The reading *uḏîšannî* (Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 57, l. 55) is unwarranted; see Pinches' autographed text in *BOR* 1, 22. *SGI* 240 reads instead of *šûpu*, to crush, *šubbu*, to knock down, overpower, but *GB*¹⁰ 815^a gives now *Assyr.* *šâpu*, to overpower. The inf. *Piel* is *šûpu* = *šuiṣpu*, not *šuppu* or *šubbu* (AJSL 1, 180, n. 1).

Syr. *šûf*, to rub, is not connected with *Assyr.* *šêpu*, foot, but with *Assyr.* *šîpu*, grease (*cf.* *BL* 128) = *Syr.* *šċîâfâ*, salve, paste (AJSL 26, 16). The stem of *Assyr.* *šêpu*, foot, would appear in *Syriac*, not as *šûf*, but as *tûf*. *Assyr.* *šîpu*, wooden lining or boarding, corresponds to *Heb.* *saḥîf* (*Ezek.* 41:16) which means *covered*, *wainscoted* (*GB*¹⁰ 781^a). The noun *šâbu* in

the phrase *kîma šûbe ušnâ'il* (HW 645^b) is the Syr. *šâyûbâ* in *rûhâ dĕ-šâyûbâ*, simoom, sand storm (EB¹¹ 18, 181^a) from *šûb*, to be scorched by a hot wind. A byform of *šûpu*, to tread, is *šuppû* (or *šubbû*, HW 637) from a stem *tertîa i*, corresponding to Arab. *tāffâ*. The participle *šâpû* means *conqueror*.

Jensen combines Assy. *šêpu*, foot, with Heb. *pasâ'*, to step (GB¹⁰ 664^a). This is possible from a phonetic point of view: Assy. *šêpu* could stand for *ša'pu*, with transposition of the 'Ain, just as Assy. *zenû*, to be angry (= *zanâ'u*) corresponds to Heb. *za'âm*, the 'Ain being transposed, and *n* representing a partial assimilation of *m* to *z* (AJSL 26, 3, below). I prefer, however, to adhere to Guyard's combination of Assy. *šêpu*, foot, with Arab. *utfiḥah* or *itfiḥah*, tripod, or *stand* set upon a fire, especially the stones on which a pot is set (ZDMG 58, 632). They were regarded as the feet of the caldron. In the Song of Deborah we find this stem in the form *mišpatâim* which does not mean *sheepfolds*, but *hearths* (WF 204, n. 44; JAOS 34, 422): *Reuben dwelt at the fire-places to listen to pastoral flutes*.

W. R. Smith showed in his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1894) p. 377 that *Topheth*, the place of sacrifice in the Valley of Hinnom, represented an Aramaic form of this stem, with the vowels of *bošt*, shame (*Kings* 294, 28). The original pronunciation may have been *tēfât*, and the genuine Hebrew form would have been *šēfât*, a form like *mēnât*, part, or *qēçât*, end. In Syriac, *tēfâiâ* (or *tēfâiâ*; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² § 79, A) denotes a three-legged caldron or kettle, or hearth; this cannot be derived from *ēfâ*, to bake. The Hebrew verb *šafât*, to set a pot on the fire, is denominative.² Also the noun *ašpôt*, which is generally mistranslated *dung-hill*, belongs to the same stem; the correct meaning is *ash-heap*, and the primary connotation is *fire-place*. In the Song of Hannah (ZDMG 58, 621) we must translate:

From dust He raises the lowly, from the ash-heap He lifts up the needy.

In nomad life the fire place of one day is the ash-heap of the next (W. R. Smith, *l. c.*).

² The feminine *t* (JAOS 28, 115) appears here as third stem-consonant as in Aram. *bîṭ*, to spend the night, from *bait*, house (AJSL 22, 259) and *qaššâtâ*, archer.

This root appears in Arabic, not only as *táfâ* with final *u* or *i*, but also as *uátafa* and *átafa*. The second form *áttafa* signifies *to set a pot on a tripod* or three stones, like Heb. *šafát* and Arab. *uátafa*, but the first form means *to persecute*. Also the stem *táfâ* (with final *u* or *i*) has the same meanings in the first and second forms. The original signification is *to foot*. This may mean *to strike with the foot*, to kick, or *to fix firmly on the feet*, to set up, or *to go on foot*, to walk. In Bavaria the reflexive *sich fussen* is used for *to be nimble-footed*, to run with speed. In the same way *ištaqšeqûn*, they speed, race, rush, run (*Nah.* 25) is connected with *šôq*, leg, and Heb. *pārd*, mule, is derived from a denominative verb *parâdu*, to leg = to run nimbly, from Assy. *purêdu*, leg, originally *fork*, *crotch* (HK 130) from the stem *parad*, to part (cf. the Chaucerian *cleft*). Assy. *purêdu*, leg and runner = messenger, is the prototype of our *palfrey* = German *Pferd* (cf. *Nah.* 41; GB¹⁶ 657^a). In Assyrian we have both *parâdu* and *rapâdu*, and in Syriac and Hebrew this stem appears as *radáf* (AJSL 32, 64). Cf. Syr. *itraddáf*, to be hurried and to be put to flight, lit. to be caused to run; cf. Lev. 26:36: *uĕ-radáf ôtâm qôl 'alê niddáf*, the sound of a shaken leaf will chase them. Heb. *radáf* means *to chase*, *pursue*, *persecute*, but the original meaning is *to run*; therefore *radáf* is often construed with *aħrê*, after. See the fourth paragraph of my paper on *Shalman and Beth-arbel* in BA 10, part 2.

The Heb. verb *šûf* is derived from a noun for *foot* corresponding to Assy. *šêpu*. In the last line of the Curse on the Serpent this denominative verb does not mean *to tread under foot*, to crush, but to *tread on the heels of*, i. e. to track, stalk, hunt down, waylay, seek to injure, persecute. **J** has correctly in the last hemistich *insidiaberis*. P. v. Bohlen, *Genesis* (Königsberg, 1835) p. 42 rendered in both hemistichs *trachten nach* (so, too, Dillmann, *Gen.*^o). J. D. Michaelis (1775) translated: *dieser wird deinem Kopfe, und du wirst seinen Fersen nachstellen*.

The meaning *to persecute* (Arab. *áttafa*, *táfâ*) suits not only the last two hemistichs of the Protevangelium, but also the two other passages in which this verb occurs. In Job 9:17 we must read:

וְאִם קָרָאתִי הִיעָנֵנִי	לֹא-אֶאֱמִין כִּי-יֵאָזִין קוֹלִי
אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרָה יִשׁוּבֵנִי	וְהִרְבָּה פִּצְעֵי חָנָם :

If I called, would He answer my call?
 I trow not He would heed my voice;
 For He would pursue me with a storm,
 and increase my wounds without cause.

In Ps. 139:11 we have:

ואמר אך-חשך ישופני וְלִילָה אֶרְבָּע בְּעֵדָנִי:

If I thought that darkness would stalk me,
 night would be daylight about me.

The translation *to fall on, to assail*, suggested in Friedrich Delitzsch's *Hiob*, p. 150, is inaccurate.

The Curse on the Serpent consists of two triplets with 2 + 2 beats in each line. Skinner, *Genesis* (1910) p. 78, says, The form of the oracle is poetic; but the structure is irregular, and no definite metrical scheme can be made out.³ In the second line *u-mik-kól ḥayyāt ḥas-śadê* after *mik-kól hab-bēhemâ* is scribal expansion based on the first line of the chapter, *uḥ-hannahâ ḥayâ 'arûm mik-kól ḥayyāt ḥas-śadê*. Stade (ZAT 17, 209) advocated excision of *mik-kól hab-bēhemâ u*; but *mik-kól hab-bēhemâ* includes all animals, both wild and domestic. The preposition *min* in this case does not mean *more than all*, but *singled out from*, i. e. *thou alone of all animals*; cf. my translation of Am. 3:2 in TOCR 1, 269. The phrase *thou wilt eat dust* (bite the dust) means *thou wilt be prone on the ground or thou wilt grovel*. We use *to bite the dust* for *to fall*, be thrown,

³ The view that not only the poetical and prophetic books, but also the historical books of the OT were metrical was advanced more than sixty years ago by Archdeacon Leopold Haupt, of Görlitz. An abstract of his investigation *Über die Metrik und Musik der Gesänge des Alten Testaments* is printed in vol. 54 of the *Neue Lausitzische Magazin*, but the manuscript was completed in 1853; see p. 5 of Leopold Haupt's preliminary publication (Leipzig, 1854) cited by Franz Delitzsch in his *Psalmen*⁵, p. 28, n. 1. The report on the fiftieth meeting of the *Oberlausitzer Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Feb. 5, 1861, states that vol. 31 of the *Neue Lausitzische Magazin* (Görlitz) records the fact that during the winter 1853/4 Archdeacon Haupt delivered some lectures on ancient Hebrew poetry, in which he tried to show that the historical books of the OT were metrical. See now Sievers, *Metrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 379, § 249 (cf. also p. 78) and *Die hebr. Genesis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 163 (cf. IN vii; TLZ 32, 630; Cornill's *Einleitung*⁷, p. 15, below).

vanquished. J. D. Michaelis compared the German phrase *ins Gras beißen* = to fall, to die. Grotius (1644) cited Mic. 7:17; Ps. 72:9; Is. 49:23, and Vogel (1775) added: *Haec loca clarissime docent dictionem terram comedere nil aliud significare quam toto corpore in terram projectum esse* (cf. Mic. 42, n. 10).

The last clause of v. 14, *kol-îēmê haiîêka*, should stand at the end of the second line, not at the end of the third. For *u-bên ha-'iššâ* in the fourth line we must read *u-bênâh*; *rôš* and *'aqêb* in the last line (GK²⁸ § 117, ll) are secondary additions. There is no connection between the verb *šûf* in this passage and the noun *šēfifôn* in Gen. 49:17; this word must be derived from Aram. *šaff*, to crawl; cf. Delitzsch, *Gen.* (1887) p. 106, n. 1.

The two triplets should be read as follows:

יְהוָה ^a אֵל-הַנָּחַשׁ	וַיֹּאמֶר	14
אָרוּר אַתָּה	כִּי-עָשִׂיתָ זֹאת	
{כָּל-יָמֵי חַיֶּיךָ}	מִכָּל הַבְּהֵמָה ^β	
וְעַפְרָ תֹאכַל ^γ :	עַל-גַּחֲנֶךָ תֵּלֵךְ	
בִּנְךָ וּבִנְיָה ^γ	15 וַאֲיָכָה אִשִּׁית	
וּבֶן זִרְעָה	וּבֶן זִרְעָךְ	
וְאֵתָה תִּשׁוּפְנוּ ^ε :	הוּא יִשׁוּפֶךָ ^δ	

14 אלהים (α) ומכל חית השרה (β) 15 אשה (γ) ראש (δ) עקב (ε)

This may be translated as follows:

14	יהוה ^a said to the Serpent:	
	Since thou hast done this	thou art accursed
	Of all the beasts ^β	all the days of thy life .
	Thou shalt crawl on thy belly,	biting the dust { } .
15	I'll put enmity	between thee and her, ^γ
	Between thy progeny	and her progeny;
	They will persecute thee, ^δ	thou wilt persecute them. ^ε

(α) 14 God

(γ) 15 woman

(β) and of all the wild animals

(δ) head

(ε) heel

The persecution of serpents on the part of man is supposed to be due to an atavistic belief that snakes lie in wait for all

human beings, although very few poisonous snakes will follow a man and attack him when he retreats (EB¹¹ 25, 287^a).⁴ Dangerous snakes generally keep away from inhabited places. Most people have an instinctive dread of snakes and a longing to destroy them, even if they are harmless. Some people in Europe even think that the small lizard, commonly known as blind-worm or slow-worm, is noxious. The Hebrew name of the gecko, *šēmamîṭ* (more correctly *sammamîṭ*) means *poisonous*; the geckos are commonly regarded as poisonous, although they are harmless and useful; see my paper on Arab. *samm* poison = Sumer. *šem*, ἄρωμα in BA 10, part 2.

A communication (by T. G. Dabney) to *Science* (reprinted in the *Literary Digest*, Feb. 19, 1916, p. 431) states that the great majority of the snakes to be encountered in this country are entirely innocuous, yet any intelligent person when unexpectedly brought into close proximity to any kind of snake, large or small, venomous or non-venomous, or even a semblance of a snake, is suddenly seized by a panic of horror and fear, with an impulse to spring away out of the serpent's reach as quickly as possible in a sort of blind terror. According to Mr. Dabney the probable origin of this instinctive horror of serpents, that still dominates the mind of civilized man, was during the countless generations when early man was slowly climbing up from his animal ancestry to his present eminence as *Homo sapiens*. Being without fire, and without clothing and shelter, he was peculiarly defenseless in an environment beset by deadly serpents against this, probably the greatest danger and greatest menace to racial survival that he had to encounter. Hence his instinctive horror of the serpent form. Among the inhabitants of India at the present time the annual mortality from attacks of serpents exceeds 20,000, notwithstanding the efforts of the British authorities to suppress the evil (EB¹¹ 25, 287).

Mr. Dabney's theory has been contested by the director of the International Herpetological Society, Allen S. Williams, who states that he can refer to tests innumerable with small children from two years of age upwards who showed no signs

⁴EB¹¹ 22, 920^a states, Every snake prefers being left alone to being forced to bite.

of fear of serpents, but readily handled them, and were loath to part with pets which evidently pleased them. Mr. Williams thinks that the fear of serpents cherished by many adult human beings in the temperate zone on this hemisphere is chiefly due to the absorption of misinformation imparted to them in childhood by their elders who in turn were similarly misled (see *Lit. Digest*, April 8, 1916, p. 966).

This is no doubt true to a certain extent, but the fear of serpents is evidently based on the experience that the bite of some serpents is fatal. In a recent letter to the *New York Times* Mr. Williams emphasizes the fact that the average serpent is the most gentle and timid animal alive. Of all wild creatures serpents of most species are more quickly tamed and accustomed to proximity of human beings and contact with them than any creature, whether it wears scales, fur, fins, or feathers (*cf.* the *Baltimore News*, July 3, 1916, p. 6, col. 1).

Serpents abound in Palestine, and several species are highly venomous, but deaths from snake-bites are rare (*cf.* Bædeker's *Palästina*,⁷ p. liii). In the Story of Paradise the serpent symbolizes carnal desire, sexual appetite, concupiscence (see JBL 34, 75).

Johns Hopkins University.

PAUL HAUPT.

THE RELIGION OF CANAAN

From the Earliest Times to the Hebrew Conquest

W. CARLETON WOOD

NEWMARKET, ONTARIO, CANADA

(Concluded)

THE CANAANITE PERIOD (1800-1200 B. C.)

CHAPTER XVII

HISTORY OF THE PERIOD

The period about 1800 B. C. was a time of great national disturbances both in the East and in the West, affecting Babylonia, the Mesopotamian valley, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The disturbing cause was a migration of peoples from the north which drove a wedge into the population of the upper Euphrates valley and crowded the old settlers eastward and southward. In Babylonia the invaders were Hittites and Kassites, the latter of whom seized the throne of Babylon about 1761 B. C.¹ and ruled for over one hundred years. In Mesopotamia the invaders were the Mitanni from Asia Minor,² who dislodged the native Hittite and Semitic settlers, probably driving the former into Babylonia and the latter into Syria and Palestine. The effect of these changes was the bringing to a close of Babylon's one thousand years of supremacy over Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine; the founding upon the upper valley of the Euphrates of the kingdom of the Mitanni, which maintained its rank as a great nation for a century by the side of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt; and the invasion of Egypt about 1800 B. C. by a Semitic people, known later as the Hyksos.

The Canaanite Migration (1800 B. C.)

In Egypt the Hyksos finally gained the upper hand in 1680 B. C.; and, wresting the scepter of ruling authority from the

¹ Meyer, § 454. The date given by Thureau-Dangin, quoted by Sayce, in *PSBA.*, xxxiv. p. 169.

² *Ibid.*, § 45 ff.; Paton, pp. 63 ff.

contentious native princes, ruled for a period of about one hundred years. Of the Hyksos little is known, but from such facts and hints as are available it has been conjectured that they were of Semitic origin and that Palestine was, in the summit of their power, probably the center of their political control. This control, at one time, reached as far south as southern Egypt. In agreement with this hypothesis is the fact that the religion of the Hyksos possessed the Semitic-Amorite stamp, as their chief deity, Sutekh, was a Canaanite ba'al, and as one of their kings, Jacob-her, or Jacob-el, bore the name of the old Amorite god Yaḳōb. Moreover the comparative ease with which the Canaanites, who were doubtless identical with the Hyksos, maintained their power in Canaan for many years, despite the repeated attempts of the powerful Pharaohs to conquer them, clearly points to no small degree of organized government.³

The name *Ka-n-'na*,⁴ "Canaan," applied now by the Egyptian king to Palestine, may have received its name from these new invaders.

When the Hyksos were finally expelled from Egypt, the rule of Syria-Palestine passed under the scepter of Egypt, whose kings for two centuries enforced upon the Canaanites the most slavish submission. The annals of the Pharaohs for this period are filled with vivid descriptions of numerous Asiatic campaigns in which many Palestinian strongholds fell before the genius of Egyptian generalship.⁵ A side-light from contemporaneous native sources on the extent to which Egyptian authority was maintained in Canaan comes from the well-known Amarna letters, already mentioned. These were written during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (1411-1358 B. C.), and, with the royal annals, set in bold relief the political, social, and religious life of the time.

The passing to and fro of armies and of messengers; the flowing of tribute into the royal coffers of Egypt from Palestine and Syria; the treaty relations between the kings of Egypt and those of Mitanni, the Hittites, Assyria, and Babylon; and

³ Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 211-229.

⁴ Paton, p. 68.

⁵ Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 284 ff.

all the intercommunication that these relations involve presuppose a fair degree of civilization.

In the course of their residence through a period of four hundred years, the newcomers became so thoroughly amalgamated with the old Amorite population that, at the beginning of the Aramaean migration, Amorite and Canaanite were applied almost synonymously to the native population. However, in a general way the Amorites—Amor of the Egyptian monuments⁶ and Ammuri⁷ of the Amarna Letters—occupied northern Palestine and Syria, while the Canaanites—the Haru of the Egyptian monuments⁸—occupied southern Palestine. The Amorites stubbornly resisted the aggressions of the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties and blocked the northward march of the Reubenites in Gilead and of the Simeonites and Levites in Mount Ephraim—probably the first tribes of the Habiru to penetrate Canaan.

Other groups of peoples, residing in Canaan prior to the Aramaean migration, whose relation either to the native Amorites or to the Canaanites is not clearly defined, are the three mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions, namely, Joseph-el and Jacob-el,⁹ dwelling in Mount Ephraim, and Asher, dwelling on the Phoenician coast;¹⁰ and others of Old Testament mention, namely, Gad,¹¹ Ammon,¹² and Moab,¹³ inhabiting the territory east of the Dead Sea, and Esau¹⁴ dwelling in Mount Seir. Hamor inhabited Shechem.¹⁵

The Aramaean Migration¹⁶ (1400 B. C.)

During the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV Egyptian sovereignty over Canaan began to totter, the under-

⁶ Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 141, &c.

⁷ Knudtzon, 60:8, &c.

⁸ Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. §§ 798 A, 822, &c.

⁹ Müller, pp. 162 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 236 ff.

¹¹ *MI.*, 10.

¹² Num. 21:24.

¹³ 21:11 ff.

¹⁴ Gen. 32:4(3); 33:14, 16.

¹⁵ Gen. 34.

¹⁶ See Paton, pp. 103 ff.

mining cause being due, in some degree at least, to another great racial disturbance like that which attended the Amorite migration a thousand years earlier. Again the superfluous population of the Arabian steppe flowed over the brim of northern Arabia. This migration is known in history as the Aramæan. It wrought great disturbances in Babylonia, Assyria, and in Syria-Palestine.

Coincident with this racial movement was the invasion of northern Syria by the Hittites who drove the Amorites southward into Mount Ephraim and Gilead, where the latter came into contact with the Aramæans.

The Hebrew-Israelite Invasion. (1400 B. C.)—The Aramæans who invaded Syria-Palestine from the east and the south were known as the Ḥabiru,¹⁷ a people which is doubtless to be identified with the Old Testament 'Ibri,¹⁸ "Hebrews," as the names are phonetically equivalent. These Aramæans are styled by the Egyptian annalists, because of their racial characteristics, as *Shasu*,¹⁹ "bedouins"; and by the Amarna Letters, because of their depredating raids, as *SA.GAS*,²⁰ i. e., *ḥabbatum*, "robbers." Either they themselves or two of their inclusive groups were known also to their native scribes as Akhlami²¹ and Sutu.²²

The invasion of southern Palestine by these peoples admirably coincides, in point of time, in the character of the invaders, and probably in the direction of approach, with the invasion of the same territory by the Leah tribes—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah,—who first assembled themselves at Kadesh in the Negeb prior to their advance on Canaan.²³ Pointing to this conclusion is an old account of the conquest which says that Simeon—and probably Levi who was connected with Simeon in an attack on Shechem—and Judah were the first of the Hebrew tribes to invade and settle in Canaan.²⁴

As Merneptah in recording the incidents of a victorious cam-

¹⁷ Knudtzon, 286-290.

¹⁸ Gen. 14:13, &c.

¹⁹ Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. §§ 86, 88, 100.

²⁰ Knudtzon, 68, 87, 127-132, &c.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 200.

²² 16:38, 40; 123:14, &c.

²³ This conclusion and the following results have been tabulated by Paton, in *JBL.*, xxxii. (1913), pp. 1-47.

²⁴ Num. 14:44, 45; 21:1-3 (*J*); Judg. 1:1 ff.

paigned into southern Palestine about 1227 B. C. relates how "Israel is destroyed, its crops are no more,"²⁵ we may assume that *Israel* was a *Ḥabiru*, or an Aramæan, tribe and that it embraced these Hebrew tribes who settled first in Palestine. Judah settled about Hebron,²⁶ while Simeon and Levi appear to have pressed on as far as Shechem²⁷ where they met disastrous defeat from the Canaanites, or Amorites, of Mount Ephraim, resulting in the complete dispersion of Levi throughout the other Israelite tribes²⁸ and in the crowding of Simeon southward into the forbidding territory southeast of Judah.²⁹

Probably before the Leah tribes penetrated Canaan at the South, the tribe of Reuben broke away from its associated Aramæan tribes about Kadesh, and, at the call of the Moab and Ammon, crossed Edom to fight against the Amorites of Gilead who were pushing their way southward into the territories of Ammon and Moab.³⁰

In this newly acquired territory north of Moab Reuben settled, being the first of Israel to obtain an inheritance in Canaan, and thereby winning later the designation as the firstborn of Israel.³¹

The Sojourn of the Rachel Tribes in Egypt.—Now about the same time, i. e., 1400 B. C., that the first tribes of the *Ḥabiru*, i. e., Israel, or the Leah tribes, invaded Canaan from the south, other *Ḥabiru* tribes appear to have settled on the eastern frontier of Egypt, in the land of Goshen. The state of anarchy that prevailed during the reigns of Amenhotep IV offered a suitable opportunity for such a horde of bedouin tribes to venture to reside in Egypt.³² The Hebrew tribes particularly connected with the Egyptian sojourn were, according to Hebrew tradition, the Rachel tribes Ephraim and Manasseh. After a prosperous sojourn, during which their numerical strength was so augmented as to threaten the stability of the Egyptian king-

²⁵ Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 617.

²⁶ Judg. 1:17 ff.

²⁷ Gen. 34.

²⁸ Gen. 49:5-7.

²⁹ Josh. 19:1 ff.

³⁰ Num. 21:21 ff.

³¹ Gen. 49:3.

³² Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 379 ff.

dom, these tribes were subjected to bondage by a powerful monarch, probably Ramses II³³ (1292-1225 B. C.).

The Exodus and the Wandering.—Under this slavery they revolted, most probably during the days of anarchy immediately following the death of Seti II (c. 1205 B. C.).³⁴ This state of anarchy was, in a large measure, due to an invasion of Sea-Peoples from the north (1220 B. C.);³⁵ and, under the leadership of Moses, escaped into the desert. By Moses they were led to Mount Sinai in the land of Midian where they embraced more fully the religion of Yahweh.

The Invasion of Canaan by the Rachel Tribes.—Then, after various vicissitudes of nomadic life, the Rachel tribes entered Canaan from the east by crossing the Jordan at Jericho. After defeating the Canaanites at Jericho, Ai, and Beth-horon, Ephraim and Manasseh settled respectively in Mount Ephraim and Bashan.

In the course of time a portion of Ephraim obtained a consciousness of tribal independence and became known as Benjamin.³⁶ Dan and Naphtali, two important Canaanite tribes living in the north of Palestine, made covenants with the newcomers, and so were admitted into the new confederacy. The fact that they are regarded in Hebrew tradition as sons of Israel by Rachel's concubine, Bilhah,³⁷ indicates the inferior rank which they held in this confederacy.

Thus the settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews was eventually accomplished, having been commenced first by the Leah tribes and now being completed by the Rachel tribes. To the former, since their settlement, were added, either by natural increase or by adoption from native peoples, the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun.³⁸

The Philistine Migration (1200 B. C.)

Among these Sea-Peoples who, first during the reign of Merneptah, and later in the sixth year of Ramses III (1193 B. C.),

³³ Cp. Ex. 1:8, 11.

³⁴ Breasted, *HE.*, p. 474.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 477 ff.

³⁶ Born in Canaan, Gen. 35:18.

³⁷ Gen. 30:5-8.

³⁸ Sons by concubine Zilpah, 30:9-12.

issued from Asia Minor, overran Palestine, and penetrated Egypt were the *Pulasate*, or Philistines.³⁹ These people settled along the Palestinian seaboard, and gave their name, first, to the great plain, which stretches from the coast to the hills of Judah and later, to the land of Canaan itself, namely, *Palestine*. Thus almost simultaneously the Rachel tribes from the east and the Philistines from the north entered Canaan to contest for many years the possession of Palestine.

It is a convincing testimony to the virility and conservatism of the native religion that throughout the two hundred years when peoples were surging to and fro, struggling for the possession of Palestine, the religion and culture of Canaan maintained themselves intact, and eventually won the devotion of the new proprietors. It was inevitable that the Hebrews who, as we have seen, were nothing more than uncultured bedouin tribes, should, on coming in contact with Canaanite culture, passively accept rather than actively resist the native religions. Accordingly we find that the incoming Hebrews adopted the cults of the multitudinous sanctuaries as their own. And in doing this they accommodated the conception of Yahweh to the ba'als and of the ba'als to Yahweh. The cults of the various sanctuaries, with their elaborate rites, extensive furnishings, and hereditary priesthoods, continued to flourish as they had before. However, at the time of the early prophets, on account of national misfortunes, the amalgamated ba'al- and Yahweh-religion encountered its first setback in the reassertion of the monotheistic tendencies of the old Yahweh-faith and in the birth of ethical monotheism. Because of this religious change of front, incident to this reaction, forces were set in operation which eventually put the local sanctuaries under the ban of law and centralized the worship of Yahweh at Jerusalem.

³⁹ Paton, pp. 134 ff.

CHAPTER XVIII

EXCAVATED HIGH PLACES

Many were the springs, mountains, hills, cities, and other places which were consecrated in the worship of the Amorite and Canaanite ba'als. Many great religious centers, such as Hebron, Beer-sheba, Shechem, Shiloh, Beth-el, as well as a great many other places of less importance which flourished at the time of the Hebrew conquest, were adopted without reservation into the religion of Yahweh. Palestinian nomenclature in many cases reveals the fact that there were a great number of other places, which at some time or other were noted as centers of worship, but which in the course of time had lost their original sanctity—the significance of their names remaining only to attest the fact. For lack of space a complete list of the Palestinian cult-places will have to be omitted from these articles; and only those given and discussed that have come to light in the excavations.

In **Beth-shemesh** of West Dan Mackenzie found an ancient "High Place" which he assigns to the early Israelite period.¹ This high place was situated within the walls in the "Central City Area" not far from what was probably an ancient sacred spring, from which the place received its present name, Ain Shems, "spring of (the) sun." On this important site five stone *maššebahs* were found lying on their sides in such a way as to suggest that they once had formed a sacred group of upright pillars, and that through some catastrophe—possibly the capture of the city by Sennacherib—they have been knocked down never to be re-erected.

Confirming the sacred character of this discovery, there were discovered two other near-by objects which deserve mention: one being a grotto-sepulcher lying about twenty feet eastward from the east end of the supposed alignment of pillars; and the other, "a mysterious hypogeum, or underground chamber," lying at the west end of the same alignment.

¹ *PEFA.*, pp. 15 ff.

The objects which were found in these two burying-places throw light upon the religion of the Canaanite period. Thus, in the grotto-sepulcher of the High Place, there were found jugs, vases, water-jars, saucers, bowls, and basins—all of which were clearly deposited with the dead. The bones of an infant were found in one jar.² Similarly the east grotto, or hypogeum, contained several lamps, bowls, vases, jugs, and images of donkeys represented as transporting water upon their backs.³ Whether these tombs determined the site of the high place, or *vice versa*, it cannot be ascertained.

In a field near this place in early Hebrew times existed a great stone which was greatly venerated by the inhabitants; for on it the sacred ark was set after its return from captivity, and by it the two cows who brought it back were offered as burnt-offerings.⁴

Gath was the home of the ancient race of Anakim who may have been regarded as deified ancestors.⁵ At this place was discovered a Canaanite temple⁶ having an intersecting door and an apse, the latter of which faced southward—coextensive with the main axis of the building—toward a similar semi-circular walled structure in the center of the room. The temple was about thirty feet square, and was divided into two nearly equal rooms. A peculiar skewed door-way with a much-worn sill bisected the east wall, while the south end of the temple was evidently formed by a row of pillars of which only three remained.⁷ At a later period the temple was made about one-third larger, three additional rooms being added on the south. Rows of field stones with worn surfaces extending along by the bases of the pillars and between them, and even beyond the wall, seemed to indicate two different age-levels for the temple. This being so, one might be justified in venturing the assumption that these pillars, which in later times were utilized to support a porch, were primitive *maṣṣebahs* belonging to an old shrine. The apse and

² pp. 42-46.

³ pp. 46-51.

⁴ 1 Sam. 6:14, 15, 18.

⁵ Josh. 11:22, &c.

⁶ Bliss & Macal., pp. 33 ff.

⁷ Bases of three others were found, from which fact it has been conjectured that perhaps all may originally have formed a stone circle.

the semi-circular structure, referred to above, may have served as niches for placing idols. Near the temple bones of animals were found, which were evidently relics of sacrificial victims.

Gezer.⁸ 1. The shrine of the first Semitic settlers of Gezer, with its sacred cave and its two pillars, underwent during the Canaanite period such a process of enlargement that it becomes for us the greatest religious monument of that age.⁹ The whole area now embraced in the sanctuary extended, as exists to-day, approximately one hundred and fifty feet north and south, and one hundred and twenty feet east and west. In the middle of this area, and running from north to south, was—when the discovery was made and before the high place was covered over again—an alignment of **monoliths** standing on a stone platform which was about eight feet wide, and which was co-extensive with the line of pillars. Two pillars stood in the old shrine, but in this period only one of these remained standing, namely No. 2; while the other had fallen, or had been buried, possibly intentionally, as Macalister suggests, in order to save it from detection and from capture by some enemy in a sudden raid upon the town. In the place of this buried pillar a huge monolith over ten feet high was set up. Other pillars were added from time to time, thus extending the line northward till the number of seven was completed about 1400 B. C. The height of these pillars ranged from five and one-half to nearly eleven feet, and they were set at intervals of three or four feet, except No. 2 which was seven feet from No. 1 and eleven and one-half feet from No. 3. This number seven appears to have been intentional, for this alignment of seven was kept intact for some time before three more stones were added. These three additional ones, though set in the regular line, were grouped at some distance from the original seven so as to preserve both the numerical sanctity of *seven* and the esoteric value of *ten*.¹⁰

Each pillar was a rough untooled monolith, in keeping doubtless with the Semitic notion that chiseling a fetish would injure its *numen*, and each presented its flat surface, if it had any, to the west.

⁸ In Ephraim, Josh. 10:33, &c. = mod. *Tell Jezzer*, Baedeker, p. 13.

⁹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 381-406.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

Moreover, significant cup-marks were found hollowed out on the western surfaces of three: one each on No. 1 and 3, and two on No. 9. The cups were doubtless made in the pillars prior to their erection in the sanctuary, since in every case these cuttings were on the flat side which was probably the upper surface before it was quarried.

Pillar No. 7 deserves special mention because it possessed the unique quality of being made from a different species of rock from that of the others, they being of limestone native to Gezer. This difference led Macalister to the conclusion that the pillar was taken, during some campaign of the Gezerites, as a trophy from some other high place, possibly in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. A groove was made on its top, evidently to keep a rope from slipping as the stone was being dragged into position. The view is strengthened by the incident of Mesha's dragging the *ariels* of 'Ataroth and of Nebo before Kemosh.

Pillar No. 2 appeared to be, as has already been stated, the oldest stone in the alignment. It was evidently the object of greatest veneration, since its top presented the appearance of having been worn smooth as if it had been kissed by ardent devotees. Its antiquity obviously contributed largely to its enhanced sanctity and to the impartial bestowal of religious affection. Perhaps its *numen* was thought to be the parent of those of the other pillars.

Standing almost flush with the western face of the alignment, and opposite to the space between Nos. 5 and 6, was discovered an object which may best be supposed to have been either a laver for ceremonial ablutions or a receptacle for liquid offerings. It is a stone block about six feet long, five feet wide, and two and one-half feet high, having a square-cornered cavity seven and one-fifth cubic feet in capacity, chiseled out in its upper surface.

Two circular structures, whose purposes have not yet been satisfactorily explained, were found west of the alignment, one at the north and one at the south end. One was eighteen and the other thirteen feet in diameter. Both were paved with small stones, and were once completely walled up with rough stones to the height of six feet.

East of the alignment and of the sacred cave is a bell-shaped cistern sixteen feet deep which evidently served as a refuse

depository for unconsumed sacrifices, since the bones of fourteen men, two women, two children, and of many beasts, namely those of cows, sheep, deer, and goats, were found in a confused mass at the bottom.

On the north side were discovered walls of buildings which may have been **apartments** for priests.

Finally there remains to be mentioned, as throwing more light on this place as a sanctuary, the fact that jar-burials of infants were found in the earth below the level of the high place, thus proving either the rite of infant sacrifice or the sanctity which caused this place of worship to be used as a **cemetery**. Moreover, a great many cult-objects, such as votive images of 'Ashtart, amulets, and phallic emblems, were also found here and there over the entire area.¹¹

All these objects of undoubted religious meaning, including the sacred cave, imply a large retinue of temple-attendants and an elaborate ritual system, of which the giving of oracles in the holy cave, preparing and offering the sacrificial victims, and keeping the sacred precincts undefiled by unholy feet must have been parts. The Levites who later dwelt here may have been descendants from the ancient line of priests.¹²

2. The worship at the high place appears from a study of the levels to have declined about 1400 B. C. or soon after; but with this decline a second sanctuary probably emerged into prominence.¹³ This shows a great advance in architecture over the first shrine. The primitive cave is here developed into a building with a columned portico similar, as Macalister presumes, to the temple of Dagan which Samson wrecked. The temple probably had its "holy of holies" and a special room in which to house its precious metal-covered images. In a long narrow courtyard, south of the portico, there is an alignment forty-four feet long of five pillars. Two pillars appear to be absent in the alignment which originally must have embraced seven. The highest pillar is seven and one-half feet, and the others are of unequal height. In the rear of the building to the east are two circular structures, similar to those at the high

¹¹ pp. 411 ff.

¹² Josh. 21:21.

¹³ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 406 ff.

place, completely filled with fragments of bones of sheep and of goats. These evidently served as depositories for unconsumed carcasses of sacrificial victims. A sacred eye-amulet and a bronze statuette of a female divinity were found in the fore-court of this temple.¹⁴

Megiddo.¹⁵ 1. Schumacher discovered in the Hebrew level at Megiddo a walled room thirty-nine feet square which, when uncovered, was intersected by a wall dividing the house into two chambers of nearly equal size.¹⁶ In this middle wall were two pillars ranging in height from three feet two inches to two feet six inches, one of which bore the Hebrew letter "L." The other had its top sharpened to a slightly conical form.

2. Another square-cornered building about thirty feet long by thirteen feet wide, with its longitudinal axis nearly north and south, was found situated in an open area measuring one hundred and fifteen feet by one hundred and thirty-one feet.¹⁷ In the midst of the wall, which divided this building into two chambers of equal size, were two great standing stones, which were over seven feet high, and which were separated by a space of over eleven feet. On the west side of one pillar was a cup-mark, and on the east side and on the top of the other were also cups. A stone table, in the top of which was a cup-mark, may possibly have been an altar.

3. Another enclosure, measuring twenty-nine by nineteen and one-half feet, was also discovered at Megiddo. Although it belongs to the Hebrew period¹⁸ yet it may be mentioned for the sake of comparison. In the enclosing wall on two sides are six pillars, of which four bear peculiarly engraved marks; while one, three feet high, is worn by use into an oval shape. Another stone about two feet high gave the appearance of having served as an altar, since it showed traces of fire and bore on its upper surface a cup-mark ten inches wide. All kinds of vessels, an animal form in relief, a phallic emblem, an amulet, and a censer were found in the enclosure, and appear to add evidence of a religious nature.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, iii Pl. cex. 22; cexi. 2.

¹⁵ 1 K. 4:12, &c.

¹⁶ 1000-600 B. C., *MNDPV.*, 1904, pp. 48 ff.; Schumacher, pp. 110 ff.

¹⁷ *MNDPV.* 1904, p. 48; Schumacher, pp. 105 ff.

¹⁸ About 600 B. C. *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff.

These three supposed cult-places all belong to the Hebrew level, and have been added merely for the sake of comparison with the structure of known high places. It is doubtful if all three of these were places of worship. If they were, each might have served in its generation as an open-air high place, and later its pillars might have been built into a house.

Sinai. The temple of Serabit during the 18th and 19th dynasties of Egypt continued to expand along the lines begun in the former period.¹⁹ Now an extensive system of rooms, most of which contained what were probably sacred pillars, succeeded one another from the inner shrine outward. These rooms were covered over with earth so as to resemble the typical sacred cave, which was a primitive dwelling-place of deity. Repairs and additions were made to the older structures including several new pillars that were added to the "shrine of the kings." Worship at this temple waned after the passing of the 19th dynasty.

Taanach.²⁰ 1. In the level dating from 1300-800 B. C. Sellin believes that he has discovered at Taanach a cult-place of no small importance.²¹ Two roughly squared pillars, each bearing a cup-mark—one on its side and the other on its top—were found built into the wall of a house. Their respective heights were four and one-half and three and one-half feet. They have been compared with similar stones found in Crete and in Cyprus, with the pillars named Boaz and Jachin standing at the entrance of Solomon's temple, and with the two pillars used in the worship of Melkart of Tyre.²² The fact that no other remains were found suggestive of worship casts doubt upon these conclusions, although, for the sake of comparison, this "high place" will be allowed to bear its testimony.

2. Also in the Canaanite stratum ten pillars were found arranged in two parallel rows of five each.²³ Sellin compares these with those of the high place at Gezer, believing that he sees here also another place of worship. No cult-objects are mentioned.

¹⁹ Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 97 ff.

²⁰ *T'-'n'-k'*, Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 426. In Issachar, Josh. 17:11, &c. Mod. *Ta'annak*, Baedeker, p. 228.

²¹ Sellin, pp. 68 ff.

²² Herod. ii. 44.

²³ Sellin, p. 104.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SANCTUARY AND ITS FURNISHINGS

The early Semitic sanctuary, which consisted of a rough stone pillar set up as an altar under some sacred tree or before some holy spring, developed at the beginning of the Hebrew period into an elaborate sanctuary of no mean proportions. This advanced stage of development, which the multiplicity of cult-objects and of ritual practices certainly implies—could have been reached only by an evolutionary process extending over a long period of years. The sanctity of time-honored shrines and of holy objects would naturally be enhanced through the accumulating traditions of heroes and of ancestors connected with them as supposed founders or as grave-haunting *numina*. Another possible cause for the expansion of the sanctuaries may have been the periodic overlaying of the land by foreign immigrations, or the surging to and fro of the native tribes; for it might be expected that each tribe which made the sanctuary its own would add its peculiar coloring to the cult. However, we shall find ourselves led astray if we admit more than a limited degree of foreign influence as affecting the religion of Canaan and the development of the sanctuary. The native religion of Canaan has always been of that virile, independent type which has suffered little from foreign influence; but which, on the other hand, has contributed largely to the religious conceptions of other nations, as, for instance, to those of Egypt and of Greece.

This expansion of the sanctuary, however it came about, must be recognized as reflecting the religious progress of the Canaanites. The ancient worship of trees, springs, and stones still survived in spite of all the changes that took place, and still contributed no unimportant part to the religious rites of the times. However, certain developments of these cult-objects came about. The sacred tree furnished, as a by-product, the sacred wooden post, or *'asherah*, which object in turn by being carved and adorned with the precious metals probably gave rise to the iconic representation of the deity; while at the same time the holy tree and the *'asherah* through the law of religious conserva-

tism continued to receive the same veneration as ever. The sacred cave, now generally too crude for an age of culture, was supplanted by the dark inner shrine of the temple, or adytum; while the temple itself came to assume a substantial character, to provide shelter and protection for the precious cult-objects and trophies; yet, in spite of this new departure, the sacred cave still persisted. Furthermore, the sacred spring, so essential in many primitive shrines, came to be conventionalized in the sacred water of the laver, which was placed at the door of the sanctuary for the purpose of lustration; yet many sacred springs at the same time retained their primitive sanctity. This mingling of the primitive with the cultured elements of religion in Canaanite and in Hebrew times is nothing new. One need only observe the same conditions that are present in any religion and in any country at the present time.

The most usual word to designate the Canaanite sanctuary is *bamah*, "high place," which originally meant any high, rising ground, such as a mountain, hill, or ridge;¹ but, since in ancient times² the tops of hills and of mountains were regarded as favorable places of worship, this term became the stereotyped name for all sanctuaries, whether they happened to be on a high place or not. Thus in Canaanite times the *bamah*, or sanctuary,³ was located not only on hill-tops⁴ but also in the valleys, ravines,⁵ cities,⁶ and even at the gate of a temple.⁷

The general structure of the high place appears from the expressions that describe its manner of erection, such as "to build" or "build again";⁸ or its manner of destruction by pious reformers, such as "to demolish," "break down," "take away," "burn and beat to dust."⁹ From these one gathers that it must have been an artificially-constructed platform of earth, which was probably held intact by an encircling terrace

¹ See p. 28.

² See p. 29.

³ Am. 7:9.

⁴ 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10.

⁵ Ezek. 6:3.

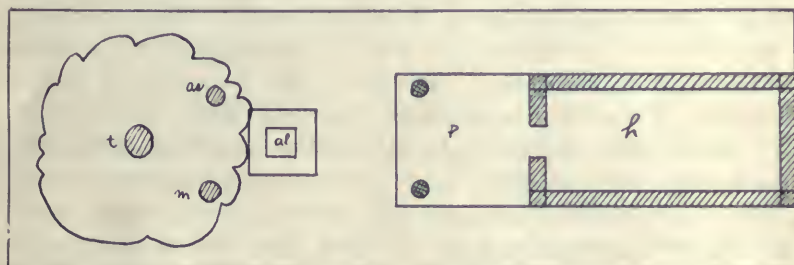
⁶ 2 K. 17:9, 29, 32; 23:8; 2 Chr. 28:25.

⁷ 2 K. 23:8.

⁸ 2 K. 17:9; 21:3, &c.

⁹ Num. 33:52; 1 K. 22:43; 2 K. 23:8, 15; Hos. 10:8.

of stones. How large this platform was can only be inferred from the space which the usual holy objects of the sanctuary necessarily required. Thus, space was necessary for the fire-altar which commanded an imposing place beside the holy tree, and for the *maššebah* and the '*asherah*' which flanked the altar before the entrance of the temple, and possibly for the temple itself. The accompanying plan seems to fulfil generally the conditions implied in the arrangement of the various holy objects which are frequently mentioned as connected with the high place, and which will be treated in detail later; namely altar,¹⁰ *maššebah*, '*asherah*,¹¹ tree,¹² temple,¹³ and images.¹⁴



al—altar
as—'*asherah*
m—*maššebah*

t—tree
p—porch
h—temple

The number of the sanctuaries was multitudinous in Hebrew times, and, from the fact that the Hebrews generally adopted them on entering the land, it may be supposed that earlier the number was no less. They existed in all the cities of Israel and Judah, "on every high hill," "under every green tree," in the ravines and in the valleys. Throughout the long period of the Judean monarchy, while the Deuteronomic reform of suppressing the local sanctuaries and of establishing a central sanctuary at Jerusalem progressed, or suffered reaction at the hands

¹⁰ 2 K. 18:22; Is. 36:7; Ezek. 6:6.

¹¹ 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10; 18:4.

¹² Jer. 17:2 (text probably corrupt).

¹³ 2 K. 17:29, 32.

¹⁴ 2 K. 11:18; 2 Chr. 23:17; Ezek. 6:4, 6; Mic. 1:7.

of good or of bad kings, the high places passed through many vicissitudes of demolition and of reconstruction. This is another evidence of the virile type of the native religion, which flourished for years after the most radical steps of suppression had been championed by the advocates of pure monotheism, whose efforts were backed by the authority of law. While this reform was going on, the persistency with which heathen reactions occurred against the state orthodox religion is well described by the oft-repeated refrain of the writer of Kings that "the high places were not taken away, and the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places."

The *tree*, which was one of the most primitive sacred objects in the sanctuary,¹⁵ appears to have had an important connection with the Canaanite high place. Whether the oft-repeated phrase "every green tree" associated with a sanctuary, is to be literally interpreted as applying to every tree, or merely to the sacred trees, is difficult to determine. Important considerations would seem to point to the latter alternative, since altar,¹⁶ *'asherah*, *maššebah*,¹⁷ and possibly *bamah*¹⁸ are declared to be under every green tree; while these same sacred objects are at the same time known to be the indispensable adjuncts of every high place. Accordingly it may well be supposed from the clause "upon every high hill and under every green tree"¹⁹ that a holy green tree was an important requisite for every high place, whether located in a valley, in a city, or on a hill. The significance of the sacred tree with its associated rites cannot for this period be distinguished from the primitive conceptions of tree-worship already dealt with in a former chapter.

The *maššebah*. Having considered in a former chapter the *maššebah*²⁰ in respect to its primitive origin as a *bethel*, or altar, it remains for this period to discover so far as possible its relation to the other cult-objects of the sanctuary, its form, appearance, and possible significance. While the "rock,"

¹⁵ See pp. 21 ff.

¹⁶ Jer. 17:2 (text doubtful); Ezek. 6:13.

¹⁷ 2 K. 17:16.

¹⁸ Cp. Deut. 12:2 with 2 K. 16:4; 2 Chr. 28:4.

¹⁹ Deut. 12:2; Jer. 3:6, 13; cp. 17:2; Ezek. 20:28.

²⁰ See pp. 34, 35.

"stone," and "circle" in a few isolated instances continued to exist in several sanctuaries, probably serving the same function as the *maššebah*, it will be sufficient to confine attention to the latter, since it is by far the most commonly-mentioned of all sacred objects of this class belonging to the high place. The meaning of *maššebah* implies that it was something set up, which fact further implies that it was of elongated form. The fact that the single pillars at Beth-el, Ramoth-gilead, and Shechem were of stone justifies the position that all were of that material. The language used with reference to their demolition²¹ by the iconoclasts confirms this conclusion. The Old Testament offers no hint relative either to their appearance or size, except that in the latter case the standing pillar at Gibeon is called a "great stone."²²

If, then, the *maššebah* was an erect stone of considerable size, such a description fully agrees with the stones uncovered in the excavations. These pillars, wherever found, are of unequal height, and range from five and one-half feet to nearly eleven feet at Gezer,²³ from six to seven feet at Gath,²⁴ from two and one-half feet to seven feet at Megiddo,²⁵ and from three and one-half to four and one-half feet at Taanach.²⁶ In form they are generally elongated, and consist of rough untoolled monoliths with thicknesses in fair proportion to their heights. More precisely, some are in cross section roughly rectangular or square, some roughly round or oval, while some are even slightly tool-dressed, as at Megiddo. Especially in the case of those at Gath, and more particularly those at Gezer, the tops of these pillars are of such a rough and pointed character as to preclude the possibility of their having been used as supporting stones in buildings. Doubt about the religious significance of those found at Megiddo and at Taanach has already been expressed.²⁷ One characteristic feature about many of these

²¹ Cp. Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Deut. 7:5; 12:3.

²² 2 Sam. 20:8.

²³ See pp. 172, 173.

²⁴ See p. 171.

²⁵ See p. 175.

²⁶ See p. 176.

²⁷ Vincent and Macalister.

pillars, possibly pointing to their having been used for religious purposes, is the existence of cup-marks on several of them. Out of a total of forty pillars found seven bore cup-marks: three having one each at Gezer, two having one each at Taanach, and two having one and two each respectively at Megiddo. All the cups are on lateral surfaces, except two at Megiddo. It is not known, of course, whether these markings were incised prior to the installation of these pillars in the sanctuaries or afterwards, but probably the former was the case.²⁸

As has been observed in a former chapter, there was, according to Old Testament evidence, only one *massebah* in the typical Canaanite sanctuary.²⁹ How then can this representation be harmonized with the number found at Gezer and elsewhere? There were discovered at Gezer in one place ten, and in another, five; at Gath, three; at Taanach, in one place, ten, and in another, two; and at Megiddo, in three different places, two, two, and six respectively. The most obvious explanation is offered by the great high place at Gezer, where the smallest and oldest pillar bears on its top evident signs of having been greatly venerated by kissing. This one may have been *the* sacred pillar, while the other stones may have been set up merely for honorific or symbolic purposes. Such a pillar as this greatly-venerated one at Gezer is conspicuously absent from the other sanctuaries that have been excavated, if such they be. However, another explanation is offered by number seven in the alignment at Gezer, which shows evidence of having been dragged thither, possibly as a trophy from some shrine of a hostile tribe, and made to do homage, like the others in the alignment, to the ba'al of the ancient pillar. The pillars composing the two high places at Gezer and the one at Gath formed an alignment, while those at Taanach formed, in one place, two rows of five each. No prevailing orientation in the alignments has been observed.

According to Hosea, Micah, and the repeated observations of the Deuteronomic and priestly writers, the pillar forms, along with the altar, *'asherah*, and sometimes a tree and a graven

²⁸ See p. 173.

²⁹ Cp. "Thou shalt not set up a *massebah*," Lev. 26:1; Deut. 16:22. *Massēbōth* in 2 K. 10:26 should read *'asherah*, since the former could not be burnt, being made of stone.

image, an indispensable feature of the typical Canaanite sanctuary.³⁰

Whether the *maššebah* was the exclusive symbol of the masculine, or ba'al, principle of deity, is open to question. There are some considerations that seem to favor the view that some stones at least were the fetishes of goddesses. The word *maššebah* appears in the feminine gender in both the singular and the plural. A feminine conception is favored by Jeremiah's declaration that idolaters "say to a stock, Thou art my father, and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth."³¹ Furthermore, a conical stone, broad at the base and tapering to a point at the top, is referred to by Tacitus as sacred to the Paphian Venns.³² A cone answering to such a description was found at Idalium. This conical pillar seen by Tacitus has been compared with certain pillars which the king of Egypt set up in Syria, and which Herodotus saw bearing inscriptions and γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα, or a feminine emblem.³³

On the other hand, the weight of evidence favors the view that the pillar embodied the masculine conception. It is known that a "*maššebah* of ba'al" existed at Samaria³⁴ where the ba'al-worship later was strongly intrenched.³⁵ Shechem³⁶ and Ophrah³⁷ were centers of the ba'al-cult where sacred stone-fetishes were greatly venerated. Moreover, the masculine significance is observed in the Assyrian *Bait-ili* as the name of a Phoenician god, who evidently took his name from *bethel* the fetish itself; in the Greek *baitulos* for a sacred stone;³⁸ in the pillars at the entrance of the Temple bearing the masculine names Jachin and

³⁰ Deut. 7:5; 12:3 (pillar, altar, asherah, and image); Ex. 34:13; 2 Chr. 14:2 (3) (pillar, altar, asherah); Deut. 16:21, 22 (pillar, altar, asherah, tree); 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10 (pillar, asherah, tree); 2 K. 10:26, 27 (pillar, asherah. Emended text). Mic. 5:12, 13 (13, 14) (pillar, asherah, image); Hos. 3:4 (pillar, altar (sacrifice), image); Hos. 10:1 (pillar, altar); Ex. 23:24; Lev. 26:1 (pillar).

³¹ Jer. 2:27.

³² *Hist.* ii. 3.

³³ II, 106; see p. 12 and note 35.

³⁴ 2 K. 3:2.

³⁵ 10:18, &c.

³⁶ Judg. 9:5, &c.

³⁷ 6:21, 26.

³⁸ See p. 33.

Boaz;³⁹ in the dedication of about two thousand votive-tablets to Baal Hammon at Carthage;⁴⁰ and in Old Testament references to Yahweh as the "Rock"⁴¹ and to Joseph, the deified hero of Shechem, as the "Shepherd of the stone of Israel."⁴² Some even go so far as to assert that the pillar was a phallic emblem in analogy with the pillar as it developed in Greece where it acquired a head and a phallus.⁴³ The "figured stones,"⁴⁴ which appear to have been common in the high places, and which were rigidly condemned by Hebrew Puritanism, may point to this interpretation, but cannot confirm it.

The ritual of worship which the *maṣṣebah* called forth probably consisted, according to primitive conceptions already mentioned,⁴⁵ chiefly in sprinkling the stone with oil and water and probably with blood. The religious act of bowing down to "figured stones" and "bowing the knee to ba'al,"⁴⁶ together with the fact that the oldest pillar at Gezer showed signs of wear, seem to favor the idea that the sacred pillar was worshipped by being kissed.

The 'asherah was some sort of a wooden post which in nearly every sanctuary served as an idol. Its origin is doubtless to be traced to the sacred tree, whose sanctity suffered no diminution even after dying; so that its dead trunk, at least in part, was eventually carried to the high place and set up under the holy tree. It was made of different kinds of wood,⁴⁷ or holy trees, and could be "cut down" or "hewn down" and "burned with fire."⁴⁸ It stood upright, since it is referred to as "set

³⁹ 1 K. 7:21.

⁴⁰ Cooke, p. 104.

⁴¹ See *Šūr*, Chap. XXVIII.

⁴² Gen. 49:24 (text corrupt).

⁴³ Lucian says (*De Syria Dea*, 16) that there were, in the porch of the temple at Hierapolis, two phalli dedicated by Bacchus to Juno. This view is held by Movers, Benzinger (p. 323 ff.), Paton (*BW.*, vol. 36 pp. 26 ff.), but opposed by W. R. Smith (Smith, *RS.*, p. 456) and Kittel (Kittel, p. 128 ff.). Such passages as Is. 57:8; Ezek. 16:17; and Hos. 2:8 are hardly conclusive.

⁴⁴ Lev. 26:1 (Ph); Num. 33:52 (P^s).

⁴⁵ See pp. 32 ff.

⁴⁶ 1 K. 19:18; cp. Ex. 23:24.

⁴⁷ Deut. 16:21.

⁴⁸ Ex. 34:13; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; Judg. 6:26, 28.

up," or "planted," "cut down" or "hewn down," or "plucked up."⁴⁹ Its location was by the side of the fire-altar and the *maššebah* usually under the sacred tree. The one at Ophrah was of sufficient size to furnish fuel for consuming a bullock as a burnt offering.⁵⁰

At first, no doubt, it was a rough unembellished post; but, as time went on, and as a love for the esthetic gradually developed, it came to be "carved," or "made with fingers," into iconic shapes⁵¹ appropriate to embody the conception of the supposed indwelling numen. It is easy to suppose, therefore, that from this sacred post there developed the graven image, which eventually took on the adornments of gold and of silver. Thus the ephod may have developed from the '*asherah*' for it was carved and overlaid, as its name implies, either with gold or with silver. However, the '*asherah*' continued at the same time in its rough primitive form alongside of this later development. Some sort of hangings or garments with which to adorn it were made by the women.⁵² A marble post, found at *Rās el-'Ain* by the source of the *Hābūr*, with its top engraved after the likeness of the veiled goddess, has been compared with the old wooden '*asherah*'.⁵³ One might infer from the strong language of Jeremiah: "Israel committed adultery with stones and stocks,"⁵⁴ and from that of Hosea: "My people ask counsel at their stock . . . for the spirit of whoredom hath caused them to err and they have played the harlot,"⁵⁵ that the '*asherah*' usually bore some markings emblematic of the sexual life. This inference is further favored by the contempt which the writers both of Kings and of Chronicles⁵⁶ felt for this cult-object when they describe the *pesel 'asherah*, "carved image of Asherah," as *miphlešeth la-'asherah*, "a thing-to-shudder-at for

⁴⁹ Deut. 7:5; 16:21; Judg. 6:25; 2 K. 17:10; 21:7; Mic. 5:13 (14).

⁵⁰ Judg. 6:26.

⁵¹ 1 K. 15:13 = 2 Chr. 15:16; 2 K. 23:4; Is. 17:8; cp. 2 K. 17:16; 21:3.

⁵² 2 K. 23:7. Read כְּתָנִים "hangings," instead of בָּתִּים, "houses," so Kittel.

⁵³ Benzinger, p. 326, fig. 245.

⁵⁴ 3:9.

⁵⁵ 4:12.

⁵⁶ 1 K. 15:13 = 2 Chr. 15:16.

(or to) Asherah," thus calling in derision the symbolized deity by the name of the obscene fetish.

The 'asherah was doubtless regarded as a sort of *bethel*, or conventional abode of the deity, and as such was analogous to the pillar. What relation it bore to the sacred tree, by which or under which it usually stood,⁵⁷ or to the *maššebah* and the altar, near which it stood, is impossible to say, except that in some way it was consulted for oracles. The rites incident to this consultation can only be imagined. On an Assyrian monument from Khorsābād there is represented an ornamental pole erected beside an altar. Priests are standing and touching the pole in the act of worship, possibly applying some liquid offering to it.⁵⁸ W. R. Smith compares this evidence of worship of the sacred pole with the worship of the sacred stump of an erica at Byblus, which, as the myth has it, was wrapped in a linen cloth, anointed with myrrh as a corpse, and presented by Isis to the Byblians; and he suggests that "the rite of draping and anointing a sacred stump" may supply "the answer to the unsolved question of the nature of the ritual practices connected with the Asherah."⁵⁹ That some liquid offering was in some way applied to the 'asherah may safely be inferred from the mention of vessels made for its cult.⁶⁰

The 'asherah was probably generally conceived as an embodiment of the feminine conception of deity, although Jeremiah's reference to idolaters' calling "a stock . . . my father"⁶¹ seems to favor a masculine idea. On the other hand, the language of Hosea and Jeremiah cited above; the mention of "to Ashtart in the 'asherah'" as one of the limiting posts of a late Semitic sanctuary;⁶² the feminine form of 'asherah itself; as well as its similarity in orthography and in sound to 'Ashtart, the mother-goddess, demand a feminine conception.

There was in all probability only a single 'asherah in each of the high places, if one may be allowed to infer from the usage

⁵⁷ Jer. 17:2.

⁵⁸ Given in Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. p. 461.

⁵⁹ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 188n, 191, 192n.

⁶⁰ 2 K. 23:4.

⁶¹ 2:27.

⁶² Cooke, p. 48; *KAT.*³, p. 437n

at Ophrah,⁶³ Samaria,⁶⁴ and Jerusalem.⁶⁵ Whenever the plural *'asherim* is mentioned, the language is general and is applicable to all the high places taken in the mass.⁶⁶

The iconoclastic propaganda of the time of Josiah was the first open revolt of pure religion in putting these crude objects under the ban of the law. In accordance with this law it was specifically commanded not to "plant" but to "cut down," "hew down," and "burn with fire" the *'asherim* in the high places.

Mizbeah, the Hebrew word for *altar*, meaning "place of slaughter," seems to imply by its etymology that it came first into use in ancient times when the function of the altar was merely to furnish an abode for the deity who was thought to receive through it the blood of sacrificial victims. Burnt-offerings belong to a later and more reflective stage in the development of the idea of sacrifice; but no ritual of burnt-offering invented a distinctive term expressive of its own nature to supplant the already-existing name that grew out of a more primitive type of offering. This primitive use of the altar, involving the dedication of rocks, pillars, and stones in nature-worship, has already been dealt with.⁶⁷ It is perhaps sufficient here to remark that the primitive practice of sprinkling blood on stone altars or on pillars still went on; but by its side the offering by fire appeared in a flourishing condition in the earliest period of Hebrew history, which fact proves the rite to be indigenous to the soil. The command in the oldest legal code proscribing the use of altars of tool-dressed stones with ascending steps⁶⁸ reveals a conservative reaction against the refined type of altars prevailing in Canaan. According to the primitive conception, the rough stone, or upright pillar, was the "altar," and at the same time the abode of the deity. To touch that abode with a tool was thought to injure the indwelling deity, and to ascend it by steps was regarded as uncovering the naked-

⁶³ Judg. 6:25, 28.

⁶⁴ 1 K. 15:13; 16:33; 2 K. 13:6; 17:16.

⁶⁵ 2 K. 21:3, 7; 23:4-15.

⁶⁶ Deut. 7:5, &c.

⁶⁷ See pp. 32 ff.

⁶⁸ Ex. 20:25, 26; Deut. 27:5, 6; Josh. 8:30, 31.

ness of the offerer to the deity below. Then, too, it may be supposed that the altar of which Yahweh approved was built of unhewn stones in contrast to the Canaanite altar of tool-dressed stones. This Canaanite type of altar, used especially for fire-offerings, plainly was not conceived of as the dwelling-place of a ba'al, but merely as a conventional stone-table on which to offer sacrifices in the presence of the deity who was embodied in the pillar, *'asherah*, or holy tree, or was symbolized by them. When consideration is taken of the high stage of civilization attained by the Canaanites, as shown both by pottery and by other remains in the excavations and by their early history, it is reasonable to expect to find a more highly developed system of offerings for this period than that possessed by the incoming Hebrews.

The language that describes the altar's construction—viz., to "build," "make," and "rear up"⁶⁹—and that describes its demolition—viz., to "break down," "rend," and "throw down"⁷⁰—clearly implies that the stones were laid one on top the other. The stones were probably so placed as to form a two-terraced stone structure with a hollow center for an earth filling.⁷¹ The central terrace, apparently about the height of a man, served as the place where the offering was consumed, while the lower surrounding terrace served as a standing-place for the priests. Such an altar with steps meets the demands of the expression "go up unto" and "bring down from."⁷² There were horns⁷³ attached in some way to the altar, probably projecting out from each of the four corners. The purpose of these horns is unknown, except that on occasions penitent suppliants laid hold on them in seeking the protection of the deity.⁷⁴

The altar evidently occupied a central position with respect to the other objects of the sanctuary. On the one hand, it stood in most cases beside or under the sacred tree⁷⁵ near the *'asherah*;⁷⁶ and, on the other hand, at least in the case of the

⁶⁹ Gen. 8:20; 35:1, 3; 2 Sam. 24:18.

⁷⁰ Deut. 7:5; 1 K. 13:5; 18:30; 19:10, 14.

⁷¹ Soil implied for the growth of thistles, Hos. 10:8.

⁷² 1 Sam. 2:28; 1 K. 1:53; 12:32; cp. Am. 9:1.

⁷³ Jer. 17:1, 2; Am. 3:14.

⁷⁴ 1 K. 1:50, 51; 2:28; cp. Ex. 21:14.

⁷⁵ Deut. 16:21; Jer. 17:2.

⁷⁶ Deut. 16:21; Judg. 6:19, 24.

one at Beth-el, a few paces from the front entrance of the temple.⁷⁷ The altar at Beth-el obviously stood before the bull-image,⁷⁸ which indicates that the latter, for the purpose of shelter, stood under the porch.

In the time of Hosea,⁷⁹ and undoubtedly earlier, there were as many altars in the land as there were places of worship. Offerings by fire were made "upon altars in all the high places."⁸⁰ Their number in the time of Jeremiah equalled that of the streets of Jerusalem.⁸¹ It is definitely known that fire-altars existed at fourteen different Canaanite sanctuaries,⁸² at many of which the more primitive type of altar, the stone fetish, continued to be worshipped in the primitive way. Because of the nature of its construction no fire-altar would be likely to survive to the present time, even if it escaped the notice of zealous reformers. Accordingly, no altar of this type has as yet been discovered in the excavations. The "altars" found at Megiddo⁸³ do not answer these conditions.

Every high place where sacrifices were made probably had a refuse depository for the disposal of the unconsumed animal sacrifices after the analogy of the depositories found at Gezer,⁸⁴ possibly at Megiddo,⁸⁵ and in the celebrated hypogeum of Mycenae.⁸⁶

Every high place had also its laver or lavers which were placed at the entrances of shrines to hold the sacred water for purposes of ablution. It is probable that this object in its most primitive conception was essentially a receptacle for holding

⁷⁷ Am. 9:1.

⁷⁸ 1 K. 12:32; cp. Ex. 32:5.

⁷⁹ Hos. 8:11; 10:1.

⁸⁰ 2 K. 16:4.

⁸¹ Jer. 11:13.

⁸² *Bamath-ba'al*, Num. 22:41; *Rosh ha-Pe'ôr*, 23:28, 29; 24:1, 2; *Beth-'el*, 1 K. 13:1 ff.; *Gib'ôn*, 1 K. 3:4, 15. *hag-Gilgal*, Hos. 12:12 (11); *Har Sinay-Horeb*, Ex. 24:4. *Har Karmel*, 1 K. 18:30 ff.; *Kiryath-ha-'arba'*, Gen. 13:18. *'Ophrah*, Judg. 6:26; *Rosh hap-Pisgah*, Num. 23:14; *ha-Ramah*, 1 Sam. 7:17; Hos. 5:8; *Shekem*, Gen. 22:9; see p. 202, note 27; *Yerû-Shalaim*, 2 Sam. 24:25.

⁸³ See p. 175.

⁸⁴ Macalister, *BSL.*, p. 71; see pp. 173, 174.

⁸⁵ Sellin, pp. 51, 62, 90.

⁸⁶ Vincent, p. 120.

the water of some sacred spring. At first it was probably worshipped as a conventional holy spring, its waters being regarded as possessing healing and divining powers; but, as time went on, it came to be explained as another means of rendering the worshipper ceremonially "clean" prior to his entrance to the sanctuary and his participation in the functions of worship. The temple in the Wady Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinaitic peninsula had at least four lavers, which were arranged in a series extending from the outer to the innermost shrine, thereby indicating repeated acts of washings.⁸⁷ Solomon's temple had ten lavers, five at each front corner of the temple.⁸⁸ One thick-rimmed stone receptacle, found in the high place at Gezer, probably served this same purpose.⁸⁹

The image. Iconic representations of the deity found on Canaanite soil by the immigrant Hebrews could not have been of sudden origin, but must have passed through a series of developments extending through centuries. To fill the gap between the ancient primitive rough stone or wooden fetish and the graven or molten image, years of reflection on the nature of the deity were necessary. As civilization and a love for the esthetic developed there was created a desire for a more refined symbol of the deity than existed in the pillar or the sacred post; and this desire led, as we may suppose, to crude attempts at carving anthropoid and possibly animal features on the sacred post. Other attempts followed until there resulted the finished product in the carved image overlaid with precious metals. Probably a more definite and impelling motive than simply a love for the esthetic led to their production. This motive grew out of the notion that an image modelled after the conception of the deity offered the greatest invitation to the *numen* to come and dwell within it so as to be within easy approach of the worshippers. In the course of time there was a divergence, probably due to different conceptions of deity, in the forms which the image took. Thus, three or four special forms demand consideration, namely, the carved image, the teraphim, the ephod, and the cast image.

⁸⁷ Petrie, *RS.*, p. 105.

⁸⁸ 1 K. 7:30, 38, 39, 43.

⁸⁹ See p. 173.

The carved image is represented by the Hebrew words, *pasil* and *pesel*. *Pasil* may be the older and the cruder species, since in no case has any Old Testament writer observed that it embodied any particular human or animal form. For that reason—though this is only an inference from silence—it may have been a lateral development of the '*asherah*', being made of wood, and being capable of being torn down and burnt.⁹⁰ Eventually its carved form came to be overlaid with precious metals.⁹¹ Its importance in the high place must be inferred from the frequent mention of it along with the other indispensable objects such as *maṣṣebah*, altar, and '*asherah*'.⁹² The *pasil* symbolized, if it did not actually represent, the presence of the deity⁹³ in whose honor sacrifices and fire-offerings were made.⁹⁴ Images of this sort existed in many sanctuaries, at least in that of Gilgal,⁹⁵ and in later times in those of Samaria and of Jerusalem.⁹⁶

Pesel, being derived from the same root as *pasil*, may be merely a verbal variation, if not a later development of it. The *pesel* was fashioned by the hands of skilled craftsmen from cedar, holm, oak, or fir timber⁹⁷ into images representing the forms of the human male and female and of beasts.⁹⁸ The finest product of its kind was overlaid with gold and silver,⁹⁹ and, when installed in a shrine, received the homage paid to gods expressed in terms of obeisance and prayer.¹⁰⁰ With the exception that the *pesel* is frequently mentioned with the cast image as a condemned idol, there is no hint that it found a place alongside of well-known holy objects, which fact may point to its use being limited wholly to private shrines.¹⁰¹

⁹⁰ Deut. 7:5, 25; 12:3.

⁹¹ Deut. 7:25; Is. 30:22.

⁹² Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 2 Chr. 33:19; 34:3, 4, 7; Mic. 5:12, 13 (13, 14).

⁹³ Deut. 7:25.

⁹⁴ Hos. 11:2; cp. 2 Chr. 33:19.

⁹⁵ Judg. 3:19.

⁹⁶ Is. 10:10.

⁹⁷ Deut. 27:15; Is. 40:19, 20; 44:9-17.

⁹⁸ Deut. 4:16, 17; 5:8; Is. 44:13.

⁹⁹ Judg. 17:3, 4; Jer. 10:14.

¹⁰⁰ Ex. 20:5; Deut. 5:9; Is. 44:15, 17.

¹⁰¹ Cp. Is. 44:13.

Etymologically *massekah*, "cast image," means something "poured," hence an image that was made by casting in a mould. It was made of gold or of silver,¹⁰² and required the skill of the craftsman who fashioned the casting into its final form with an engraving tool.¹⁰³ The bulls of Beth-el¹⁰⁴ and of Dan¹⁰⁵ were of this type, and, because of their small size, were called "calves." Other forms than that of the bull are not definitely known from the Old Testament; but it appears probable that some of the forms mentioned in Deuteronomy—for instance, birds, fish, and creeping things—were of this type, although they are classed with carved images under the generic term *pesel*.¹⁰⁶ The serpent-image of brass at Jerusalem was probably of this sort.¹⁰⁷ Although its use was forbidden by the earliest Hebrew law,¹⁰⁸ yet this kind of image does not appear to have been found generally at the sanctuaries.¹⁰⁹ The case of the bulls is unique; but even these may not have been of the purely "cast" type, since the language used with reference to their destruction implies that they could be "splintered."¹¹⁰ The ritual expressing the homage paid to the bull-image consisted of offering sacrifice before the image¹¹¹ and kissing it.¹¹²

The *'ephōd* appears to have been some sort of a portable image which was consulted for oracles by some means of divination.¹¹³ Since the word *'ephōd* is derived from a root meaning "covering," it may safely be inferred that the image had a heart of wood. Over the wood silver, or gold, was laid, seventeen hundred shekels of the latter being used in making the one at Ophrah.¹¹⁴ It was "set up" as an idol and stood, probably like the one at Nob, free from the wall.¹¹⁵ Hosea men-

¹⁰² Ex. 32:4; 1 K. 12:28; Is. 30:22; Hos. 13:2.

¹⁰³ Ex. 32:4; Deut. 27:15; Hos. 8:6; 13:2.

¹⁰⁴ 1 K. 12:28 ff.; Hos. 8:5 f.; 10:5; 13:2.

¹⁰⁵ 1 K. 12:28 ff.

¹⁰⁶ Deut. 4:17, 18.

¹⁰⁷ 2 K. 18:4 f.

¹⁰⁸ Ex. 34:17.

¹⁰⁹ Only in 2 Chr. 34:3, 4.

¹¹⁰ Hos. 13:2.

¹¹¹ Ex. 32:4-6.

¹¹² Hos. 13:2.

¹¹³ Is. 30:22, see p. 45.

¹¹⁴ Judg. 8:26, 27.

¹¹⁵ 1 Sam. 21:9.

tions the ephod along with sacrifice, pillar, and teraphim as serving an important religious function in his day.¹¹⁶

The *teraphim* usually appears in close connection with ephod as an image to be consulted for oracles.¹¹⁷ There was one in the house of Michal, which apparently was fashioned in human form, and was about the size of a man.¹¹⁸ Smaller ones were probably made of precious metals.¹¹⁹

To sum up, then, we may say that the *pasil*, *massekah*, '*ephöd*, and *teraphim* were common objects of worship in the sanctuaries; that *pesel* and *teraphim* were made in human form and *pesel* and *massekah* in animal forms; and that each one was regarded as a god, or at least as his symbolized presence. The expressions "appear before Yahwéh"¹²⁰ and "bread of the face"¹²¹ must find their ultimate origin in the respective customs of appearing before an image of the deity and setting some offering of bread before it.

Furthermore, without any assignment to the classification above, we have reference to images fashioned in the human form in a silver statue of beaten work, perhaps a god, taken as spoil by Thutmose III;¹²² in the statue of Dagon having head and hands;¹²³ and in an image of Amon placed by Ramses III in a temple of his own building in the land of Zahi.¹²⁴ Perhaps the numerous representations of 'Ashtart found in the excavations may have been copies of larger images which were used particularly in the sanctuary. The smaller ones would be used in private shrines and for votive offerings.¹²⁵ The forms of the bull, the serpent, and the lion appear likewise to have been reproduced in small votive images that are found in the excavations,¹²⁶ or that are represented in art motives.¹²⁷

¹¹⁶ Hos. 3:4.

¹¹⁷ Ezek. 21:26 (21); Hos. 3:4; Zech. 10:2.

¹¹⁸ 1 Sam. 19:13.

¹¹⁹ Gen. 31:19, 34, 35.

¹²⁰ Ex. 23:17; Deut. 16:16; 31:11.

¹²¹ 2 Sam. 21:7 (6).

¹²² Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 436.

¹²³ 1 Sam. 5:4.

¹²⁴ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

¹²⁵ See "Votive Offerings," Chap. XXI.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Bull-images under the molten sea (1 K. 7:25) and lions on the steps of Solomon's throne (10:20).

Some august ceremony, in which an image of a god was carried in a procession, seems to be indicated in the words:

"Ye have borne the *Sakkûth* of your king and the *Kēwan* of your images."¹²⁸

The **Temple**. In the cities of Samaria, and undoubtedly in those of Judah also, were enclosures connected with the high places called "temples," or "houses of the high places,"¹²⁹ which probably came into existence to meet the demands of an expanding ritual system. The images of the gods required housing for security from robbers, since the idols were usually wrought out of precious metals, and since the priests needed apartments for dwellings. The buildings at Jerusalem,¹³⁰ Shiloh,¹³¹ Gezer,¹³¹ Gath,¹³² and Megiddo¹³³ were built of stone, so that it may be supposed that the others were also. In the main room of the temple probably stood the images, as did the ephod at Nob¹³⁴ and at Dan,¹³⁵ the ark at Shiloh,¹³⁶ the statue of Amon in his temple in the land of Zahi,¹³⁷ the image of Dagon at Ashdod,¹³⁸ and the molten bulls at Beth-el¹³⁹ and Dan.¹⁴⁰ Whether the *lishkah*, "hall," was originally the main room or an adjoining room is not known; at any rate, such a hall, or chamber, was a part of the temple at Ramah¹⁴¹ and at Jerusalem,¹⁴² and apparently was used for banqueting purposes on festal occasions; since in the one at Ramah the sacrificial meal was eaten, and in the one at Jerusalem wine was drunk. Apartments for priests in the sanctuaries, like those at Shiloh and at

¹²⁸ Am. 5:26.

¹²⁹ 1 K. 13:2, 32; 2 K. 17:32; 23:19.

¹³⁰ 1 Sam. 1:10; 3:2 ff.

¹³¹ See p. 174.

¹³² See p. 171.

¹³³ See p. 175.

¹³⁴ 1 Sam. 21:10 (9).

¹³⁵ Judg. 18:18, 30, 31.

¹³⁶ 1 Sam. 3:3.

¹³⁷ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

¹³⁸ 1 Sam. 5:4.

¹³⁹ 1 K. 12:28 ff.; Hos. 8:5; 13:2.

¹⁴⁰ 1 K. 12:28 ff.

¹⁴¹ 1 Sam. 9:22.

¹⁴² Jer. 35:2.

Nob, must be assumed. Besides the temples already mentioned, there was a temple at Gubula,¹⁴³ one at Ashkelon,¹⁴⁴ one at Dibon,¹⁴⁵ one at Shechem,¹⁴⁶ and, to infer from proper names, one each in probably as many as twenty-four other places.¹⁴⁷

The **Stronghold**. Connected with many sanctuaries there was probably a stronghold which served as a place of asylum for fugitives seeking the protection of the deity. Such were the six cities of refuge¹⁴⁸ and probably two other cities whose names reveal a theophorous element and the existence of a tower or of a stronghold.¹⁴⁹ A *ṣarīah* was in some way attached to the house of Ba'al-berith in the tower of Shechem,¹⁵⁰ while on the top of a *ma'ōz* at Ophrah an altar was built.¹⁵¹ It is not clearly known what these words mean, but perhaps "stronghold" will best meet the conditions of the respective contexts.¹⁵² Yahweh is often called a *ma'ōz*.¹⁵³ Since Shechem was a city of refuge, the *ṣarīah* to which the men of Shechem fled for asylum from their enemies may be that holy place of safety which was peculiar to all the six cities of refuge.

¹⁴³ Knudtzon, 137:60 ff.

¹⁴⁴ 1 Sam. 31:9.

¹⁴⁵ PEFQS., 1913, p. 74.

¹⁴⁶ Judg. 9:46 f.

¹⁴⁷ Cp. large number of place-names having *Bēth* "temple," as a first element. Cp. also *Heklain*, "two temples," Müller, in *MVG.*, 1907, p. 25. There was probably a temple at *Laish*, Judg. 18:27 ff.

¹⁴⁸ Beser, Golan, Kedesh, Hebron, Ramoth-gilead, Shechem, Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:7 f.

¹⁴⁹ *Migdal-'el*, Josh. 19:38; *Migdal-Gad*, 15:37; *Sephath*, "watch tower," Judg. 1:17.

¹⁵⁰ 9:46.

¹⁵¹ 6:26.

¹⁵² See Moore, *Judges*, pp. 192, 266.

¹⁵³ Ps. 27:1; 31:5 (4); Jer. 16:19; Nah. 1:7, &c.

CHAPTER XX

SACRED OBJECTS FOR PRIVATE USE

The practice, already begun in the early period, of representing the gods in iconic form for private use assumed at about the close of this period great proportions. The first feeble efforts of the early Semites to add other human features to crude objects of stone, already resembling in the natural state the anthropoid form, issued finally through the infusion of Egyptian and Cypriote influences in producing distinctive works of art. At the same time that this industry went on in the hands of skilled artisans, who usually made images in moulds, the crude objects of the amateur continued to be made from stone objects representing probably the human form.¹

Expensive idols appear to have been made skilfully at an early date; for, even in the time of Thutmose III, mention is made of two statues taken as spoil, one of silver, and the other of lapis lazuli,² which were evidently idols. Akizzi's image of Shamash taken by the Hittites³ must have been made of precious material to require gold for its ransom. No images of gold and silver have been found in the excavations; but many made of clay, terracotta, and bronze have come to light. A remarkable bronze image of the nude goddess about four inches high, found at Gezer in the early Hebrew level, had a tenon on the bottom to fit into a mortice; which undoubtedly suggests, in connection with over thirty lamps, many plates, saucers, jugs, and bowls found with it, that this was part of a shrine and constituted its most precious object.⁴ For the same purpose as these undoubtedly were the foreign gods which Jacob buried under the tree at Shechem,⁵ the household teraphim which Laban,⁶ Michal,⁷ and many others⁸ had, and the images which

¹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 421 ff.; *ibid.*, cccxii, cccxiii.

² Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 436.

³ Knudtzon, 55:53 ff.

⁴ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 419 ff.

⁵ Gen. 35:4.

⁶ 31:19, 34.

⁷ 1 Sam. 19:13, 16.

⁸ 2 K. 23:24.

the Philistines abandoned on the battlefield.⁹ The conclusion is justified, therefore, that iconic representations of the gods were commonly made for individual use in private shrines; and from this it may be supposed that at some stage in the development—probably when they began to take on the most ornamental features—these images were installed in the public sanctuaries. In the case of Micah's ephod¹⁰ at least the private idol falls into the hands of a robbing tribe who put it into their own public sanctuary at Dan.

The most common images found in the excavations at Taanach,¹¹ Megiddo,¹² Gath,¹³ Lachish,¹⁴ Gezer,¹⁵ and Beth-shemesh¹⁶ represented 'Ashtart. These images were made of terraeotta and clay, the latter preponderating, especially in the shape of plaques in low relief. These strikingly emphasize the sexual and maternal features of the goddess of love, being generally of nude form with prominent hips and breasts, and hands either outstretched or placed on the breasts. The prevailing type shows a strong Egyptian influence, since 'Ashtart is pictured with the head-dress, or wig, and the adornments of Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of love. Some specimens represent her as pregnant, others as playing on a tambourine, and still others as holding lotus flowers and a serpent, which emblems may stand for the charm and the peril of her cult. These images were most numerous in the levels corresponding to 1000 B. C., or about two hundred years after the Hebrews entered the land, and were found with lessening frequency from that point back to about 1600 B. C., and forward to about 800 B. C. Another type of image, that of the *dea nutrix*, both in the Cypriote pillar¹⁷ and in the Ashtartoid vase,¹⁸ appeared at Gezer after 1000 B. C. and gradually superseded the plaque.

The significance of these images of 'Ashtart for the religion

⁹ 2 Sam. 5:21.

¹⁰ Judg. 18:31.

¹¹ Sellin, p. 106.

¹² Schumacher, pp. 59, 63, 68, 89.

¹³ Bliss and Macal, p. 39, plate 79, Nos. 10-12.

¹⁴ Bliss, pp. 60, 68.

¹⁵ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 411 ff.

¹⁶ *PEFA.*, ii. p. 54.

¹⁷ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 417.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 419 ff.

of the Canaanites is very great. It shows not only what a great rôle the sexual element played in religion, but furnishes also adequate grounds, even if no other existed, for the summary denunciation of the prophets and of later reformers who exposed these works of men's hands¹⁹ to ridicule and branded them as abominations.²⁰

Further evidence of the worship of the sexual element comes from the widespread use of the phallic emblems, which were probably worshipped for the fruitfulness which they were thought to impart. Similar practices prevailed, at one time at least, in Babylonia²¹ and prevail even to-day in Palestine and in India. Such emblems were found at Sinai,²² Megiddo,²³ and by the basketful at Gezer in the level of the great high place whither they were probably brought as votive offerings to some deity of fecundity.²⁴

Besides the human, many animal forms appear in nearly all the *tells*; which fact, together with the sacredness with which the Canaanites regarded many of the animals, perhaps as totems, adds another chapter to the religion of the Canaanites. Some of these forms may be explained as art motives; but even art motives in their ultimate source spring from the soil of religious conceptions. The various animals represented in iconic form that have been found in the excavations, or that are known from other sources are the cow,²⁵ goat,²⁶ sheep,²⁷ horse,²⁸ camel,²⁹ lion,³⁰ dog,³¹ donkey,³² monkey,³³ mouse,³⁴ serpent,³⁵ hawk,³⁶

¹⁹ Jer. 1:16; 10:3, 9; 25:6, 7, 14; Hos. 14:3, &c.

²⁰ Very frequent, *cp.* Ezek. 7:20.

²¹ Tello, Zurghul, El Hibba, Warka, Nippur, Peters, *Nippur*, ii. p. 236.

²² Petrie, *RS.*, p. 135.

²³ Schumacher, pp. 53.

²⁴ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 446.

²⁵ Petrie, *RS.*, p. 137; Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 2-6; Bliss and Macal., p. 137.

²⁶ Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 509; *cp.* 2 Chr. 11:15; Macalister, *EG.* ii. pp. 6 ff.

²⁷ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 6 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 9 ff.

²⁹ Bliss and Macal. p. 137; Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 9.

³⁰ Schumacher, pp. 88, 89; Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 509.

³¹ Bliss and Macal. pp. 137, 342.

³² Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 8.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 17; Schumacher, pp. 84, 89, 90.

and dove.³⁷ There is little wonder, then, in view of the manufacture and worship of these animal forms, that a strict prohibition appears in the Deuteronomic Decalogue commanding, "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor the likeness of any form that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them."³⁸

A pottery model of a shrine about eight inches long, having a quaint seated figure and a small vat—the latter probably for ablution purposes—on each side, was found at Gezer in the early Canaanite level.³⁹ The blackened base showed that it had been used. Perhaps some image once stood in or back of it, and supplied a religious need in some household.

The excavated levels that correspond to this period reveal besides images a large number of amulets in the form of scarabs, concretions, fossils, perforated femur-head bones called "spindle whorls," pendants, and boar's tusks.⁴⁰ Egyptian influence accounts for the greatly extended use of scarabs and of many other amulets, but this fact lessens in no wise their importance for the native religion. It was and always has been customary for primitive people to wear on their persons all sorts of charms for the purpose of warding off the evil eye and of inviting the influence of beneficent spirits. Many of the images and plaques of 'Ashtart reveal signs of bracelets, anklets, neck-beads, and pendants; which fact proves that these things were commonly worn. In early Hebrew times it was customary for the Hebrews⁴¹ and the Ishmaelite warriors to wear earrings, and for the camels to wear crescents and pendants suspended by chains from the neck.⁴² It was the proper thing, when worshipping the ba'als in the time of Hosea, for the worshippers to deck themselves with nose-rings and jewels.⁴³

³⁴ 1 Sam. 6:5, 11.

³⁵ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 399.

³⁶ Schumacher, p. 50.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40; Bliss and Macal. p. 137.

³⁸ Ex. 20:4, 5; Deut. 4:15-19.

³⁹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 437; cp. other objects, iii. eliv, 9, 13.

⁴⁰ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 71 ff.; 449 ff.; Sellin, p. 111.

⁴¹ Gen. 35:4; Schumacher, pp. 84, 88, 90.

⁴² Judg. 8:21, 24-26.

⁴³ Hos. 2:15 (13).

CHAPTER XXI

OFFERINGS

In determining the extent and character of the Canaanite ritual of offering we are, to a large extent, dependent on practices in vogue during the early Hebrew period. It is apparent at once that the task of differentiating between those rites which were distinctively Canaanite and those which were peculiarly Hebrew is a difficult, if not an impossible, one. However, if early Hebrew literature and known Canaanite survivals be used as the basis of inquiry, the task will not be so formidable. It must be recognized at the start that the Hebrews could have had only a simple and primitive system of offerings prior to their residence in Canaan, and that even these rites partook of the same fundamental Semitic type as the Canaanite offerings. Moreover, since the Hebrews generally adopted the local high places when they settled in Canaan, and worshipped the ba'als down to the reformation of Josiah, it is to be taken for granted that the ritual of offering by which these ba'als were worshipped in their respective sanctuaries was also taken over from the Canaanites into the religion of Yahweh.

The **material** of offering may be divided into four classes, namely, animal, vegetable, human, and votive. Of these the animal offering was probably the most important on account of its antiquity, since it was the product of the nomadic life which antedated the agricultural. It may be supposed from later Hebrew conceptions that only clean animals, or those which were not taboo by being totems, and only those which were used for food made up the list of sacrificial animals. Perhaps the most direct evidence that animals were used as offerings comes from the excavations at Gath and at Gezer, where in the sanctuary of each place the refuse of animal bones was found. At Gath¹ the bones were those of the camel, sheep, and cow; at Gezer,² those of the sheep, cow, deer, and goat. In the pre-prophetic

¹ Bliss and Macal., p. 33.

² See p. 174.

period of Israel's history the animals which appear to have been offered in sacrifice were the bull,³ cow,⁴ calf,⁵ and heifer⁶ of the herd;⁷ the ram,⁸ he-lamb,⁹ she-lamb,¹⁰ he-goat,¹¹ she-goat,¹² and kid¹³ of the flock;¹⁴ and the turtle-dove.¹⁵ In Phoenicia and Cyprus the kid and the sheep were sacred to Aphrodite. Here the boar was also sacrificed. Those parts of the animal in which the deity was thought most to delight were the blood,¹⁶ the fat,¹⁷ and sometimes even the broth of boiled meat.¹⁸

The products of agriculture, such as grain,¹⁹ meal,²⁰ bread,²¹ raisin cakes,²² wine,²³ and oil,²⁴ which were due the *ba'als*, were thought to be required also as offerings to Yahweh.

An offering at Gezer in which the human victim served as the sacrifice may be inferred from the case of a girl about eighteen years old²⁵ whose body had evidently been barbarously severed at the waist, and the upper part of it deposited in a cis-

³ *par*, Ex. 24:5; Num. 23:1, &c.; Judg. 6:25, &c.; 1 Sam. 1:24; 1 K. 18:23; Is. 1:11; Hos. 14:3 (2).

⁴ *parah*, 1 Sam. 6:14.

⁵ *egel*, Mic. 6:6.

⁶ *eglah*, Gen. 15:9; Deut. 21:3.

⁷ *bakar*, Ex. 20:24; Num. 22:40; 2 Sam. 24:22; 1 K. 1:9; 8:5; 19:21. *shōr*, Judg. 6:25; 2 Sam. 6:13; 1 K. 1:19; Hos. 12:11 (12).

⁸ *'ail*, Gen. 15:9; 22:13; 31:38; Num. 23:1; 1 Sam. 15:22; Is. 1:11.

⁹ *kebes*, Is. 1:11.

¹⁰ *kabsah*, Gen. 21:28, 29.

¹¹ *'attūd*, Is. 1:11.

¹² *'ez*, Gen. 15:9.

¹³ *gedī*, 1 Sam. 10:3; Judg. 6:19; 13:15, 19.

¹⁴ *šōn*, Gen. 4:2; Ex. 20:24; Num. 22:40; 1 Sam. 14:32, 34, &c.; 1 K. 1:19.

¹⁵ Gen. 15:9.

¹⁶ Ex. 24:5 ff.; Deut. 12:15, 16, 27; 15:22, 23; 1 Sam. 14:32-34; 2 Sam. 23:17; Ps. 16:4.

¹⁷ Deut. 32:37 f.; 1 Sam. 2:15; 15:22.

¹⁸ Judg. 6:20.

¹⁹ Deut. 12:17; 14:23; 18:4.

²⁰ 1 Sam. 1:24.

²¹ 1 Sam. 10:3; 21:5-7 (4-6); 1 K. 7:48; Hos. 9:4; Am. 4:5.

²² Hos. 3:1.

²³ 1 Sam. 1:24; 10:3; Deut. 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; 32:38; Judg. 9:13; Hos. 9:4; Am. 2:8.

²⁴ Gen. 28:18; 35:14; Deut. 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; Mic. 6:7.

²⁵ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 429.

tern on top of fifteen adults who apparently had met death by a single catastrophe, such as an epidemic. Outside, at the mouth of the cistern, the skulls of two young girls—evidently beheaded—were also found. These facts justify Macalister in hazarding the conclusion that here are signs that human victims were sacrificed to propitiate some vengeful, destroying demon. Several cases of human sacrifice which occurred in the early Hebrew times are undoubtedly to be attributed to the lingering influence of Canaanite religion which required a human victim on occasions. The custom of offering yearly a virgin at Ramoth-gilead²⁶ and the sacrifice of the first-born son at Shechem²⁷ are to be inferred, in spite of evident attempts on the part of Old Testament writers to obscure the facts by literary devices. Making sons and daughters to pass through fire flourished as a rite down to the last days of the Hebrew monarchy.²⁸ Enemies taken in war were often devoted to death by the conquering tribe;²⁹ while occasionally, in times of great extremity or calamity, the eldest son was sacrificed, as in the case of Mesha's son,³⁰ or the descendants of an offending king were hanged, as in the case of the seven sons of Saul.³¹

Sacrifice of the first-born infant appears to have intrenched itself as a custom in the native religion; for how otherwise can the provision be explained in the old Hebrew legal code demanding that every first-born of men be redeemed with some animal?³² Micah obviously condemns this heathen practice of giving the first-born for transgression and the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul.³³ It has been suggested with some plausibility³⁴ that this custom of sacrificing the first-born, which was so prevalent in Canaan, has left clear traces in the excavations at Gezer³⁵ and Taanach³⁶ where were found, buried in water-jars under the

²⁶ Judg. 11:37 ff.

²⁷ Gen. 22. *Mōrt-Yah*, 22:2, probably = *Mōreh*, 12:6.

²⁸ 2 K. 23:10; cp. Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5; Deut. 12:31.

²⁹ Josh. 6:17; 1 Sam. 15:3, 33.

³⁰ 2 K. 3:27.

³¹ 2 Sam. 21:9.

³² Ex. 13:15; 34:20.

³³ 6:7.

³⁴ Macalister, *BSL.*, pp. 165 ff.

³⁵ See p. 174.

³⁶ See p. 39.

floor-level of the high place, many remains of very small children. However, the facts that the usual food- and drink-vessels were present with these, and that all traces of fire were absent, preclude the idea that these were sacrificial victims;³⁷ for there are few exceptions to the rule, as is evident from the cases cited above, where the victim was offered in any way except by fire.

Instances of foundation-sacrifice—a custom inherited from the first Semitic period—were found at Gezer.³⁸ Skeletons of two adults and the torso of a youth were found deposited under a wall with the usual food- and drink-receptacles. The torso of the youth showed that it had been severed at the waist, possibly in some barbarous rite to propitiate some evil-threatening demon hostile to the stability of buildings. The burial was made over the other skeletons and directly under the wall. Burials of this sort, of adolescents or of adults, were rarely found in comparison with the number of infants or of very young children.³⁹ The latter were found invariably buried in large water-jars under the corners of houses throughout all the strata down to the Hellenistic, but with lessening frequency in the later levels. Coincident with the gradual decline of this sort of sacrifice Macalister observed the gradual emergence of another custom which began in the second Semitic age, namely, the lamp- and bowl-deposit. The proof that this deposit is a survival of foundation-sacrifice, or preserves its spirit, is to be seen in two remarkable cases. The first is that of an infant buried in the usual way under the wall, except that two lamps were also deposited with the remains—a custom which as time went on came to embody the spirit of the offering and finally to supplant it altogether.⁴⁰ The other case, which is even more convincing, was that of a model of a foundation-sacrifice which consisted of small silver and bronze human images that were buried with miniature saucers under a foundation wall.⁴¹ Thus at

³⁷ W. H. Wood (*BW.*, xxxvi. pp. 166 ff.; 227 ff.) concludes, after a broad survey of the evidence gathered from many sources which throw light on the subject, that the "jar burial" custom revealed in Palestine agrees with similar customs elsewhere and cannot be cited as proving infant sacrifice. E. Meyer expresses similar views (Meyer, § 471).

³⁸ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 428.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

⁴⁰ 432 ff.

⁴¹ 433 ff.

least two expedients were found which were thought to preserve the spirit of the old rite. The pure lamp- and bowl-deposit was found under walls in a great many instances, and appeared to be most common about 1000 B. C. By far the greater number were found at Gezer, which furnishes the best material for the study of the custom, although cases are also cited from Lachish⁴² and from the Shephelah *tells*.⁴³ The deposit was invariably placed in the corners of rooms or under the thresholds, either "in the middle of an unbroken stretch of masonry" or "beside the lowest stone of the wall" and "against the inner face."⁴⁴ The deposit itself consisted usually of a saucer-lamp standing in a bowl and covered by an inverted bowl. These terracotta bowls were of the newest and most artistic type, especially after 1000 B. C., if not before. Indications were present, in many cases at least, to show that some sort of liquid, possibly blood, or its substitute grape juice, was deposited in the lower bowl. In a few instances wood-ashes were found in the lower bowl. These facts all point to the conclusion that blood, or grape juice, and coals of fire, or a lighted lamp, could fittingly embody the spirit of the old foundation-sacrifice which required the human victim.

Finally, as representative of the type of offering known as votive, the excavations reveal, in close connection with sanctuaries, a number of alabaster vases, cups, bowls, bracelets, wands, sistra, and animal figures at Sinai;⁴⁵ many plaques and images of 'Ashtart, phallic emblems,⁴⁶ and imitation axeheads and daggers at Gezer;⁴⁷ and similar things elsewhere. Votive tablets of 'Anath and of Sutekh were found in Egypt.⁴⁸ Of similar character perhaps were the five golden mice and five golden tumors given to Yahweh by the Philistines,⁴⁹ the *ariel* given to Kemosh,⁵⁰ and the silver and gold given to the ba'als.⁵¹

⁴² Bliss, p. 84.

⁴³ Bliss and Macal., p. 151.

⁴⁴ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 434 ff.

⁴⁵ Petrie, *KS.*, pp. 137 ff.

⁴⁶ See p. 198.

⁴⁷ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 446, 448.

⁴⁸ Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460.

⁴⁹ 1 Sam. 6:5.

⁵⁰ MI., 12.

⁵¹ Hos. 2:10(8).

The manner of offering was determined both by the prevailing conception of the deity with respect to his abode and by the nature of the offering itself. For convenience the latter may be divided into five classes, namely: slaughter-, burnt-, vegetable-, human-, and votive-offerings.

The *slaughter-offering* (*zebah*), which has been observed to be the most primitive, consisted chiefly of a sacrificial meal of animal flesh in which the worshippers religiously participated. Probably every beast that was slain for food⁵² was ceremonially killed, and was eaten before some holy object, such as an image of the deity⁵³ or a holy tree,⁵⁴ at the high place, and the blood was poured out as a drink-offering to the deity either over the holy stone or at its base.⁵⁵ The priests who assisted in the ceremony probably received certain portions as a fee,⁵⁶ while the refuse was ceremonially burned, none remaining over night.⁵⁷ This kind of sacrifice was common at the local high places which came into possession of the Hebrews.⁵⁸

The *burnt-offering* (*'olah*) represents a later stage in the development of the conception of offering, and may have originated from the custom of burning the refuse of the sacrifice which was too sacred to leave. For this purpose another sort of altar came into use. At first probably only the inedible or taboo portions were consumed, but after a time occasions arose which demanded a holocaust, or a whole burnt-offering (*kalil*).⁵⁹ Burnt-offerings were commonly made at all the high places,⁶⁰ being usually accompanied by the slaughter-offering.⁶¹ The upward direction which the smoke of the offering took furnished the name *'olah*, "that which goes up," for the burnt-offering; while the aspect and the scent of the smoke gave rise to *keṭōreth*, "odor," or "smoke of burnt sacrifice," which is cognate with *kaṭar*, "to make a sacrifice smoke." *Kaṭar*, which is translated

⁵² Smith, *RS.*, pp. 240 ff.

⁵³ Ex. 18:12; Num. 25:2.

⁵⁴ Is. 57:5; Ezek. 20:28.

⁵⁵ Deut. 12:27; Is. 57:6. See pp. 42, 43.

⁵⁶ 1 Sam. 2:15; Deut. 18:3.

⁵⁷ Ex. 12:10; 34:25.

⁵⁸ Ex. 20:24; 1 Sam. 9:12, 13; Is. 57:7; Ezek. 20:28.

⁵⁹ Deut. 33:10; 1 Sam. 7:9; Ps. 51:21 (19).

⁶⁰ Ex. 20:24; Is. 1:11; Hos. 6:6; Am. 5:22; Mic. 6:6.

⁶¹ Ex. 20:24; Josh. 8:31; 1 K. 3:15, &c.

in the American Revised Version as "to burn incense," is very often employed by the Old Testament writers to describe all the rites of worship practiced at the high places.⁶²

The *vegetable-offering* represented the products of agriculture,⁶³ or the first-fruits of increase, and was, because of its very nature, of later origin than the slaughter-offering. This type differed from the slaughter-offering in the fact that the offerer did not as a rule share in its consumption, but gave it entirely to the priests for the maintenance of the sanctuary. In Hebrew times it was brought in a basket and deposited at the altar.⁶⁴ Included in the vegetable-offering was leavened bread, which in some cases was laid on the altar with sacrificial flesh,⁶⁵ or in other cases was exposed before an image of the deity—whence the name "bread of the face."⁶⁶ Wine, which was possibly a substitute for blood, since it was poured, like blood, over the sacred pillar⁶⁷ as a drink offering, or libation (*nasik*), to the indwelling numen; and oil which was applied to sacred objects, particularly to the pillar,⁶⁸ were other varieties of the vegetable-offering.

In *human-sacrifice* the victim, as we may believe from the practices carried on at Jerusalem and from the intended course of Abraham in offering Isaac, was probably first slain before some symbol of the deity, and was then offered as a burnt-offering. Exceptions to this rule occurred in the execution of Saul's sons, in the slaughter of prisoners taken in battle, in the case of the girl at Gezer, and in foundation-sacrifices. In cases of the foundation-sacrifice the victim was probably buried alive, while in the first three mentioned cases the offering was probably made before the deity.

Votive offerings of all kinds, as for instance the plaques of 'Ashtart, were presented at the sanctuary, possibly being broken as a ritual act, since those found were nearly all in that con-

⁶² 1 K. 22:44 (43); 2 K. 12:4 (3), &c.

⁶³ Ex. 22:28 (29); 23:19; 34:26.

⁶⁴ Deut. 26:1 ff.

⁶⁵ Am. 4:4.

⁶⁶ As at Nob; see pp. 193, 209.

⁶⁷ Gen. 35:14; Deut. 32:38; cp. Ps. 16:4; Is. 57:6; cp. "blood of the grape," Deut. 32:14.

⁶⁸ Gen. 28:18; 35:14; cp. Is. 57:6.

dition. Sacred pillars and *ariels*, captured from some shrine of a hostile tribe, and the spoils of war, such as the armor of Saul⁶⁹ and sword of Goliath,⁷⁰ were also presented as dedicatory offerings at the sanctuary, and were there kept as trophies in the presence of some divine symbol.

The priests played a prominent part in the ritual of presenting the offerings to the deity, and of course received certain prescribed fees.⁷¹

The **occasion** on which the offering was brought to be presented to the deity was determined by the season of the year, or by the change of the calendar, or by the varying vicissitudes of life. The yearly feasts, which corresponded respectively with the foaling season and the grain and the fruit harvests, offered extraordinary and appropriate occasions for worshippers to present themselves with an offering before the deity at the sanctuary. Less important occasions were perhaps coincident with the four changes of the moon, and were called the new moon- and the sabbath-feasts.⁷²

There was a multitude of other less formal occasions which grew out of the events and exigencies of life. The offerer sought a divine boon when undertaking an expedition,⁷³ receiving a theophany,⁷⁴ making a marriage feast,⁷⁵ recovering from sickness,⁷⁶ digging a well,⁷⁷ or making a treaty.⁷⁸ Other occasions were those in which the offerer sought to avert such calamities as pestilence,⁷⁹ defeat in battle,⁸⁰ or the falling of a building.⁸¹ Finally, there were those cases in which vows were paid for boons sought and received, such as birth, circumcision;⁸² the

⁶⁹ 1 Sam. 31:10.

⁷⁰ 1 Sam. 21:10 (9).

⁷¹ See Chap. XXIII. 1.

⁷² See Chapters X and XXIV.

⁷³ Thus the votive offerings at Sinai, Petrie, *RS.*, p. 137; Gen. 28:20.

⁷⁴ Judg. 6:19 ff.; 13:19.

⁷⁵ Judg. 14:10.

⁷⁶ 2 K. 1:2; 5:1 ff.

⁷⁷ Gen. 26:25.

⁷⁸ Gen. 15:9 ff.; 26:28 ff.; Jer. 34:18; Assur-nirari and Mati'ilu, *KAT*³, p. 49.

⁷⁹ 2 Sam. 24:18 ff.

⁸⁰ Num. 23:1, 4, 14, 29; Judg. 20:26; 1 Sam. 7:9.

⁸¹ Foundation sacrifice.

⁸² Gen. 21:4.

weaning of a son,⁸³ and many other events that brought good fortune.⁸⁴

Significance of the offering. Since man, in the midst of a world of mysterious natural phenomena and events, regarded himself as absolutely dependent for his very existence and welfare upon the caprice of the gods, it naturally followed that he must secure and maintain amicable relations with them; and, since the gods were considered as having like passions and needs with men, the effort was undertaken by means of gifts to render the disposition of the gods favorable. This idea of gift, or tribute, then, must represent one of the most primitive and fundamental conceptions of offering. It is expressed in the Hebrew *minḥah* which included originally both animal and vegetable tributes.⁸⁵ Because of its antiquity—being rooted in the conditions of nomadic life of which it is a natural expression—the animal offering continued to be regarded, even to late times, as the most acceptable gift that could be presented to the gods. Its primitive method of presentation was, as we have seen, by a communal meal in which the deity was thought to participate in common with his worshippers. The blood which was possibly taboo, and which was, therefore, sacred to the deity, was ceremonially poured on the sacred stone as a drink-offering to the indwelling *numen*. It is not impossible that in early times the blood was considered to be the choice part of the animal, and was partly drunk and partly poured or sprinkled on the sacred stone; but gradually the god's share increased to such proportions that little, if any, was left to the worshipper. This gave rise eventually to the explanation that the blood was too sacred to drink, and was therefore taboo. Be that as it may, in the communal meal a common bond was established between the worshipper and the deity; and that bond meant the identification of the deity with the tribe in all its fortunes. This common relationship appears to have given rise to the term, *shelem*, "peace-offering," which really defines the broader term, *zebah*, "slaughter-offering."⁸⁶

⁸³ 21:8.

⁸⁴ 1 Sam. 6:14.

⁸⁵ Gen. 4:3-5. It later appears to be confined to vegetable-offering, cp. 1 Sam. 3:14; Is. 19:21; Jer. 14:12; Am. 5:22.

⁸⁶ Ex. 24:5; 1 Sam. 11:15.

The worshipper felt impelled to give a tribute of animals to the deity, not only because such were the best that he had, but also because they were required; for was not the offspring of all animals, as well as that of man, really a gift from the deity who presided over fecundity? Accordingly, an ancient law required that the first-born of man and of beast should be rendered as a tribute to the deity. This law was originally, we may believe, carried out to the letter, so that every first-born offspring (*peṭer*) was sacrificed in some way to the deity of fertility. The severity of the provision as applied to man and to the beast of burden, as the ass, was mitigated by the law of substitution, or redemption.⁸⁷ A ram was substituted in the case of Isaac.

Moreover, the law of the first-born passed over, with the development of agricultural life, to the first-fruits of the ground, so that the first ripe grain, and the first bread so hurriedly baked from it that it was still unleavened, and the first products of the wine, oil, and wool were regarded as sacred to the deity, and had, therefore, to be presented at the sanctuary before the rest of the crops could safely become food for the producers.⁸⁸ The sanctuary at Beth-el, and perhaps also others, levied an impost upon the surrounding land, so that the worshippers were required to bring an annual or triennial tithe for the general maintenance of the sanctuary.⁸⁹ The justice and the antiquity of this law is recognized in the story of Jacob. Since oil was an unguent for anointing the person for glad festal occasions, the worshipper thought to confer the "oil of gladness" upon the deity by anointing his fetish. Wine also which "cheereth God,"⁹⁰ was similarly applied, being possibly a later substitute for the blood of the sacrifice. The bread that was laid on the altar, or set before the image of the deity, became literally the "bread of the god."⁹¹

Through some cause or other offering by fire emerged into practice, and continued by the side of the slaughter-offering. This new form discloses a step upwards from the material

⁸⁷ Ex. 13:12, 13; 34:19; Deut. 15:19.

⁸⁸ Ex. 23:14, 15, 19; 34:26; Deut. 18:4.

⁸⁹ Smith, *RS.*, p. 247.

⁹⁰ Judg. 9:13.

⁹¹ Lev. 21:6, 8, 17, 21, 22.

toward the spiritual conception of deity;⁹² for in this the flesh of the sacrifice is transformed by fire into the etherealized substance of smoke and of odor, and, therefore, was easily received as a sweet savor by the god whose abode may have been either in the sky, the sacred tree, or in some other sacred object. Thus it was a common thing among the early Hebrews, and undoubtedly also among the Canaanites, "to make sacrifices smoke" at all the high places⁹³ to the graven images of "other gods."⁹⁴

The motive in offering a human victim as a foundation-sacrifice was by extraordinary means to seek the favor of the ground-demons, who, if not placated, might cause swift destruction to the building.

The various motives that lay back of every offering with respect to the occasion on which it was offered have already been mentioned: namely, to institute and to maintain amicable relations with the deity so as to expect his help, to restore favorable relations which had suffered interruption through sin, and to fulfil vows and to render thanks to the deity for past favors.

⁹² Smith, *RS.*, p. 236.

⁹³ 2 K. 12:4 (3); 14:4; 15:4, 35; 17:11; 22:17; 23:5, 8; Hos. 4:13.

⁹⁴ Hos. 11:2; cp. Jer. 1:16; 32:29.

CHAPTER XXII

MISCELLANEOUS RITES

Lustration, which embraces all the ceremonial acts that rendered the worshipper "clean," or religiously fit to approach the deity, is, as has already been seen, inherent in primitive religion. One of the first acts of this sort was fasting, which in its ultimate origin was a physical preparation for the sacrificial meal of holy flesh; but later it came to be a preparation also for other acts of worship, as for instance the worship of the dead.¹ Another act was either the washing² or the casting aside of the daily garment³ and the putting on of a special one. Still another was washing in the water of the laver prior to entrance upon the functions of worship. It was regarded as very offensive to the deity that one should bring into his presence anything of common use, such as the every-day garment, or even anything upon the body that washing could take away. It is probable that amulets were thought to possess some sanctifying influence for the wearer as he went in to worship.⁴

Mourning, or lamentation, was the uttering of weird sounds and shrill cries in certain forms of worship. It had a prominent place in the cult of the dead,⁵ but was not wholly confined to this ritual. It was also an expression of repentance for sin and a means of securing again the divine approval. As such it seems to have been common at the high places.⁶ It is not known that the wailing for Tammuz, or Adonis, had any place in Canaanite worship; but if so, then, mourning was a method of disclaiming responsibility for the death of the agricultural god and of making supplication for his return at the time of the spring feast, as for instance at Byblos.⁷ Weeping as a religious

¹ See pp. 104, 105.

² Ex. 19:10.

³ Gen. 35:2.

⁴ Ex. 11:2; Hos. 2:15 (13).

⁵ See p. 107.

⁶ Judg. 20:26; Jer. 3:21.

⁷ See p. 95.

practice was carried on at many of the sanctuaries; as for example at Abel-mizraim,⁸ Beth-el,⁹ Hebron,¹⁰ Rachel's grave,¹¹ Mizpeh,¹² and Jabesh-gilead.¹³

Anointing. The consecration of persons to the sacred offices was a religious rite that consisted usually in pouring oil on their heads. The kings of Egypt poured oil on the heads of Syrian princes when appointing them to office.¹⁴ The origin of this rite was probably the libation of oil which the worshipper poured over the sacred fetish as an offering to the indwelling *numen*.¹⁵ This act of bestowing regal honor upon the god passed over into conferring like honor upon persons. As the oil for such purposes was probably kept within the precincts of the sanctuary, the anointing rite would be viewed as a sacrament, establishing a mystic fellowship between the deity who hallowed the oil and the prince or the priest who was anointed. It was a short step only from this rite to the one, so common in the Old Testament, in which the act of pouring oil on the head of the person was accompanied by the indwelling of the spirit of the deity, imparting superhuman strength and wisdom. The ceremony of anointing was usually performed at a sanctuary before some symbol of the deity, such as a sacred pillar,¹⁶ a stone,¹⁷ or a spring.¹⁸ Priests¹⁹ and prophets,²⁰ as well as princes, were formally anointed for their sacred vocations.

The Canaanite, in common with all Semitic worshippers, ancient and modern, expressed his personal humility and religious reverence when in the act of worship by the bodily posture of **obeisance** or prostration before the image of the deity. The

⁸ Gen. 50:10 f.

⁹ Gen. 35:8; Judg. 2:1.

¹⁰ Gen. 23:2.

¹¹ Cp. 35:20 with Jer. 31:15.

¹² Judg. 11:34 ff.

¹³ 1 Sam. 31:13.

¹⁴ Knudtzon 51:6 ff.

¹⁵ Gen. 28:18; 31:13; 35:14; cp. the custom of anointing the tabernacle and furnishings, Ex. 30:26 ff.; 37:29; Lev. 8:10, 11.

¹⁶ Judg. 9:6.

¹⁷ 1 K. 1:9 ff.

¹⁸ 1:38 ff.

¹⁹ Lev. 8:12, 30; Ps. 133:2.

²⁰ 1 K. 19:16; Ps. 105:15; cp. Is. 45:1; 61:1.

princes of Palestine, the unwilling devotees of the Pharaoh, were compelled to prostrate themselves in humble submission and worship before the symbols of the Pharaoh. This is clearly seen in the significant language, used over and over again in the Amarna letters, in addressing the king. One typical example will suffice:²¹ "To the king, my lord, . . . thus Widia, the man of Askaluna, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the stable-slave of thy horse: to the feet of the king, my lord, I bowed down seven times, way down with belly and back." This practice continued in later times when the worshippers of *ba'al* bowed upon their knees to some image,²² when Israel bowed down to the gods of Peor²³ and of Canaan,²⁴ and when individuals bowed to angels²⁵ and to Yahweh.²⁶ The oft-repeated command not to bow down to the gods of Canaan²⁷ symbolized in the iconic forms of man, beast, bird, fish, and reptile further attests this prevailing attitude of worship.

Kissing, as an act betokening affection and friendship in domestic and social life, came to be an expression of reverence²⁸ and even of subservience to a conqueror. Conquered slaves kissed the feet of the conqueror, or the ground upon which he walked, in token of submission.²⁹ As a religious act expressing affection for a god, it was closely associated with bowing. As the worshipper bowed before the image of his god, he showed his affection by kissing the image. Thus all but seven thousand of Israel bowed the knee to *ba'al* and kissed his image.³⁰ Those who sacrificed at Beth-el during the prophetic period were wont to kiss the image of the bull.³¹

Burning incense as an offering of sweet odor before the symbols of the deity is to be inferred from the custom of Palestinian princes, whenever they wished to surrender to the Egyptians,

²¹ Knudtzon 320 and six others.

²² 1 K. 19:18.

²³ Num. 25:2.

²⁴ Judg. 2:2, 17, 19.

²⁵ Num. 22:31; Gen. 18:2.

²⁶ Gen. 24:48; 27:29; Ps. 95:6; Mic. 6:6.

²⁷ Ex. 23:24; Lev. 26:1; Judg. 2:19, &c.

²⁸ 1 Sam. 10:1; Prov. 24:26.

²⁹ Ps. 72:9; Is. 49:23; Mic. 7:17.

³⁰ 1 K. 19:18.

³¹ Hos. 13:2.

of burning incense on the top of the city walls in token of worshipping the Pharaoh.³² Large quantities of incense flowed as tribute to Egypt from Palestine.³³ A jar of incense was found at Gezer³⁴ in the level corresponding to about the year 1000 B. C.; while censers, belonging to about 900 B. C. and later, were found at Gezer,³⁵ Megiddo,³⁶ and Gath.³⁷ There is no reference to the use of incense or of censers in the Old Testament prior to the time of Jeremiah. The frequent mention in the English version of burning incense at the high places and elsewhere has reference solely to the smoke and the odor of burnt-offerings.³⁸ However, in spite of this silence, it may safely be inferred that the Hebrews, who used incense extensively in the Persian period,³⁹ adopted the practice from the Canaanites.

Music doubtless occupied no insignificant place in the religious observances, especially in the glad festal occasions when the women danced. It is interesting, as connecting music with the cult of 'Ashtart, to note that pottery images of the goddess representing her striking a tambourine have been found at Gezer⁴⁰ and at Megiddo.⁴¹ This suggests that the sacred women of her cult employed music in the rites of the sanctuary, possibly for the purpose of adding a sensual charm. The sistrum, which was a kind of rattle used in Egypt to call attention to the acts of worship and to frighten away demons, probably has its analogy in the Canaanite rattle, of which several pieces in pottery have been found at Gezer,⁴² Beth-shemesh,⁴³ Lachish,⁴⁴ and Taanach;⁴⁵ and in the Hebrew *mena'ane'im*, "sistra." The

³² Müller, p. 305; Paton, p. 85.

³³ Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. §§ 447, 462, 472, 473, 481, 509, 510, 518, 519, 525, 553, 616.

³⁴ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 425 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³⁶ Schumacher, p. 90, fig. 125; p. 128.

³⁷ Bliss and Macal., p. 42, plate 77, No. 10.

³⁸ First mention in Deut. 33:10 (Dillmann and Steuernagel), or Jer. 6:20 (Wellhausen).

³⁹ Lev. 16:12.

⁴⁰ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 414.

⁴¹ Schumacher, pp. 61, 67, 102.

⁴² Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 81, 97, 306 n., 314; ii. pp. 305 ff.

⁴³ *PEFA.*, ii. p. 56.

⁴⁴ Bliss, pp. 117, 120.

⁴⁵ Sellin, p. 19.

use of musical instruments in religious worship is strikingly shown by the band of raving prophets coming down from the high place and marching to the music of the harp, tambourine, and lyre;⁴⁶ by the great procession attending the bringing of the ark to the accompaniment of lyres, harps, tambourines, sistras, and cymbals;⁴⁷ by the employment of tambourines and *shalishim*⁴⁸ in the war-dance,⁴⁹ and of pipes in the king's coronation;⁵⁰ by the use of the harp in expelling evil spirits from demoniacs;⁵¹ and by the playing of a minstrel to inspire divine utterance in a prophet.⁵² The lyre,⁵³ harp,⁵⁴ tambourine,⁵⁵ pipe,⁵⁶ and cymbals⁵⁷ are elsewhere mentioned as employed in producing sacred music.

Vocal music in the form of chants or rhythmical utterances was a natural accompaniment of instrumental music and of the dance. Thus song was an expression of joyous emotion. On occasions of great outbursts of praise to the deity, as for instance, when water was found in the desert,⁵⁸ or when a victory was won,⁵⁹ or a feast was kept,⁶⁰ song was a fitting vehicle of religious joy and praise. A singer in the court of the prince of Byblos sang in the presence of Wenamen to quell the adverse emotions of an agitated mind.⁶¹

The Dance. The joy which came to the worshipper from a sense of unity with his god expressed itself also in the bodily movements of the dance. The feast of new wine was the occasion for the maidens of Shiloh to dance in the vineyards.⁶² Other occasions when joy took the outward expression of the dance,

⁴⁶ 1 Sam. 10:5.

⁴⁷ 2 Sam. 6:5.

⁴⁸ A three (-barred?, -cornered ?, or -stringed?) musical instrument.

⁴⁹ 1 Sam. 18:6, 7.

⁵⁰ 1 K. 1:40.

⁵¹ 1 Sam. 16:16.

⁵² 2 K. 3:15.

⁵³ *Kinnōr*, Is. 5:12.

⁵⁴ *Nebel*, Is. 5:12; Am. 6:5.

⁵⁵ *Toph*, Is. 5:12.

⁵⁶ *Halil*, Is. 5:12.

⁵⁷ *Šelselem*, Ps. 150:5.

⁵⁸ Num. 21:17.

⁵⁹ Ex. 15:1, 2.

⁶⁰ Am. 5:23; 8:10.

⁶¹ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 589.

⁶² Judg. 21:21.

which was usually accompanied by instrumental music, were when a new image was being dedicated to the service of the sanctuary;⁶³ when David danced at the head of the procession as the ark was being brought back;⁶⁴ when Miriam and her maidens danced at the time of the great deliverance from the Egyptians;⁶⁵ when Jephthah's daughter danced with her companions;⁶⁶ and when the Amalekites⁶⁷ and the women of Saul's time⁶⁸ danced in time of victory. As a token of grief or of despair at the deity's refusal to grant a petition, a sort of limping dance was participated in on Mount Carmel by the prophets of *ba'al* who encircled the altar in a state of frenzy.⁶⁹ A similar limping dance may have existed at Peniel, as is suggested by the story of Jacob limping after his encounter with the angel.⁷⁰ The fact that the Syriac word meaning "to dance," is cognate with the one meaning "to mourn," suggests that the dance was an act of worship that was carried over to the rites connected with the cult of the dead. The place-name, '*Abel-mehōlah*,'⁷¹ "dance-meadow," indicates a sanctuary which took its name from this religious practice.

The rite of **religious prostitution** attached itself to the cult of the Semitic mother-goddess, 'Ashtart, and spread throughout the Semitic world, finding a home in later times in all the important temples of Western Asia. The origin of the practice was, as we have seen, the looseness of the marriage-bond in primitive society. In the primitive stage of society known as the polyandrous the mother of the tribe was the honored wife of several husbands who could be chosen or rejected at her will. This conception of motherhood was carried over to the chief deity, who, in harmony with her human counterpart, was regarded as unchaste and as given to promiscuous unions with masculine gods. As a mother-goddess she was petitioned for the boon of offspring, and as an unchaste wife she was emulated by

⁶³ Ex. 32:6, 19.

⁶⁴ 2 Sam. 6:14, 15.

⁶⁵ Ex. 15:20, 21.

⁶⁶ Judg. 11:34.

⁶⁷ 1 Sam. 30:16.

⁶⁸ 21:12 (11); 29:5.

⁶⁹ 1 K. 18:26-29.

⁷⁰ Gen. 32:30-33. Skinner, *Genesis*, in loco.

⁷¹ Judg. 7:22.

her worshippers; who, to insure her favor and to win her blessings of fruitfulness, religiously engaged in the practice of prostitution, which, in spite of rising ethical standards, persisted for centuries under the very shadow of the sanctuary.⁷²

Under whatever name this goddess was worshipped, as for example, Ishtar, Astarte, Aphrodite, Venus, Anaitis, Ma, Rhea, or Cybele, the same distinguishing rites gave the cult a primitive Semitic stamp. At Babylon it was an established religious requirement for every woman, regardless of social position, to sacrifice her chastity once in her life to Ishtar at her temple, and to dedicate the hire thus earned by consecrated harlotry to the service of the temple.⁷³ A well-established custom at Hierapolis required every woman to sell her chastity to a stranger at the temple of Astarte.⁷⁴ A similar custom prevailed at Byblos, where, on a certain feast day of the annual mourning for Adonis, all women had either to sacrifice their hair, or to give the hire of a harlot as an offering to the goddess.⁷⁵ Similar practices were in vogue in Cyprus⁷⁶ and in Lydia.⁷⁷

In the course of time, however, with the increasing popularity of monogamous marriage and the decreasing hold of the old communal order, religious requirements of this sort took various mitigated forms. Instead of offering the harlot's hire, a woman might give her hair⁷⁸ or an obscene symbol⁷⁹ to the goddess. With these possibilities of substitution, the majority of women were exempted from the requirement; nevertheless, the practice still went on, but was now confined to a special class, a member of which was known in Babylonia as *kadishu*, or "temple-votary," and in Canaan as *kadeshah*. A multitude of consecrated harlots of this kind served at the sanctuary of the goddess Ma at Comana in Pontus, whither crowds of men and of women flocked from the neighbouring cities and country to attend the festivals and to pay their vows to the goddess.⁸⁰ A

⁷² See Frazer, pp. 21 ff. for full treatment of the subject.

⁷³ Herod., i. 199; *Epistle of Jeremy*, 43.

⁷⁴ Sozomenus, *Historia Eccl.* v. 10.

⁷⁵ Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, § 6.

⁷⁶ Herod. i. 199; Athenaeus, xii. 11, p. 516.

⁷⁷ Herod. i. 93.

⁷⁸ See above.

⁷⁹ Clement of Alex., *Protrepticus*, ii. 14, p. 13.

⁸⁰ Strabo, xii. 3, 32, 34, 36.

similar class served at the temple of Venus at Ashkelon at the time of the Scythian invasion, for Herodotus⁸¹ tells that the goddess inflicted a venereal disease upon the Scythians who visited the temple. For a woman thus to dedicate her service to the goddess at the sanctuary for a period of years, either before marriage or for life, was regarded as meritorious. At Tralleis in Lydia,⁸² there was found a marble column supporting a votive offering on which was inscribed the record of a certain woman who had at the command of her god served as a harlot, and whose mother before her had served in the same capacity. The publicity thus given by this memorial shows that no shame, but rather honor, was attached to such a profession. Strabo⁸³ relates that the daughters of the highest nobles of Akilisene of his own time, and of Lydia formerly, consecrated their virgin daughters to live as courtesans before Anaitis a long time before they gave them in honorable marriage.

Not only sacred females, but also sacred males were dedicated to the service of the goddess. The latter, in the service of the mother-goddess Cybele, were known as *Galli*, or eunuch-priests, who often went dressed in female attire, paraded through the towns and villages of Syria and of Asia Minor, and invited the populace to unholy rites.⁸⁴ In Cyprus, in the worship of Venus who was represented by a bearded statue as being both masculine and feminine, men and women were accustomed to offer sacrifices, the men wearing women's clothes, and the women, men's.⁸⁵ Similar rites were in vogue at Aphaka⁸⁶ and at Hierapolis.⁸⁷

With later survivals before us which clearly define the nature of the old 'Ashtart-cult, we are now in a position to weigh the evidence for the existence of these practices either as stated or as implied in Canaan. Israel first came into contact with this rite at Ba'al-beth-pe'or, where the people joined the Moabites in their religious feasts, worshipped their gods, and "played the

⁸¹ 1. 105.

⁸² W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i, pp. 95 ff., 115.

⁸³ XI, 14, 16, pp. 531, 532.

⁸⁴ Apul., *Metamorph.* VIII c. 24 ff.

⁸⁵ Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 8; Servius on *Aen.* ii. 632.

⁸⁶ In Coele-Syria, Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. 55.

⁸⁷ Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, §§ 15, 26, 51; cp. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. pp. 678 ff.

harlot with the daughters of Moab.’’⁸⁸ In Canaan they must have found similar rites, for otherwise the later survivals cannot be explained. It appears that from the time of Asa onward there were *kedeshim*, or sacred men, connected with the cult of the high places. The first reform which had for its aim the suppression of these “sodomites” began as early as the time of Asa,⁸⁹ was continued by Jehoshaphat,⁹⁰ but was not thoroughly carried out until the reformation of Josiah. In the latter reform the *kedeshim* were put down, and their cells which had been set apart in the house of Yahweh were destroyed. In these cells it is stated that the women wove garments for Ashe-rah.⁹¹ Hosea testifies that it was customary for men to “go apart with harlots, and to sacrifice with the *kedeshōth*”;⁹² which practice is referred to by Amos in the assertion that “a man and his father go unto the same maiden.”⁹³

Moreover, these rites were so intrenched in the religion of the high places that Jeremiah despaired of finding a single bare height which had escaped desecration.⁹⁴ *Kedeshōth* seem to have been in attendance at the sanctuary at Timnath,⁹⁵ and, according to late interpolations, at Samaria,⁹⁶ and at Shiloh;⁹⁷ while the “snaring net” at Mizpah and on Tabor⁹⁸ suggests a similar institution. The connection of these rites with the cult of the high places is significant when it is remembered that ‘Ash-tart was closely associated in worship with the *ba’als*, and that the sanctuary was a favorite resort of “those seeking motherhood. If the boon was granted, possibly through the means of these rites, such offspring was regarded as especially sacred in the service of the deity,⁹⁹ and in some cases even as sons of the

⁸⁸ Num. 25:1-5.

⁸⁹ 1 K. 14:24; 15:12.

⁹⁰ 22:46.

⁹¹ 2 K. 23:7, read *kutonim*, “garments,” instead of *bātim*, “tents.” So Kittel.

⁹² 4:14.

⁹³ 2:7.

⁹⁴ 3:2, 6.

⁹⁵ Gen. 38:21, 22.

⁹⁶ 1 K. 22:38 (LXX).

⁹⁷ 1 Sam. 2:22.

⁹⁸ Hos. 5:1.

⁹⁹ Judg. 13:2 ff.; 1 Sam. 1:11.

god.¹⁰⁰ Jeremiah's declaration that the idolaters were wont to "say to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth";¹⁰¹ and the charge that the land had "committed adultery with stones and with stocks"¹⁰² suggest that the *maṣṣebahs* and *'asherahs* were in some symbolic or physical way associated with the rites of sacred prostitution. This would not be strange in view of the widespread use of the phallic emblems both in ancient and in modern times.¹⁰³

It is little wonder, then, that, with the ascendancy of ethical religion, these obscene practices should be rigorously proscribed by the prophetic writers,¹⁰⁴ and by the Deuteronomic code which says "There shall be no *kedeshah* of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a *kadesh* of the sons of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot, or the wages of a dog,¹⁰⁵ into the house of Yahweh thy God for any vow."¹⁰⁶ Eunuchs also, because of physical mutilation, were excluded.¹⁰⁷ "A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for whosoever doeth these things is an abomination unto Yahweh."¹⁰⁸

Having traced the analogy of these native survivals of the old cult of 'Ashtart with similar survivals throughout the Semitic world, the assignment of these practices to the Canaanite period is entirely justified. Direct evidence is scant but undoubtedly sure. Thus the large number of phallic images and of plaques of 'Ashtart, found in the excavations, bear out the sexual character of the religion of this period.¹⁰⁹ The association of 'Ashtart with the old ithyphallic *Min* of the Egyptian triad,¹¹⁰ and the fact that there were handmaids in the service of the ba'alat of Gebal,¹¹¹ add more links to the chain which bind these sacred rites to the religion of Canaan.

¹⁰⁰ Gen. 6:1 f.

¹⁰¹ 2:27.

¹⁰² 3:9.

¹⁰³ See p. 198.

¹⁰⁴ Mic. 1:7, &c.

¹⁰⁵ Cp. Rev. 22:15.

¹⁰⁶ Deut. 23:18, 19 (17, 18).

¹⁰⁷ 23:2, 3 (1, 2).

¹⁰⁸ 22:5.

¹⁰⁹ See pp. 197, 198.

¹¹⁰ Müller, p. 315.

¹¹¹ Knudtzon 85:85, 86; 86:25.

CHAPTER XXIII

HOLY PERSONS

The three classes of specialists who in the first period were skilled in the art of interpreting the divine oracles in the respective fields of nature, of mental and emotional states, and of the events of life continue to exercise their functions through this period and into the Hebrew period. It is almost impossible, however, from such evidence as is at hand, to differentiate between the three classes, since the functions of each overlap to a certain degree those of the others. The reason for this confusion is partly a lack of perfect adjustments of the simpler Hebrew religious system to that of the Canaanites. However, in spite of this lack of perfect cleavage, it seems best to consider the three classes separately, with the addition of a possible fourth.

1. The *kahin*, "diviner-priest," or the *hartom*, "magician," who corresponded as already observed to the Babylonian *barû*, or *ḥar-ṭum*, "liver-diviner," was the recognized specialist whose function was to inquire by oracular means into the disposition of the gods of nature and to reveal the same to men. He was at once the divinely authorized priest who could offer the sacrifices in a way acceptable to the deity, and the soothsayer who could divine the feeling or the will of the deity by the sacred media. As priest it was his duty to preside over the sacrificial meal by slaying the victim, inspecting its liver for omens, pouring its blood upon the sacred stone, and blessing the food¹; and to tend to the functions of the sanctuary by offering the daily sacrifice, as at Gebal,² guarding the sacred objects in the temple night and day, keeping the holy lamp lighted,³ and setting fresh bread before the image of the deity.⁴ As diviner, it fell to him to be the custodian of the sacred lot and to make inquiries through it whenever exigencies arose.⁵

¹ 1 Sam. 9:13.

² Cp. Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 570 with Knudtzon 83:52 ff.

³ 1 Sam. 3:3.

⁴ 21:7(6).

⁵ See p. 45.

The number of priests at a sanctuary probably varied in proportion to the importance of the sanctuary as a religious center. In the Hebrew period there appears to have been a considerable number at certain sanctuaries; as for instance at Shiloh,⁶ Samaria,⁷ Beth-el,⁸ Mizpah, Tabor,⁹ Ashdod,¹⁰ and in particular at Nob¹¹ where there were eighty-six. The *Lewiyim*, Levites, who were scattered throughout the land with no territorial inheritance,¹² apparently were regarded as the divinely ordained priestly class in the early monarchy, but were refused recognition as such by Jeroboam who chose "other priests" for the high places.¹³ Micah, the Ephraimite, was seemingly glad to engage a Levite-priest for the service of his house.¹⁴ It is not impossible that the Levites were lineal descendants of the Canaanite priests who officiated at the sanctuaries, and hence inherited from them all the traditions peculiar to the sacerdotal function. The fact that the priests of the outlawed high places were not permitted to officiate at the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, and because of this were degraded to the rank of Levites, or second grade priests;¹⁵ and the silence of the early literature as to the origin of the priestly class—all accounts which may have connected them with the idolatrous high places probably being expunged by orthodox scribes—seem to favor this hypothesis. Be that as it may, there were, nevertheless, in many sanctuaries before the reform of Josiah numerous priests;¹⁶ and, in many cases, as at Jerusalem,¹⁷ Beth-el,¹⁸ Shiloh,¹⁹ Nob,²⁰ and Horeb,²¹ there was over the local guild one leader who was called *the priest*. These same conditions undoubtedly prevailed at an

⁶ 1:3; 2:13.

⁷ 2 K. 10:11, 19.

⁸ 1 K. 12:32; 13:2, 33; 2 K. 17:27, 28.

⁹ Hos. 5:1.

¹⁰ 1 Sam. 5:5; 6:2.

¹¹ 22:18, 20.

¹² Gen. 49:7; Deut. 18:1-5.

¹³ 1 K. 12:31; 2 Chr. 11:13-15.

¹⁴ Judg. 17:10.

¹⁵ Ezek. 44:10-14.

¹⁶ 2 K. 23:5, 8, 9, 20; 2 Chr. 11:15; 34:5; Hos. 6:9.

¹⁷ 2 K. 11:18.

¹⁸ Am. 7:10.

¹⁹ 1 Sam. 1:9.

²⁰ 21:2.

²¹ Ex. 2:16, &c.

earlier time. Like the Hebrew priests,²² those of the Canaanites wore an official garb, and probably received their right to office through descent. For services rendered the Hebrew priest was given a fee, as the expression "fill the hand"²³ implies. In one case the fee consisted of a fixed salary with board and clothes,²⁴ in another, portions of the sacrifice.²⁵ Similar customs are to be assumed for the Canaanites.

Finally, it may be said that, though late sources have been used freely to determine the nature and the profession of the priesthood, yet the implications arising from certain ritual practices which have early Babylonian parallels and from the usage of many of the great sanctuaries warrant the conclusions that have been reached.

2. The interpreter who sought divine revelations through the emotional and mental states of frenzy, ecstasy, and vision, was known to the Canaanites as *rō'eh*, "seer," but to the Hebrews as *hōzeh*, "seer," and *nabī*, "prophet." A remarkable case belonging to this period is found in the account of Wenamon who was a royal messenger from Egypt to the court of Byblos: "Now when (the prince of Byblos) sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his noble youths making him frenzied so that he said: 'Bring (the god) hither!' Bring the messenger of Amon, who hath him. Send him, and let him go."²⁶ "Now, while the frenzied (youth) continued in frenzy during the night, I . . ."²⁷

This same religio-psychological phenomenon of which this case is a clear instance manifested itself in the time of Samuel. Samuel said to Saul: "When thou art come thither to (the hill of God), thou shalt meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place with a harp, a tambourine, a pipe, and a lyre before them; and they shall be prophesying: and the spirit of Yahweh will come mightily upon thee and thou shalt prophesy with them."²⁸ On another occasion, after Saul's messengers had prophesied one after another, "the spirit of God came

²² 1 Sam. 22:18.

²³ Judg. 17:5 (ARV^m).

²⁴ 17:10.

²⁵ 1 Sam. 2:13 ff.

²⁶ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 570.

²⁷ *Ibid.* § 571.

²⁸ 1 Sam. 10:5, 6; cp. 10-13.

upon him also, and he . . . prophesied until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night."²⁹

The prophets of *ba'al*, while calling upon their god to accept their offering on Carmel, danced about the altar with such frenzy that they "cut themselves after their manner with swords and lances, till the blood gushed out upon them."³⁰ Such fits of madness generally characterized the average prophet even down to late times;³¹ while as late as the time of Zechariah, it appears to have been customary for members of the guild to tattoo their foreheads or faces.³² It was inevitable, with the rising conceptions of the true spirit of prophetism, that a reaction should set in against these extreme methods of obtaining a divine message by frenzy, madness, and trances. Accordingly, such a protest registers itself in the proverb, "the prophet is a fool, the man that hath the spirit is mad,"³³ and in Amos' disclaimer that he was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet.³⁴

In addition to violent physical exercise, there were also other means of producing or of heightening the ecstatic state, such as being clothed in sacred garments like the veil of Moses,³⁵ or the garment of the Arab soothsayer, or possibly the distinctive hairy mantle of Elijah³⁶ and of other prophets,³⁷ or perhaps the linen ephod that David wore on one occasion as he danced before the ark;³⁸ or being anointed on the head with oil;³⁹ or listening to vocal,⁴⁰ or to instrumental music.⁴¹ The dream also was considered as a sort of divine possession; and in consequence the *rō'eh* was called upon, as was the *barū* in

²⁹ 19:23, 24.

³⁰ 1 K. 18:28.

³¹ 20:37; 2 K. 9:11; Jer. 29:26; Zech. 13:6.

³² 13:6.

³³ Hos. 9:7.

³⁴ 7:14.

³⁵ 34:33-35.

³⁶ 2 K. 1:8; 2:13, 14.

³⁷ Zech. 13:4; cp. 1 K. 20:41.

³⁸ 2 Sam. 6:14.

³⁹ 1 K. 19:16; 2 K. 9:1-10.

⁴⁰ 1 Sam. 10:5.

⁴¹ 2 K. 3:15.

Babylon, to interpret its divine import. Sleeping at sacred places,⁴² or under holy trees,⁴³ was thought to enhance the dream-state. In late Hebrew times this vehicle of revelation was discredited.⁴⁴

In the Hebrew period the seers visited the high places,⁴⁵ probably being sympathetic with the worship and taking a prominent part in it, at least, so far as it was free from the influence of a foreign *ba'al*-cult. Jeremiah charges them with prophesying by *ba'al*.⁴⁶

There can be no doubt that this type of prophetic ecstasy was taken over bodily by the Hebrews from the Canaanites.⁴⁷ That it became generally clarified of its baser elements as time went on and came to serve a worthy end in the ascendancy of purer monotheism, no one will deny, but this development lies outside of the scope of this work.

3. The interpreter of the events of life who noted the beneficial or the harmful results which issued from individual actions had also a function to perform in the scheme of revelation. In early Hebrew times the function of this specialist, the *hakam*, or sage, so overlapped that of the prophet that in many cases they are one and the same person. Originally, however, the function of each was distinct from that of the other. The observations of the *hakam* on human conduct took final shape in the book of Proverbs and in the Wisdom literature. In addition to this the wise men were the medicine-men who, by dispensing drugs, or by applying remedies,⁴⁸ or by going through incantations, could drive the supposed demons from the unfortunate victims.⁴⁹ Moreover, they were versed in the occult arts, and played the magician by tying magic knots, by creating spells, by raising the dead,⁵⁰ by making iron swim,⁵¹ by calling down fire from

⁴² Gen. 28:12; Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 67-69, 190.

⁴³ See p. 24.

⁴⁴ Num. 12:6 ff.; Jer. 23:25 ff.

⁴⁵ 1 Sam. 10:5, 10; 19:18 ff.

⁴⁶ 23:13.

⁴⁷ So Harper (*Amos and Hosea*) and Kautzsch (*Rel. of Is. in HBD.* p. 653).

⁴⁸ Is. 38:21.

⁴⁹ 2 K. 5:11.

⁵⁰ 1 K. 17:21; 2 K. 4:29, 34, 35.

⁵¹ 6:6.

heaven,⁵² by causing droughts⁵³ and plagues,⁵⁴ by making rain,⁵⁵ by producing water for a thirsty army in the desert,⁵⁶ by smiting a hostile army with blindness,⁵⁷ by dividing the waters of a river for a foot-passage,⁵⁸ by turning rods into serpents and back into rods again,⁵⁹ by sweetening a bitter spring,⁶⁰ by rendering poisonous food harmless,⁶¹ by multiplying oil, meal,⁶² and bread,⁶³ by finding lost asses,⁶⁴ by revealing secrets,⁶⁵ and by foretelling future events.⁶⁶ For their services they received fees.⁶⁷

4. To a fourth class of holy persons belonged the *kedeshah* and the *kadesh* who have already been considered under Religious prostitution.⁶⁸

⁵² 1 K. 18:36, 38; 2 K. 1:10, 12.

⁵³ 1 K. 17:1.

⁵⁴ Ex. 7:20 ff.

⁵⁵ 1 K. 18:41 ff.

⁵⁶ 2 K. 3:16 ff.

⁵⁷ 6:18.

⁵⁸ 2:8, 14.

⁵⁹ Ex. 4:2 ff.; 7:8 ff.

⁶⁰ 2 K. 2:21.

⁶¹ 4:41.

⁶² 1 K. 17:16; 2 K. 4:3 ff.

⁶³ 4:43, 44.

⁶⁴ 1 Sam. 9:6; 10:2.

⁶⁵ 2 K. 6:12.

⁶⁶ 1 K. 22:5 ff.; 2 K. 7:1; 13:19.

⁶⁷ 1 Sam. 9:8; 2 K. 5:5, 15; 8:9; Mic. 3:11.

⁶⁸ See pp. 216 ff.

CHAPTER XXIV

FEASTS

Annual fall and spring feasts,¹ occasioned by the passing of summer to winter and of winter to summer; and the new-moon- and sabbath-feasts, occasioned by the transition of the moon into its various phases, continued to be observed, as Hebrew survivals and Babylonian analogies of such Amorite feasts show, throughout this and down into the Hebrew period. However, in view of the probable development and extension of agricultural life, it may be supposed that the annual feasts, with the addition of a harvest-end feast, assumed more of an agricultural character. As such they became occasions for rendering the seasonable tribute of the land to the *ba'als* of the sanctuaries.

The old lunar calendar, which probably still held sway, was necessarily readjusted from time to time, as in Babylonia,² in order to make it harmonize with the agricultural season. This brought the appointed feasts in their appointed months. To these three annual feasts, which Hosea calls the "days of the *ba'als*,"³ all males were required to come, and to appear, not "empty,"⁴ but with an offering before the symbol of the *ba'al*⁵ who gave the grain, new wine, oil, wool, and flax.⁶ The tithe, which was levied by the sanctuaries on all adjacent land, was required to be brought every third year for the maintenance of the high place.⁷ The feasts were participated in by all, both rich and poor, and were characterized by great jubilation⁸ expressed in such rites as "eating and drinking" before the deity,⁹ joining in the processions,¹⁰ dancing,¹¹ arraying them-

¹ See pp. 58 ff.

² Clay, *Amurru*, p. 57.

³ Hos. 2:15 (13).

⁴ Ex. 34:20.

⁵ 34:23; cp. 1 Sam. 1:22.

⁶ Hos. 2:10, 11 (8, 9).

⁷ See p. 209.

⁸ Ex. 32:6; Deut. 14:26; 16:11; Is. 30:29.

⁹ 1 Sam. 1:4-15; 2:12-17.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. 6:1 ff.; 1 K. 8:1 ff.

¹¹ Ex. 32:6, 19; Judg. 21:21, 23.

selves in gorgeous garments and jewels,¹² and probably indulging in the unchaste rites that were then so prevalent.¹³

The Autumn Feast

The first Canaanite agricultural feast occurred at the "going out of the year,"¹⁴ or "at the year's revolution,"¹⁵ in the first month, or Ethanim, and coincided with the old sabbath-feast on the fifteenth day of the month.¹⁶ This marked the end of the olive harvest and of the vintage season. This probably was the feast which the Shechemites celebrated when on one occasion "they went out into the field, and gathered their vineyards, and trod the grapes, and offered a praise-offering, and went into the house of their god, and ate and drank."¹⁷ A similar vintage feast, at which the maidens were wont to dance, was held annually at Shiloh, being called by the Hebrews "the feast of Yahweh."¹⁸ Hither resorted every devout person with his offering to present to the deity at the "yearly sacrifice," joining with others in eating the sacrificial meal,¹⁹ and drinking wine which often caused drunkenness.²⁰ At the dedication of Solomon's temple in the first month, or Ethanim, this feast was observed with great pomp and ceremony.²¹ At Beth-el the same autumnal feast was observed, although it was kept one month later in Bul,²² being ordained by royal decree to occur at that time probably for political reasons. Very likely it originally came in the first month.

The Spring Feast

The second annual feast was that of *maṣṣōth*, or "unleavened bread,"²³ which coincided with the full-moon-sabbath of the

¹² Hos. 2:15 (13).

¹³ Cp. 1 Sam. 2:22-24; see pp. 216 ff.

¹⁴ Ex. 23:16.

¹⁵ 34:22.

¹⁶ See pp. 61 ff.

¹⁷ Judg. 9:27.

¹⁸ 21:19-21.

¹⁹ 1 Sam. 1:3-5.

²⁰ 1:13, 14.

²¹ 1 K. 8:1 ff.

²² 12:32.

²³ Ex. 23:15; 34:18.

seventh month, and probably also with the primitive spring feast which was the prototype of the Hebrew passover.²⁴ The melting together of these three feasts had the effect of making this feast the most important of all the year; and, after the exchange of the Canaanite for the new Babylonian calendar at the time of the Exile, became the first Jewish feast of the year. This feast came at the beginning of the harvest when the sickle was first put to the standing grain, and was held for the purpose of paying tribute to the *ba'al* who gave the grain. Accordingly, every male was required to appear before the deity, bearing possibly a sheaf of the first ripe barley for a wave-offering,²⁵ and unleavened bread made in such haste from the new meal that it did not have time to ferment. The significance of these offerings of the first sheaf and the first bread, as has been suggested under Offerings, probably lay in a taboo which rested on the whole crop until the tribute was paid to the *ba'al*.

The Summer Feast

The harvest-end feast came on the ninth day of the ninth month, that is, the next day after the second sabbath in the month.²⁶ This feast was the climax that marked the end of seven weeks of joyous harvest festivities, and, hence, received the name *ḥag-shabū'ōth*, "feast of weeks."²⁷ Each male was required to appear before the deity bringing his offering of two unleavened loaves of baked bread. These first loaves, baked from the new wheat flour, were, when presented, waved before the deity as tributes. In later times at least, entire households, including the dependent poor, participated in the joy of this occasion.²⁸

Judging from the character of these three feasts, which are radically different from anything that the Hebrews who entered the land as nomads could have contributed, the conclusion is justified that they are of Canaanite, if not of Amorite, origin.

²⁴ See p. 59.

²⁵ Lev. 23:9-14 (Ph).

²⁶ Lev. 23:15, 16; Deut. 16:9 ff.

²⁷ Ex. 23:16; 34:22.

²⁸ Deut. 16:11.

THE CANAANITE PANTHEON

CHAPTER XXV

PANTHEON: NATURE GODS

'El, as a general Semitic title for deity, has already been discussed in the former period, where theophorous names, belonging to this period and later, having the element 'ēl, were cited as evidence confirming its use. The three-fold division of the pantheon into gods of nature, gods of the inner consciousness, and gods of the events of life, will be followed here as there.

Gods of Nature

Ba'al, as the general title for any nature-god, probably began to be used in the preceding period; but in this period the appellation attained to a great popularity. The first evidence of its use in Canaan comes from as far back as the sixteenth century, and possibly this may presuppose an earlier origin. Through the influence of early Semite traders and Egyptian relations with Canaan the cults of many of the *be'ālīm* found a home on Egyptian soil. The Egyptian king is frequently described on the monuments as fighting "like Ba'al." During the time covered by the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties, there were many persons, both Semitic foreigners in Egypt¹ and native Palestinians,² who had names compounded with *ba'al*.

Ba'al, like 'el, could be applied to any nature-deity; but, while the latter defined its nature particularly as a *power*, the

¹ *B'-ri-mont(ev)* = Ba'al-Montu (Montu = war god); *B'-ri-ru-manu* = Ba'al-ram, "ba'al is high"; *Sauf-b'-ri* = Sauf-ba'al, "his protection is ba'al"; *Sh-ma-b'-ira-u* = Shem-ba'al, "name of ba'al," of Gaza, Müller, p. 309n; *M-h'-r'-b'-r'* = Mahar-ba'al, "ba'al hastens," an Egyptian butler, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. §§ 423, 443; *Roy*, the servant of Ba'al of Gaza; *B'-l-tw-R'-m-g-w* = Ba'alat-Kemeg, chief of Tyre, *ibid.*, iii. § 630.

² *T'-k'-r'-B'-r* = Zakar-ba'al, prince of Byblos, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. §§ 566, 567; *Ba'aluaia*, Knudtzon, 170:2; *Amur-ba'alu*, *ibid.*, 170:38; *Ba'lu-mehir*, 245:44; 257:3; *Ba'lat*, 273:4; *Pu-Ba'lu*, 314:3; *Shipti-Ba'lu*, 330:3; 331:4, &c.; *Guli-Ba'al*, at Taanach, Sellin, p. 114.

former characterized it as a *proprietor*, or *owner*, of an object or a locality. If the proprietary *numen* was considered to be masculine, he was called *ba'al*, if feminine, *ba'alat*. Every natural object, therefore, which exhibited in any way mysterious or miraculous phenomena was regarded as the abode of a *ba'al* or a *ba'alat*. The object and the phenomena might be identical, yet the two in the Semitic mind were dissociated or distinguished from the indwelling or actuating *ba'al* who was lord or possessor of the object. Because of this capacity to distinguish between the *numen* and its dwelling-place Semitic religion in its final development was able to attain to monotheism; while other religions, such as the Indo-European, ever remained pantheistic.³

Moreover, the *ba'al* could have no existence apart from the object in which he was thought to dwell, or apart from the phenomenon which he was thought to produce, since, in the very nature of the case, the term *proprietor* describes that intimate relationship. There could then be no individual god *Ba'al* with a well-defined nature and with various local manifestations⁴ for the following reasons.⁵ 1. *Ba'al* never became a proper name for a deity as 'Ashtart, or Zeus. 2. It was used in place-names such as *Ba'al Lebanon*, *Ba'al Hermon*, thus distinguishing between two *ba'al* forms in a way in which 'Ashtart and Zeus were never used. 3. The use of the article with *ba'al*⁶ served to specify a particular *ba'al*. 4. No image of a god *Ba'al* is mentioned in the Old Testament as a feature in a sanctuary; nor has any image of a *Ba'al* come to light in the excavations.⁷

The *ba'als* were as numerous as the natural objects which exhibited in any way the phenomena of life and activity. A classification of these objects and places will, then, classify the *ba'als*.

The presence of a *ba'al* or *ba'alat* of a spring or well,⁸ exercising authority over the fountain, was manifested, it was thought, by the bubbling or the flowing of the water.

A *ba'al* of a tree⁹ showed signs of his presence and favor in

³ Paton, in *HERE*, ii. p. 285.

⁴ So Baethgen, p. 17.

⁵ Fully presented by Paton, in *HERE*, ii. p. 284.

⁶ *hab-ba'al*, Judg. 2:13, &c.; 1 K. 16:31, &c.; Jer. 2:8, &c.; Zeph. 1:4.

⁷ *PEFQS*. 1904, p. 112.

⁸ See p. 18.

⁹ See pp. 21 ff.

the tree's foliage, growth, and fruitage. By the side of the *ba'al*-tree and the *ba'al*-spring the nature-worshippers were wont to erect stone pillars as *bethels*, or primitive houses, for the *ba'als* to dwell in. In this way gifts of water, oil, and other liquids were conveniently offered to the respective *ba'al* of these sacred objects.

Since the sacred trees and springs formed in many cases the nuclei of later sanctuaries, and since cities grew up around these holy objects and places, the *ba'als* of the same gradually came, in the minds of the worshippers, to extend their authority over the cities adjacent to their shrines. Thus the *ba'al* of Me'ōn was *Ba'al-Me'ōn*, and his sanctuary was called *Bēth-ba'al-Me'ōn*. The *ba'al* of Shechem was *Ba'al-berith* who was also called by the more general title, *'El-berith*.¹⁰ Nearly all of the cities of the North-Semitic peoples had each its own special *ba'al* after whom persons were named.¹¹ Many Old

¹⁰ Judg. 8:33; 9:4.

¹¹ PHOENICIAN NAMES: *'BY-B'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 205; *'DN-B'L*, *ibid.*, p. 208; *B'L-GD*, *B'L-HNT*, *B'L-YHN*, *B'L-YTN*, *B'L-MLK*, p. 240; *B'L-PLS*, *B'L-RM*, *B'L-ShLM*, p. 241; *GR-B'L*, p. 253; *BRK-B'L*, p. 245; *YHR-B'L*, p. 288; *YHW-(B)'L*, p. 287; *HNN-B'L*, p. 278; *YTN-B'L*, p. 292; *'ZRT-B'L*, p. 339; *'ZR-B'L*, *'Z-B'L*, p. 338; *'BD-B'L*, p. 333; *RM-B'L*, p. 369; *ShMR-B'L*, *ShM'-B'L*, p. 378; *B'L-PLS*, Ldzb. *HNE.* i. p. 353; *B'L-YTN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, ii. p. 404; *'B-B'L*, *ibid.* p. 403; *NŠR-B'L*, p. 408.

PUNIC NAMES: *'B-B'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 205; *'BN-B'L*, *ibid.*, p. 206; *BD-B'L*, p. 233; *'RShT-B'L*, p. 227; *'MT-B'L*, p. 221; *B'L-'ZBL*, *B'L-'RShT*, *(B)'L-HL*, *B'L-HLŠ*, *B'L-HN'*, *B'L-YHN*, *B'L-YSh(PT)*, *B'L-MGL'*, *B'L-ML'K*, p. 240; *B'L-'ZR*, *B'L-'LK*, *B'L-'MS*, *B'L-PD'*, *B'L-ShLK*, *B'L-ShPT*, p. 241; *HN-B'L*, p. 277; *HLŠ-B'L*, p. 275; *BT-B'L*, p. 246; *HPŠ-B'L*, p. 279; *MLK-B'L*, p. 310; *MHR-B'L*, p. 306; *YSh-B'L*, p. 291; *MTN-B'L*, *MTNY-B'L*, p. 319; *'Š-B'L*, p. 345; *'ZR-B'L*, p. 338; *ŠPN-B'L*, p. 359; *ŠDM-B'L*, p. 356; *ShPT-B'L*, p. 380; *ShHR-B'L*, p. 374; *'BR-B'L*, Ldzb., *EPH.* i. p. 352; *B'L-HN'*, p. 353; *B'L-YHLŠ*, *B'L-YSP*, p. 353; *B'L-'ZR*, *B'L-'LK*, *B'L-PLS*, *B'L-ShLK*, Ldzb., *EPH.* ii. p. 404; *B'L-TTY*, *BT-B'L*, p. 405; *'DN-B'L*, p. 403; *ŠPN-B'L*, p. 410.

NEO-PUNIC NAMES: *'DN-B'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 208; *B'L-PG'*, *B'L-P'L*, *B'L-ŠD*, *B'L-ŠSh'N*, *B'L-ShLK*, *B'L-ShM'*, *B'L-ShPT*, p. 241; *B'L-TM'*, p. 242; *HN-B'L*, p. 277; *GR-B'L*, p. 253; *BRK-B'L*, p. 245; *MTN-B'L*, p. 319; *M'NK-B'L*, p. 314; *'ZR-B'L*, p. 338; *'BD-B'L*, p. 333; *B'L-M-B'L*, *B'L-YTN*, Ldzb., *EPH.* p. 404; *BRK-B'L*, p. 405; *'DR-B'L*, p. 304; *BTN-B'L*, *MTN-B'L*, p. 408.

Testament place-names whose origin must be Canaanite, attest the widespread belief in the authority which local *ba'als* exercised over their respective cities.¹² The accession of one *ba'al* to supreme authority over a city or a territory often meant an absorption, or a subordination to the grade of demons, of all the lesser *ba'als* included within that sweep of power. These demons were not necessarily evil, but were merely inferior *numina* which exercised certain recognized, but limited, powers. Such were the *se'irîm*, "goat-like forms,"¹³ *sa'ir*, "desert satyr," *lilith*, "night hag,"¹⁴ and *shedîm*, "demons."¹⁵ The *ba'als* of cities in Judah in the time of Jeremiah were as numerous as the cities themselves.¹⁶

From the city outward and over the adjacent territory, the authority of some of the local *ba'als* extended so far that, as in the case of Ba'al-judah, Ba'al-gad, and Ba'al-shalishah,¹⁷ a *ba'al* became proprietor of a district in which his worshippers dwelt. This extension of authority from the primitive shrine of the *ba'al* imposed upon every husbandman whose land was included in the sweep the duty of paying at harvest-time the accustomed offerings to the *ba'al* who gave the bread, grain, wine, wool, oil, flax, water, and fruit. In his district or proprietorship the *ba'al* was supreme¹⁸; and his supremacy had to be acknowledged by new residents, who in turn had to give up the worship of the *ba'al* dominant in the locality whence they

ARAMAIC NAMES: *B'L-ʾDN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 240; *B'L-ZR*, p. 241; *B'L-DGN*, *B'L-NTN*, Ldzb., *EPH.* i. p. 362.

NABATÆAN NAMES: *B'L-ʾDN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 240.

HEBREW NAMES: *B'L-ḤNN*, p. 240; *B'L-NTN*, p. 241.

PALMYRENE NAMES: *B'L-TG'*, p. 241.

¹² *Ba'alath*, Josh. 19:44, &c.; *Ba'al-hamōn*, Song of Sol. 8:11, &c.; *Ba'al-hasōr*, 2 Sam. 13:23; *Ba'al-Ṣephōn*, Ex. 14:2, &c.; *Ba'al-tamar*, Judg. 20:33; *Ba'alath-be'er*, Josh. 19:8 = *Ba'al*, 1 Chr. 4:33; *Bamōth-habbal*, Jer. 19:5, &c.; *Bēth-ba'al-me'ōn*, Josh. 13:17; *Gur-ba'al*, "dwelling of *ba'al*," 2 Chr. 26:7; cp. also *Ba'al-shalishah*, 2 K. 4:42. See *ba'als* of mountains, p. 234, note 26.

¹³ Lev. 17:7; 2 Chr. 11:15; Is. 13:21.

¹⁴ Is. 34:14.

¹⁵ Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37. Read *lash-shedîm*, Hos. 12:12 (11) instead of *shevarîm*, "bullocks," Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 390.

¹⁶ Jer. 2:28; 11:13.

¹⁷ Gray, p. 132.

¹⁸ Palestine was Yahweh's land, Hos. 9:15.

came. The loss of territory meant the loss of its *ba'al*. The loss of Canaan was bitter to David in exile¹⁹ and to Israel in captivity²⁰ because it involved the loss of Yahweh. The new settlers in the northern kingdom had to be instructed in the "law of the god of the land."²¹ The fathers of Israel exchanged the "other gods" which they "served beyond the River" and those of Egypt²² for the nature-gods of Canaan. A change of country meant to Ruth a change of religion.²³ Jacob buried the local gods of Shechem before he went to Beth-el.²⁴ Kemosh was more powerful in Moab than was the god of the invaders.²⁵

There were also *ba'als* of the sky and of atmospheric phenomena that manifested their power in the north, sun, moon, storm, lightning, dawn, heat, cold, light, darkness, and dew.

Every mountain, to infer from a number of *ba'al*-names associated with mountains,²⁶ and perhaps every hill, had its *ba'al*. The idea of a *ba'al*'s holding proprietorship over a mountain may have originated from the conception of a *ba'al* of the sky, because of their nearness to each other;²⁷ or from the conception of a *ba'al* of a spring, because of the usual proximity of springs to mountains.

There were several Canaanite nature-gods to whom the term *ba'al* was applied. The chief *ba'al* of Canaan, as known by the Egyptians during the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties, was Sutekh, or Set, or Montu, the war-god; for *ba'al* was the Egyptian chronicler's favorite simile for describing the valor of the Pharaoh in battle.²⁸ That particular *ba'al*-worship which

¹⁹ 2 Sam. 15:19, 30.

²⁰ Hos. 3:4.

²¹ 2 K. 17:26 ff.

²² Josh. 24:2, 14, 15.

²³ Ruth 1:16.

²⁴ Gen. 35:4.

²⁵ 2 K. 3:27.

²⁶ *Ba'al-berith* probably connected with mount Gerizzim, Judg. 8:33; 9:4; *Ba'al-Gad* near mount Hermon, Josh. 11:17, &c.; *Ba'al-hermon*, Judg. 3:3, &c.; *Ba'al-pe'or*, Num. 25:3; *Ba'al-perasim*, 2 Sam. 5:20; *Har Ba'alalah*, 1 Chr. 13:6; cp. 1 Sam. 7:1; *Bamath-ba'al* (corrupted to *Bamoth*), Num. 22:41; Josh. 13:17; cp. Num. 23:1-3; *Ba'al-lebanon*, CIS., i. 5.

²⁷ Cp. above, p. 29.

²⁸ Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. §§ 86, 122, 144, 312, 326, 338, 463.

Jezebel and Ahab introduced into Israel was that of Melkart, *ba'al* of Tyre.²⁰ Sin, the moon-god, who had an important temple at Haran is, on a relief of Bar-erekub, called the *ba'al* of Haran.³⁰ Melekh appears to have been *ba'al* worshipped by sacrifices of children.³¹ The *ba'al* of Pe'or and of Me'on was probably *Kemōsh*, or '*Ashtart-Kemōsh*', mentioned on the Moabite stone.³² The tribal god of fortune, Gad, was probably a *ba'al*, as appears from the place-name *Ba'al-gad*.³³ *Sephōn*, a constituent in Punic names,³⁴ betrays a similar character. The war-god of the Hebrews, Yahweh, who probably assumed the characteristics of Addu, appropriated to himself the conception of *ba'al* applied both in a local and a national way, but it was the latter conception that finally survived. Most of the Hebrew personal names compounded with *ba'al*³⁵ are probably to be understood as referring to Yahweh.

An intimate relation seems to have existed between '*Ashtart*' and the *ba'als* since they are frequently mentioned together in the Old Testament³⁶ and in Phoenician inscriptions. The similarity or the identity of natures, implied by this association, must lie in the sphere of animal and vegetable fertility. In

²⁰ 1 K. 16:31, 32; 18:21-40; 19:18; 22:54 (53); 2 K. 3:2; 8:18; 10:10-28; 11:18, &c.

³⁰ Cooke, p. 182.

³¹ Cp. Jer. 7:31; 19:5 with Lev. 18:21; 2 K. 23:10.

³² *MI.* 17.

³³ Josh. 11:17, &c.

³⁴ See note p. 232.

³⁵ '*Abi-albōn*', 2 Sam. 23:31, probably = '*Abi-ba'al*'; *Be'al-Yah*, 1 Chr. 12:5; *Be'el-yada*, 1 Chr. 14:7 = '*El-yada*', 2 Sam. 5:16; *Ba'al-Hanan*, Gen. 36:38, &c.; *Bil'am*, Num. 22:5, &c., probably for *Ba'al-am*; *Ba'sha*', 1 K. 15:16, &c., probably for *Ba'al-Shemesh*; *Ba'al-zamar*, in time of Ahab, *S. S. Times*, Jan. 7, 1911; *Ba'alīs*, Jer. 40:14, probably for *Ba'alīm*, '*ba'als*'; '*Ish-bosheth*', 'man of shame,' 2 Sam. 2:8, &c. = '*Esh-ba'al*', 1 Chr. 8:33; 9:39, probably for '*Ish-ba'al*', 'man of *ba'al*,' changed to avoid offense; *Mephi-boseth*, 2 Sam. 4:4, &c. = *Meri-ba'al*, 1 Chr. 9:40 = *Merib-ba'al*, '*ba'al* is an advocate,' 1 Chr. 8:34, &c., altered to avoid offense; *Yō-ba'al*, '*Yahweh is *ba'al**,' LXX for MT '*Ebed*', Judg. 9:26; *Yosheb-bashshebeth*, 2 Sam. 23:8; probably for *Yish-ba'al*, cp. 1 Chr. 11:11; *Yeru-bosheth*, 2 Sam. 11:21 = *Yerub-ba'al*, '*let *ba'al* contend*,' Judg. 6:32, &c. It is significant that all *ba'al*-names have been eradicated from the book of Samuel by jealous scribes. See Jastrow, in *JBL.*, xiii., pp. 19 ff.

³⁶ Judg. 2:13; 1 Sam. 7:4; 12:10.

ancient times 'Ashtart was the causer of fertility both of animals as well as of the vegetable kingdom; but as masculine deities came into competition with her, the field of fertility was divided, the animal kingdom being reserved for 'Ashtart and the plant world for masculine deities. Thus 'Ashtart gave offspring, and the *ba'als* gave the increase of the field. Moreover, there may be an indication in this observed relationship that the cults of 'Ashtart-*ba'al* shared to some extent with the Babylonian-Assyrian religion the tendency to assign sexual counterpart to every god or goddess. It is significant at any rate to observe that *ba'al* meant *husband*, and that because of this strong sexual bias in the Canaanite religion the local cults were signally condemned by the champions of monotheism.

As has been mentioned, there was no image of a particular god *Ba'al*; but on the other hand, there were images or pillars³⁷ in which special *ba'als* were thought to dwell. The *maṣṣebahs*, discovered at Gezer and elsewhere, and so often mentioned in the Old Testament as essential objects in the high places, were the chief *media* through which these nature-deities were worshipped.

The attitude of the *ba'al* toward his worshippers who dwelt within his territory was beneficent or hostile according as they gave or withheld what was due him of the increase of the soil. If offerings were properly rendered in season, the worshipper could expect continued prosperity; but if not, the wrath of the *ba'al* was sure to show itself by sending drouth, blasting, mildew, pests, devouring fire, earthquake,³⁸ famine,³⁹ pestilence,⁴⁰ eclipses,⁴¹ and even rain.⁴²

The vehicles of divine revelation to man were, to a large extent, the phenomena of nature, which invariably received a supernatural interpretation. The fact that a boon was granted or was withheld was sufficient to reveal the divine disposition. Moreover, these methods of knowing the divine will and feeling, on account of their infrequency and lack of definite significance,

³⁷ See pp. 32 ff.

³⁸ Am. 4:6-11.

³⁹ 2 Sam. 21:1-14; 24:13.

⁴⁰ 2 Sam. 24:13.

⁴¹ Joel 3:4 (2:31); Am. 5:18, 20.

⁴² Ezr. 10:9-14.

were not sufficient. Consequently recourse was had to that large body of divining practices which were common throughout the Semitic world. The specialist who was skilled in interpreting signs and oracles was the *kāhin* or *ḥarṭom*, the divining priest.⁴³

Nothing is more certain than that Israel in general served the *ba'als* with no compunctions of conscience up to the prophetic period. Amos and Hosea were the first prophets who condemned the practice of identifying Yahweh with the local *ba'als* of Canaan. Hosea says that Israel "kept sacrificing to the *ba'als*, making offerings to images."⁴⁴ Not only is this prevalent apostacy directly affirmed by many passages, but it is also implied by the stringent prohibitory legislation,⁴⁵ as well as by the frequent substitution, by jealous scribes, of *bosheth*, "shameful thing," for the original *ba'al* in the Hebrew text⁴⁶ and by the alteration of many names compounded with *ba'al* such as, *Mephī-bosheth* for *Merī-ba'al* and *Yerū-bosheth* for *Yerub-ba'al*.⁴⁷

Besides the special nature-gods discussed in the foregoing period, whose worship continued on in this period, the following gods may be mentioned:

Resheph, "the lightning flash," Addu's most terrible manifestation, came, just as *Birkū*, "lightning," did in Babylonia,⁴⁸ to be deified and worshipped as a separate deity in Canaan, Egypt, Syria, and Phoenicia. The epithets *rashbu* and *rash-ubbu*, "red-glowing," especially applied to the Assyrian fire-god are thus significant.⁴⁹ The main sources of our knowledge of this god are the Egyptian monuments, for his cult was carried to Egypt by Canaanite captives.⁵⁰ His nature coincided substantially with Addu's as a god of war and of the storm. An Egyptian artist pictured him with spear, shield, and club,

⁴³ See p. 221.

⁴⁴ 11:2, Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 363.

⁴⁵ Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 16:21, 22.

⁴⁶ Jer. 3:24; 11:13; Hos. 9:10; cp. the substitution of *αἰσχρῆ* in 1 K. 18:19, 25 (LXX) for *ba'al*.

⁴⁷ See note 35, p. 235.

⁴⁸ *KAT.*³, pp. 446, 451.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

⁵⁰ Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460; Erman, A., *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 73.

and wearing an Asiatic head-band bearing a gazelle's head⁵¹; while on a Phoenician seal of the fourteenth or fifteenth century he is portrayed in Egyptian dress wearing a crown, necklace, and apron, and holding a club.⁵² He was sufficiently popular in Egypt to be mentioned by the royal chronicler in a simile describing the prowess of Ramses III: "The officers are mighty men like Resheph . . . His name is a flame, the terror of him is in the countries."⁵³ His name appears, along with that of his wife Edom, in a magical formula⁵⁴ and won recognition in Egyptian⁵⁵ and Syrian⁵⁶ nomenclature. In the Hadad-inscription from Zenjirli⁵⁷ Resheph, with three other deities, is represented, like the primitive Addu,⁵⁸ as a god who gave the increase of fields and vineyards.

In Phoenicia his cult went back at least to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and continued in Cyprus to a late date.⁵⁹ At Kition a votive tablet was found dedicated to the god *Resheph-heš*, "lightning," or "flame-arrow,"⁶⁰ which suggests, in view of two Old Testament passages in which Yahweh has evidently absorbed the function of this deity, that Resheph was a god of pestilence and disease.

"My arrows (*heš*) will I exhaust against them,

And they shall be devoured by the fire-bolt (*resheph*)."⁶¹

"And his flash is like light(ning) ;

He has horns (of light) from each of his hands:

He maketh them the hiding-place of his might.

⁵¹ Müller, pp. 311, 312; *Egyptological Researches*, p. 33; Spiegelberg, in *OLZ.*, 1908, col. 530.

⁵² Müller, p. 312.

⁵³ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 40.

⁵⁴ *Ishepu* and '*A-tu-ma*, Müller, p. 316.

⁵⁵ "House of Resheph," an Egyptian city, Müller, p. 311.

⁵⁶ *Rushpuna* mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III, Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pileasers III*, Annals, 126; *Kleinere Inschriften*, i. 5; iii, 1; *KAT.*, p. 478.

⁵⁷ Lines 4-8.

⁵⁸ See p. 69.

⁵⁹ *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 370; *Ldzb.*, *EPH.*, i. pp. 150, 151; Baethgen, pp. 50 ff.

⁶⁰ *CIS.*, i. 10; cp. *CIS.*, i. 90, 91.

⁶¹ Deut. 32:23, 24.

Pestilence travels before him,
And fire-bolts (*resheph*) issue at his feet."⁶²

In other passages Yahweh assumes the functions of Addu, or Resheph, the god of the sky and of the storm; for he descends in the smoky cloud and touches the mountains,⁶³ utters his thunderous voice,⁶⁴ shoots forth his flashing arrows (*heṣ*), his shining lightning (*barak*) as a lance,⁶⁵ and confounds his enemies. Here it is to be noted that the Hebrew *heṣ*, "arrow," is used in parallelism with *barak*, "lightning," which in turn is a synonym for *resheph*. Moreover, this observation seems to suggest, in connection with the parallelism of *heṣ* with *resheph*, noted above, that the lightning was thought to be the god's weapon for sending pestilence to man and to beast. Since the sun was also regarded as a causer of disease, another reason is, therefore, patent why Shamash and Addu were closely associated.⁶⁶ Resheph survives in two Phoenician personal names,⁶⁷ and possibly in the variant form *Reṣeph* in *Reṣeph*, an Aramaean place-name,⁶⁸ in the Old Testament personal name *Riṣpah*,⁶⁹ and in *Melkart-Riṣpa*, a Punic deity.⁷⁰ *Barak* also survives in the Old Testament place-name *Benē-berak*⁷¹ and in two Old Testament⁷² and in a Palmyrene⁷³ personal name.

Regem, "storm," and Shaḥar, "dawn," two other phenomena of nature, were obviously deified; since the former appears in two Old Testament names, *Regem*⁷⁴ and *Regem-melek*,⁷⁵ and the latter in Punic⁷⁶ and in Old Testament personal names.⁷⁷

⁶² Hab. 3:4, 5.

⁶³ Ps. 144:5; Hab. 3:10; Zech. 9:14.

⁶⁴ 1 Sam. 7:10; cp. Ps. 77:19 (18); 81:8 (7); 104:7.

⁶⁵ 2 Sam. 22:15 = Ps. 18:15 (14); Ps. 144:5, 6; cp. Zech. 9:14.

⁶⁶ See p. 73.

⁶⁷ *BD-RShP*, Ldzb., *HNE*., p. 335; *RShP-YTN*, p. 370.

⁶⁸ 2 K. 19:12 = Is. 37:12.

⁶⁹ *Riṣpah*, 2 Sam. 3:7, &c.

⁷⁰ Ldzb., *HNE*., p. 312.

⁷¹ Josh. 19:45.

⁷² *Barak*, Judg. 4:6, &c.

⁷³ *BRK*, Ldzb., *HNE*, p. 246.

⁷⁴ 1 Chr. 2:47.

⁷⁵ Zech. 7:2.

⁷⁶ *BD-Sh-HR*, Ldzb., *HNE*., p. 335; *ShHR-B'L*, p. 374.

⁷⁷ *'Aḥi-Shaḥar*, "brother of Dawn," 1 Chr. 7:10; *Sheḥar-Yah*, 1 Chr. 8:26; *Sheḥar-'el*, instead of *Shaḥaraim*, cp. LXX *Saarel*, 1 Chr. 8:8.

CHAPTER XXVI

PANTHEON: SACRED ANIMALS

As the *ba'als* were thought to hold proprietorship over sacred springs, trees, and mountains, so it was likewise fancied that they even possessed and animated animals; so that all the peculiar traits and movements of most, if not all, animals were ascribed to the powers of their particular actuating *ba'als*. Accordingly, a large number of creatures, including beasts, birds, reptiles, and insects, attained in the primitive mind, in one way or another, to various degrees of sanctity. Some facts concerning the sanctity with which animals were held, evidently point to the prevalence at one time of a totemistic stage of religion; other facts, to the use of animals as a divining means in the hands of the priesthood; other facts, to the partiality which was shown certain animals as most appropriate for sacrifice; while still others, to a certain inexplicable reverence which may have issued from any one of the above sources, or from some other source.

It is admittedly a primitive type of religion which invests the creatures with sanctity, or religious awe; and for that reason it might appear that the treatment of this theme should appropriately be placed in the first or second period of Palestinian history, but for the reason that almost no evidence comes to our notice from so early a time it seems best to place this chapter in this period, whence comes substantially all our evidence for the sanctity of animals. Because of the difficulty involved in determining the ultimate source of these facts, one of two inferences may be drawn: that the custom to invest animals with a sacred regard either commenced with the early inhabitants of Canaan, as it did with the early Egyptians, or that it came in either with the Canaanite or the Aramean migration. The evidence is as follows:

The ox particularly bore a sacred character in the 'Ashtart-*ba'al* cults. When Jeroboam adopted the sanctuaries at Beth-el and Dan as centers of national religion, he chose a popular symbol of the *ba'al*, namely, the bull. This symbol of deity

has left its traces throughout the Semitic world. It appears in the bull-forms supporting the molten sea¹; in the horns of the altar²; in the metaphorical reference in poetry to Joseph as "the bull of Jacob"³; and in a large number of images of bulls found in the excavations.⁴ A bronze statuette of the goddess 'Ashtart, having two horns, was found at Gezer.⁵ The cow among the Phoenicians was sacred to 'Ashtart⁶; and the bull, in South Arabia, to 'Athtar.⁷ Semitic words for heifer,⁸ cow,⁹ wild ox,¹⁰ and wild cow¹¹ are found in proper names.

The serpent in mythology is constantly mentioned as native to springs¹² and flowing rivers. In the story of Eden, it haunts the environs of the rivers and the trees of the garden.¹³ The Arabs, even to-day, attribute the virtue of medicinal waters to their being inhabited by the Jinn in serpentine forms.¹⁴ From their hidden haunts in the crevices and the holes of the rocks one can see how the idea originated that they came from the underworld.¹⁵ Moreover, the peculiar characteristics of the serpent—its subtlety,¹⁶ suddenness of attack from ambush,¹⁷ and weird

¹ 1 K. 7:25, 44.

² See p. 188.

³ Gen. 49:24. Read 'abbîr, "bull," instead of 'abîr, "mighty one." Cp. Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 531.

⁴ The most common type found at Gezer. Macalister, *BSL.*, p. 115; Macalister, *EG.*, i. p. 305; ii. p. 411. Several in the Shephelah tells, *PEFQS.*, 1902, pp. 341 ff.; three at Jericho, Sellin, in *MNDPV.*, 1907, p. 68; two at Gath, Bliss and Macal, p. 137, pl. 69, figs. 1, 2;—all of Canaanite and early Hebrew levels.

⁵ See p. 196.

⁶ According to tradition "Astarte put upon her head, as a mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head." *Hebraica*, x. p. 31.

⁷ Barton, p. 201.

⁸ In place-names: 'Eglath-shelishiyah, Is. 15:5; Jer. 48:34; 'Eglôn, Josh. 10:3, &c.; and in personal names: 'Eglah, 2 Sam. 3:5; 'Eglôn, Judg. 3:12, &c.

⁹ parah in place-name hap-Parah, "the cow," Josh. 18:23.

¹⁰ re'em in Re'umah, Gen. 22:24.

¹¹ Le'ah, "wild cow," Gen. 29:16, &c., Nöldeke, in *ZDMG.*, 1886, p. 167.

¹² Benzinger, p. 328.

¹³ Gen. 2:10-14; 3:1 ff.

¹⁴ Smith, *RS.*, p. 168.

¹⁵ The serpent in Hades becomes a type of the Devil in Rev.

¹⁶ Gen. 3:1.

¹⁷ Gen. 49:17.

hisses—contributed to the belief that a *ba'al* inhabited it and manifested these powers, which, to primitive people, possessed a supernatural character.¹⁸ From this conception the widespread belief in the vocal and magical powers of the serpent¹⁹ is an inevitable consequence. Reverence for the serpent is further seen not only in proper names²⁰ but also in the use of images of serpents as objects of worship; e. g. in Babylonia,²¹ in the wandering in the wilderness,²² and in the temple at Jerusalem.²³ At Gezer an image of a bronze cobra was found that may have been a votive offering.²⁴

The Gazelle was reversed in many parts of the Semitic world.²⁵ In Asia Minor,²⁶ and probably in Canaan,²⁷ this animal was sacrificed at the sanctuaries, or the high places.²⁸ Its blood was taboo among the Hebrews²⁸; in Phoenicia it was symbolic of 'Ashtart²⁹; in South Arabia, of 'Athtar³⁰; and in Arabia it was a sacrificial animal³¹ and an object of worship. At Mecca it

¹⁸ Gen. 3:1 ff.; cp. Barton, p. 97.

¹⁹ Serpent-heads were found by Sellin in a small jar at Taanach which were probably used for magical purposes. Cp. *naḥash*, "divination," with *nāḥāsh*, "serpent."

²⁰ *naḥash*, "serpent," in the place-names: 'Ir-*naḥash*, "city of serpent," 1 Chr. 4:12; and in the personal names: *Naḥash*, "serpent," 1 Sam. 11:1, &c.; *Naḥshōn*, Ex. 6:23; *Nehushtā'*, 2 K. 24:8; *zōḥeleth*, "serpent," in the place-name 'Eben haz-zōḥeleth, "stone of the serpent," 1 K. 1:9; *saraph*, "serpent," in personal name *Saraph*, 1 Chr. 4:22; *hub'b*, "serpent," (Arabic) in the personal name *Hobab*, Num. 10:29; *ḥayyah*, "serpent," (Arabic) in the personal name *Hawwah* (Eve), Gen. 3:20; *shephāphōn*, "horned snake," in the personal names *Shephūpham*, Num. 26:39, *Shephūphan*, 1 Chr. 8:5.

²¹ There were serpent-forms in the temple of Marduk at Esagil, *KAT.*³, pp. 503 ff. Cp. *Bel and the Dragon*.

²² Num. 21:9.

²³ The brazen serpent which Hezekiah destroyed was called *nehushtan* which probably means "bronze god."

²⁴ Macalister, *BSL.*, p. 76, fig. 14; Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 399.

²⁵ Smith, *KM.*, p. 197.

²⁶ Laodicea, Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, ii. 56; Smith, *RS.*, pp. 466 ff.

²⁷ 2 Sam. 1:19 marg.

²⁸ Dent. 12:15, 16, 22.

²⁹ See Barton, in *Hebratca*, x. p. 36.

³⁰ Smith, *RS.*, p. 466.

³¹ *Ibid.*

was worshipped in image form.³² *Sebi*, the word for gazelle lingers in one place-name³³ and in two personal names.³⁴

The pig appears, from a find of bones of this animal at Gezer, to have been a sacrificial animal among the cave-dwellers.³⁵ Its uncleanness among the Hebrews points to an ancient sanctity which obtained among the Canaanites. Possibly also the pig bore a sacrosanct character in the early Hebrew times, since *ḥazir*, the Hebrew name for pig, appears in the name of a guild of priests, namely, *Ḥezir*.³⁶ In spite of the legal ban against eating swine's flesh as a sacrifice, the custom seems to have revived after the Exile.³⁷ The wild boar was sacrificed to Aphrodite in Cyprus³⁸ and was sacred to Astarte at Byblos.³⁹ At the latter place tradition connects the boar with the killing of Adonis.⁴⁰

The wolf, aside from being a motive in jar-handles, as at Taanach,⁴¹ is shown to have been regarded as a sacrosanct animal by being mentioned in poetry as a symbol of warlikeness,⁴² and by being preserved in proper names.⁴³

From the many images of lions found in the excavations,⁴⁴ from those mounted on the steps of Solomon's throne,⁴⁵ from the use of "lion" as a figure for strength in Hebrew poetry,⁴⁶ and from relics in proper names⁴⁷ one may safely draw the

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 444, 446.

³³ *Sebo-yim*, Gen. 14:2, &c.

³⁴ *Šibya*, 1 Chr. 8:9; *Šibyah*, 2 K. 12:2[1].

³⁵ See p. 7.

³⁶ Neh. 10:21 (20).

³⁷ Is. 65:4; 66:3, 17; cp. Ezek. 8:10.

³⁸ Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 45.

³⁹ Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 35.

⁴⁰ See p. 95.

⁴¹ Sellin, p. 107.

⁴² Gen. 49:27.

⁴³ *ze'eb*, "wolf," in the place-name *Yekeb-ze'eb*, "wine-vat of (the) wolf," and in the personal name *Ze'eb*, "wolf," Judg. 7:25.

⁴⁴ Very frequently at Megiddo, Schumacher, p. 90, figs. 128-130; *MNDPV*, 1906, pp. 56, 57, figs. 52, 53. Lion stamped on a jar handle at Jericho, Sellin, in *MNDPV*, 1907, p. 68.

⁴⁵ 1 K. 10:19, 20.

⁴⁶ Gen. 49:9; Num. 23:24; 24:9; Deut. 33:22.

⁴⁷ *laish*, "lion," in place-names: *Laish*, "lion," Judg. 18:7, &c.; *Laishah*, Is. 10:30; in the personal name *Laish*, "lion," 1 Sam. 25:44,

conclusion that this animal also received a holy regard. In addition it should be mentioned that one of Ishtar's husbands⁴⁸ was a lion, and that the ancestral god of Baalbek was worshipped in the form of a lion.⁴⁹

In Deuteronomy the offspring of sheep is called the '*ashtarōth of the flock*,⁵⁰ which shows that this animal was peculiarly sacred to the goddess of fertility. The ram⁵¹ and the lamb⁵² were sacrificed as burnt-offerings; while the Hebrew equivalents for *lamb*,⁵³ *ewe*,⁵⁴ and *mountain sheep*⁵⁵ remain in proper names. The sheep was sacred to Aphrodite in Cyprus.⁵⁶

In Egypt the Canaanite goddess of war was pictured seated on a horse.⁵⁷ Horses were dedicated to the solar cult at the time of Josiah,⁵⁸ while further evidence of the sacred character of this animal is observed in proper names.⁵⁹

The ass was sacrificed in Egypt in the cult of Set, or Sutekh, one of the borrowed deities of Canaan; while the flesh of the wild ass was eaten by certain Arab tribes, but was regarded as taboo by others.⁶⁰ This animal's power of speech⁶¹ and its great strength—its name being figuratively applied to a tribe⁶²—sug-

&c.; *shaḥṣa'*, "lion," (Aramaic) in the place-name *Shaḥaṣīm*, "lions," Josh. 19:22; '*arye*, "lion," in the personal name '*Aryeh*, 2 K. 15:25.

⁴⁸ Gilgamesh Epic, cp. *Hebraica*, x. pp. 12, 13. The lion was also connected with Ishtar as war goddess, *KAT.*³, p. 431.

⁴⁹ Smith, *RS.*, p. 444.

⁵⁰ 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51.

⁵¹ Gen. 22:13; Num. 23:1 ff.

⁵² 1 Sam. 7:9.

⁵³ *kar* in the place-name *Beth-kar*, "house of (the) lamb," 1 Sam. 7:11. Cp. personal name *Keran*, Gen. 36:26.

⁵⁴ *rahel* in the personal name *Rahel*, Gen. 29:6, &c.

⁵⁵ *zemer* in personal names: *Zimr-idi*, Knudtzon, 144:4, &c.; *Zimri*, Num. 25:14, &c.

⁵⁶ Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 45.

⁵⁷ About 1500-1200 B. C., Erman, A., *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 73. Ishtar was the wife of a horse in the Gilgamesh Epic, *Hebraica*, x. p. 12.

⁵⁸ 2 K. 23:11.

⁵⁹ *sūs*, "horse," in the place-name *Ḥaṣar-sūsah*, "abode of a mare," Josh. 19:5 = *Ḥaṣar-sūsīm*, "abode of horses," 1 Chr. 4:31. In the personal names: *Sūsī*, Num. 13:11; '*BD-SSM*, Phoenician name, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 334; cp. p. 330. Cp. *Sismay*, 1 Chr. 2:40.

⁶⁰ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 468 ff.

⁶¹ Num. 22:28.

⁶² Gen. 49:14.

gest that there was a *ba'al* of the ass. Two names reveal the Semitic word for ass.⁶³

The goat was the favorite sacrificial animal of Aphrodite, and was generally venerated among the Greeks.⁶⁴ In Canaan proper names only remain to suggest a lingering sanctity. These names are formed from the Semitic words for *he-goat*,⁶⁵ *she-goat*,⁶⁶ *wild-goat*,⁶⁷ *mountain-goat*,⁶⁸ *kid*,⁶⁹ and *ibex*.⁷⁰

The mouse apparently had some religious significance among the Philistines, who made images of it in gold to offer for a trespass committed against the sacred ark.⁷¹ It seems to have been venerated by certain idolaters after the Exile.⁷² Two Old Testament⁷³ and many Punic⁷⁴ personal names survive to show that the mouse was held to be sacred.

Among the Phoenicians the dove was sacred to Astarte⁷⁵; and, in Arabia, to a goddess.⁷⁶ Two Old Testament personal names preserve this ancient reverence.⁷⁷

Holy dogs were kept for religious purposes in a Phoenician sanctuary⁷⁸; and, from the frequency with which *keleb*, "dog,"

⁶³ *hamōr*, "ass," in personal names: *Hamran*, 1 Chr. 1:41 = *Hemdan*, Gen. 36:26; *Hamōr*, "ass," Gen. 33:19.

⁶⁴ Smith, *RS.*, p. 472.

⁶⁵ *sa'ir* in place-names: *Har Se'ir*, "mount of (the) goat," Josh. 24:4, &c.; *Bamath has-Se'irim*, "high place of the he-goats," 2 K. 23:8 (Emended); in personal names: *Se'orim*, 1 Chr. 24:8; *She'ar-Yah*, 1 Chr. 8:38.

⁶⁶ *se'irah* in the place-name *has-Se'irah*, Judg. 3:26.

⁶⁷ *'arnā* (Aram.?) in personal names: *'Aran*, Gen. 36:28; *'Oren*, 1 Chr. 2:25.

⁶⁸ *ya'el* in personal names: *Ya'el*, Judg. 4:17, &c.; *Ya'alah*, Ezr. 2:56; *dishōn* in the personal name *Dishon*, 1 Chr. 1:38 = *Dishān*, Gen. 36:21, &c.

⁶⁹ *gedī* in the place-name *'En-gedī*, "spring of (the) kid," 1 Sam. 23:29, &c.; in personal names: *GDY* (Punic) Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 248; *NBY-GDY* (Palmyrene) *ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷⁰ *terah*, a kind of "ibex," (Smith, *KM.*, p. 220) in the place-name *Terah*, Num. 33:27, 28, and in the personal name *Terah*, Gen. 11:25, &c.

⁷¹ 1 Sam. 6:5.

⁷² Is. 66:17.

⁷³ *'akbar* in the personal name *'Akbor*, Gen. 36:38; 2 K. 22:12.

⁷⁴ *'KBR*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 340.

⁷⁵ Smith, *RS.*, p. 294.

⁷⁶ Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 65.

⁷⁷ *yōnah* in the personal name *Yōnah*, 2 K. 14:25, &c.; *yamāmah*, "dove," (Arabic) in the personal name *Yemimah*, Job 42:14.

⁷⁸ *CIS.*, i. 86A, 15. Cooke, pp. 67 ff.

is contained in Old Testament,⁷⁹ Hebrew,⁸⁰ Phoenician,⁸¹ Nabataean,⁸² and Sinaitic⁸³ personal names, it may safely be inferred that this animal was sacred throughout the Semitic world.

Art motives of the camel and the fox found at Taanach⁸⁴ suggest a reverence for these animals. The former was sacrificed among the Arabs, but was regarded as unclean among the Hebrews. The Semitic words for these respective animals, namely, *beker*, "young camel,"⁸⁵ and *shū'al*, "fox,"⁸⁶ are found in proper names.

Beyond the fact of their appearance in proper names, there is no evidence to indicate religious veneration for the following creatures of the animal world: stag,⁸⁷ fish,⁸⁸ antelope,⁸⁹ rock badger,⁹⁰ hyena,⁹¹ leopard,⁹² weasel,⁹³ partridge,⁹⁴ raven,⁹⁵

⁷⁹ *Kaleb*, Num. 32:12, &c.; *Kelūbay*, 1 Chr. 2:9; *Kelūb*, 1 Chr. 4:11, &c.

⁸⁰ *KLB*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296.

⁸¹ *KLB'*, *KLB-'LM*, p. 296.

⁸² *KLB'*, *KLBW*, *KLYBT*, *KLYBW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296; '*KLBW*', p. 214.

⁸³ *KLBW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296; '*BN-KLBW*', p. 206.

⁸⁴ At Taanach, Sellin, p. 107.

⁸⁵ *beker* in personal names: *Beker*, Num. 26:35, &c.; cp. *Bokrū*, 1 Chr. 8:38; *Bikrī*, 2 Sam. 20:1; *BKRW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 236.

⁸⁶ In place-names: *Shū'al*, 1 Sam. 13:17; *Ḥasar-shū'al*, "haunt of a fox," Josh. 15:28, &c.; *Sha'albīm*, perhaps "haunt of foxes," Judg. 1:35; *She'alīm*, 1 Sam. 9:4; in the personal name *Shū'al*, 1 Chr. 7:36.

⁸⁷ *'ayyal*, "stag," in the place-name, *'yw-rw-n* = *'Ayyalōn*, "deer-field," 1. Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 712 = *Ayaluna*, Knudtzon, 273:20; Josh. 19:42; Judg. 1:35. 2. Judg. 12:12. *'Opher*, "young hart," in place-names: *'Ophrah*, Josh. 18:23, &c.; *'Ephrōn*, 2 Chr. 13:19; *Har 'Ephrōn*, Josh. 15:9. In personal names: *'Epher*, Gen. 25:4, &c.; *'Ophrah*, 1 Chr. 4:14; *'Ephrōn*, Gen. 23:8, &c.

⁸⁸ *nūn*, "fish," in the personal name, *Nūn*, Ex. 33:11, &c.

⁸⁹ *te'ō*, "antelope," in *Be'er-lehī-te'ō*, "well of (the) jaw-bone of (the) antelope," Gen. 16:14, emended text, see p. 20, note 19.

⁹⁰ *shaphan*, "rock badger," in the personal name *Shaphan*, 2 K. 22:3, &c.

⁹¹ In the place-name *Gē ḥaṣ-Ṣebō'im*, "valley of the hyenas," 1 Sam. 13:18; and in the personal name *Ṣīb'ōn*, Gen. 36:2.

⁹² *namer*, "leopard," in place-names: *Beth-nimrah*, "house of (the) leopard," Num. 32:36; *Mē-Nimrīm*, "waters of (the) leopards," Is. 15:6, &c. Sinaitic personal name *NMRH*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 323.

⁹³ *ḥoled*, "weasel," in personal names: *Ḥeled*, 1 Chr. 11:30 = *Ḥelday*, 1 Chr. 27:15; *Ḥuldah*, 2 K. 22:14; *ḤLDH*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 274.

⁹⁴ *ḥoglah*, "partridge," in the place-name *Beth-ḥoglah*, "house of (the) partridge," Josh. 15:6, and in the personal name *Ḥoglah*, Num.

sparrow,⁹⁶ falcon,⁹⁷ bird of prey,⁹⁸ lizard,⁹⁹ dolphin,¹⁰⁰ worm,¹⁰¹ bee,¹⁰² fly,¹⁰³ flea,¹⁰⁴ hornet,¹⁰⁵ locust,¹⁰⁶ and scorpion.¹⁰⁷

The Deuteronomic construction of the second Commandment forbidding any one to make a graven image in the likeness of anything that is in the heaven or on earth, or in the waters under the earth¹⁰⁸ clearly implies the existence at that time of a heathen cult, long held under the ban by national religion, which was then showing signs of decay.¹⁰⁹ The worship of sacred animals received a great impetus in Egypt about 1300 B. C. Whether this veneration was due to a renewal of the old primitive Egyptian animal cult or to the introduction of the Canaanite cult¹¹⁰ is difficult to determine; but since foreign ideas readily found acceptance in Egypt at that time the latter alternative may be regarded as true. Many places already cited bearing the names of animals surely belong to the pre-Israelite

26:33, &c.; *kōre*, "partridge," in the place-name 'En-haḱ-kōre', "spring of the partridge," Judg. 15:19; and in the personal name *Kōre*, 1 Chr. 9:19, &c.

⁹⁶ *ōreb*, "raven," in the place-name *Šūr-ōreb*, Judg. 7:25. In the personal name, *ōreb*, Judg. 7:25.

⁹⁸ *šippōr*, "sparrow," in personal names: *Šippōr*, Num. 22:2, &c.; *Šippōrah*, Ex. 2:21, &c.

⁹⁷ *'ayyāh*, "falcon," in *'Ayyah*, Gen. 36:24, &c.

⁹⁸ *'ayit*, "bird of prey," in place-names: *Ēṭam*, 2 Chr. 11:6; *Sela' Ēṭam*, "cliff of (the) bird of prey," Judg. 15:8, 11.

⁹⁹ *šab*, "lizard," in the personal name *Šōbēbah*, 1 Chr. 4:8; *ḥomeṭ*, "kind of lizard," in the place-name *Ḥumṭah*, Josh. 15:54.

¹⁰⁰ *tuḥash*, "dolphin," (Arabic, *tuḥas*) in the place-name *Ty-h-sy*, Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 797. In the personal name, *Tuḥash*, Gen. 22:24.

¹⁰¹ *tōla'*, "worm," in the personal name *Tōla'*, Judg. 10:1, &c.

¹⁰² *deborah*, "bee," in the personal name *Deborah*, Gen. 35:8, &c.

¹⁰³ *zebūb*, "fly," in the divine name *Ba'al-zebūb*, 2 K. 1:2, &c.

¹⁰⁴ *par'ōsh*, "flea," in the personal name *Par'ōsh*, Ezr. 2:3, &c.

¹⁰⁵ *šir'āh*, "hornets," in the place-name *Šarḥa*, Knudtzon, 273:21 = *Šar'ah*, Josh. 15:33; and in the personal name *Šerū'ah*, 1 K. 11:26. Cp. Ex. 23:28, where the hornet is referred to as a divine agent in driving out the enemy.

¹⁰⁶ *ḥagab*, "locust," in personal names: *Ḥagab*, Ezr. 2:46; *Ḥagabā'*, Neh. 7:48, probably = *Ḥagabāh*, Ezr. 2:45.

¹⁰⁷ *aḱrab*, "scorpion," in the place-name, *Ma'aleh 'Aḱrabbīm*, Judg. 1:36, &c.

¹⁰⁸ Deut. 4:16 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 357 ff.

¹¹⁰ Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460.

period, and therefore confirm this observation. Gray's analysis of Old Testament proper names is, therefore, very significant at this point. Of the whole number of animal names in the Old Testament about one-third are place-names¹¹¹; one-third are clan-names,¹¹² and therefore old; and the remaining third are of individuals, of which only eight are Hebrews living after the time of David.¹¹³ It is also worthy of notice that all the places, except four, bearing animal names were situated south of Shechem, and mostly in the territory of Judah.¹¹⁴ Meyer comes to the conclusion that this territory was once inhabited by the Horites, and that their practice of naming persons and places after animals accounts for these survivals.¹¹⁵

From the many facts that have been presented in the foregoing the following significant inferences may be drawn: These facts, even exclusive of the personal names, force one to the conclusion that animals were mostly associated with some deity, either directly, or indirectly, through the deity's dwelling-place. For instance, the place where the animal was worshipped was indicated by the animal place-name, or the ritual of the ceremony. Thus the bull, goat, antelope, horse, lion, sheep, gazelle, pig, dove, eagle, jackal, and serpent¹¹⁶ were sacred to some form of the Semitic mother-goddess. She was the *ba'alat* who gave animal increase and who actuated all the animal movements and characteristics revered by man. In regard to the dwelling-places of animal *ba'als* or *ba'alats*, the serpent, kid, antelope, leopard, and partridge are connected with the nomenclature of sacred waters which often were sacred to 'Ashtart; the goat and the stag are connected similarly with mountains usually sacred to the *ba'als*; the lamb, stag, and leopard, with *Beth* places; and the heifer, cow, gazelle, lion, horse, ass, goat, fox, stag, hyena, partridge, lizard, scorpion, and wolf with other sacred places or localities. Certain sanctuaries consecrated certain animals to a holy use. The antelope, bull, ass, heifer, ram, sheep, kid, and pig were sacrificed; the antelope, bull, gazelle, lion, mouse, and

¹¹¹ Gray, p. 112.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 113.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 107.

¹¹⁵ Meyer, § 467.

¹¹⁶ See Barton's list in *Hebraica*, x. pp. 72, 73.

serpent were sometimes kept alive for holy purposes within certain sacred precincts.

Among the Canaanites, as among the Semites generally, there was a marked intimacy between the trio, *deity, man, and beast*. The deity was supreme, and was unique in this trio for he imparted blood, breath, and power to man. Deity created man and beast both out of the dust of the ground,¹¹⁷ gave to both souls which resided in the blood,¹¹⁸ and endowed both with the powers of activity, endurance, reproduction, and, in the cases of the ass and the serpent, with speech. The blood of all sacrificial animals was regarded as sacred to the deity, and could not therefore be eaten.¹¹⁹ In certain physical and instinctive endowments every sacred animal apparently was, in one point or another, superior to man; hence this outstanding excelling characteristic would naturally call forth the reverence and admiration of man. Thus the strength of the bull and of the ass, the ferocity of the lion and of the leopard, the reproductiveness and utility of the ox and of the sheep, the fleetness of the antelope and of the horse, and the subtlety of the serpent were ascribed to the animating *ba'al* or *ba'alat* possessing these animals. Probably each clan named itself after that animal which it chose for a totem, seeking thus to secure for itself the revered characteristic dominant in that animal. Thus the life of the tribe was identified with that of its animal-totem, which unity of life was so close that the life of the latter must be enhanced in order to insure the life of the clan; so that as a consequence the totem-animal was regarded as sacred and might not be eaten. In the amalgamation of tribes, which necessarily followed the periods of conquest and settlement, the totemistic tribal differences persisted with characteristic religious conservatism, and, as a result, the number of sacred or totemistic animals was greatly augmented. Through the lapse of time and the consequent evolution of religious conception these tabooed animals came to be explained as unclean. This is probably the best explanation for the uncleanness which the Hebrews attributed to the pig. Out of the total list of tabooed animals, which the Hebrews explained as unclean,¹²⁰ one-third are found in proper names.

¹¹⁷ Gen. 2:7, 19.

¹¹⁸ Deut. 12:23.

¹¹⁹ Deut. 12:16.

¹²⁰ Deut. 14:7 ff.; Lev. 11:4 ff.

Alongside of this totemistic development there appears to have been a religious conception of quite a different sort, namely, that implicit in the sacramental communal offering, in which the sacred animal is, in a solemn ceremony, eaten with the purpose probably on the part of the worshipper of incorporating, according to the distinctive nature of the animal, physical virtue into his being.¹²¹ This hypothesis would easily account for the "clean" beasts listed in the Hebrew law, of which number nine out of eleven are contained in known proper names.

As the old religion came gradually to be stripped of its material aspects through the ascendancy of spiritual religion, the sanctity which attached to animals either disappeared, or was absorbed into the conceptions of prominent deities, or left its relics in the evidences which have already been cited.

¹²¹ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 124 ff.; Jevons, F. B., *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 96 ff.

CHAPTER XXVII

PANTHEON: GODS OF THE INNER CONSCIOUSNESS

II. The gods of the inner consciousness, which were generally known as *rūhōth*, "spirits," received their deification from the belief that divine powers took possession of men, and manifested themselves through their various emotional and intellectual activities. The gods of this type which are definitely known to have belonged to this period are *Gil*, "rejoicing," and *'On*, "strength." Both appear as elements in personal names: the former in *'Abī-Gail*, "father is Gil,"¹ and *Giloh*,² and the latter in the name of a Canaanite sanctuary *Beth-'On*, "house of 'On," which, for orthodox reasons, was changed to *Beth-'awen*,³ "house of idolatry." The names of a Horite chief,⁴ of a city,⁵ and of two Hebrews⁶ appear also to contain this element.

Other gods of this type are not preserved in proper names, yet we may presume from these instances and from many surviving traces in the Old Testament that all the various mental and emotional states were controlled by their respective presiding genii. Thus the spirits of *ra'ah*,⁷ "evil," *kin'ah*,⁸ "jealousy," *zenūnīm*,⁹ "lusts," *iwe'im*,¹⁰ "errors," *sheker*,¹¹ "lying," *keshath*,¹² "sorrow," *mishpat*,¹³ "judgment," *tar-demah*,¹⁴ "deep sleep," *hokmah*,¹⁵ "wisdom," *gebūrah*,¹⁶

¹ 1 Sam. 25:14; 1 Chr. 2:16 = *'Abī-Gal*, 2 Sam. 17:25.

² Josh. 15:51, &c.

³ Hos. 4:15, &c.

⁴ *'Onam*, Gen. 36:23, &c.

⁵ *'On*, Num. 16:1.

⁶ *'Onam*, 1 Chr. 2:26, 28; *'Onan*, Gen. 38:4, &c.

⁷ Judg. 9:23; 1 Sam. 16:15.

⁸ Num. 5:14.

⁹ Hos. 4:12; 5:4.

¹⁰ Is. 19:14.

¹¹ 1 K. 22:22.

¹² An adjective preceding *ru'ah*: 1 Sam. 1:15.

¹³ Is. 4:4; Mic. 3:8.

¹⁴ Is. 29:10.

¹⁵ Deut. 34:9.

¹⁶ Mic. 3:8.

“might,” *koah*,¹⁷ “power,” *'aph*,¹⁸ “anger,” *paḥad*, “fear,”¹⁹ and probably an indefinite number of similar names may have originally belonged to this list.

¹⁷ Zech. 4:6.

¹⁸ Gen. 30:2, &c.

¹⁹ 31:42, 53.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PANTHEON: DEPARTMENTAL GODS

III. The departmental deities, or gods of human life, generally show, in respect to nature, sphere of activity, and manner of revelation, a marked contrast to the *ba'als* and to the gods of the inner consciousness. Gods of this class, as has been pointed out, presided over all the experiences and events of human life, such as tribal and national affairs, birth, marriage, death, and matters relating to the conduct of life. The most striking contrast between the *ba'als* and the departmental deities is observed in the inability of the former and in the ability of the latter to move from place to place. The *ba'als*—while distinguishable in the Semitic mind from their fetishes—were conceived of as having no activity apart from their abodes; while, on the other hand, the departmental deities, at least those who became tribal gods, were thought of as accompanying the tribe in all its movements. However, this line of cleavage between these two classes of gods is sometimes obscure; but this fact may point to the conclusion that many tribal gods were originally *ba'als*. This is clearly seen in the case of Yahweh, the tribal god of Israel, who was once the *ba'al* of Horeb; and in that of Adad, the storm *ba'al* who, for the Egyptians, became a war-god. The complete change of the functions of a nature-god to a tribal god required, in the instance of Yahweh, centuries of Israel's residence in Canaan.¹ When once Yahweh became native to Canaan, he was no longer the god of Horeb. Gods of this kind, when possessing some authority over a city, were thought to flee if the city suffered a reverse at the hands of its enemies.²

The mobility of a god of this character is seen also in the deity's iconic symbol which he was thought to accompany. Thus, if the city's chief idol was captured, the city was rendered godless. The stolen image of Shamash was as much a boon to

¹ Deut. 33:2; 1 K. 19:8.

² Knudtzon, 134:4 ff.

the robbing king of Hatti as it was a loss to the robbed governor of Katta.³ The healing virtues of Ishtar and the protecting powers of Amon-Re were thought to accompany their respective images: the former being sent to the queen of Egypt,⁴ and the latter being carried by Wenamon on a business trip to Gebal.⁵ Laban's teraphim,⁶ or other portable idols,⁷ Micah's image,⁸ the ark of Israel,⁹ the images which the Philistines carried to battle,¹⁰ and all amulets worn on the person show that the presence of the god accompanied his image, whether carried by friends or stolen by enemies.

The relation of a deity to his tribe was a very close and intimate one. This intimacy and identity of interests is clearly observed in the frequent coincidence of the name of the deity with that of the tribe, for example, Dan, 'Anath, Edom, Esau, Gad, Gathum, Ashur, etc. Often the very name of the tribe expresses an affirmation of deity in respect to its god; as *Yabn'el*, "he who builds is god," *Yisra'el*, *Yishma'el*, *Yōseph'el*, *Yerahme'el*, etc.¹¹ The deity was so intimately a part of his tribe that the misfortune of one involved that of the other. The god was victor or vanquished according as his tribe won or lost in battle. Accordingly we see the reason for the oft-repeated injunction that Israel devote to utter destruction all the hostile tribes of Canaan.¹² It was carried out to the letter, particularly in those instances where the worship of the strange god was thought to be antagonistic to Yahweh. Later the rigidity of the law was softened by various modifications.¹³

This identification of the tribe with its chief deity was based upon kinship or physical blood-relationship. It may be inferred

³ Knudtzon, 55:55 ff.

⁴ *HDB.*, i. p. 181b.

⁵ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 570.

⁶ Gen. 31:19, 29 ff.

⁷ Knudtzon, 129:51.

⁸ Judg. 18.

⁹ 1 Sam. 4:4 ff.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. 5:21.

¹¹ Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 296, 297.

¹² Ex. 23:31-33. Cp. Deut. 13:13 ff. (12 ff.); Josh. 6:21, 24; 8:24 ff.; 10:28; Judg. 20:48; 1 Sam. 15:8; Mic. 4:13.

¹³ Num. 31:7; Deut. 2:34 ff.; 3:6 ff.; 20:13 ff.; Josh. 8:2, 27; Judg. 21:10 ff.

from those instances where the tribes bore the name of its deity that the tribe considered itself descended from a deified eponym. The Moabites are called the sons and daughters of Kemosh,¹⁴ while Israel is Yahweh's son.¹⁵ From the passages, "who say to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth"¹⁶ and "the rock that begat thee . . . god that gave thee birth,"¹⁷ it appears that gods of stocks and stones were commonly thought of in terms of parenthood. Moreover, places of worship were the favorite resorts of those seeking offspring. This boon was promised Jacob at Beth-el and Hannah at Shiloh. The rites of prostitution, so common in connection with the Canaanite sanctuaries, furnish additional evidence for the conclusion that this practice was an outgrowth of the conception that deity was the physical father or mother of man. Finally, the Canaanite personal names containing the elements '*amm*, "paternal uncle,"¹⁸ '*ab*, "father," '*ah*, "brother," '*ben*, "son," and '*bath*, "daughter," express the idea of gods having divine kinship with men.

The relation between the deity and the king is seen in the belief that the divine spirit was literally imparted to the latter when he was anointed for office with the sacred oil.¹⁹ This divine unction communicated super-human wisdom and strength to him for his task of leading his people to battle and of administering justice. In a limited sense the king was divine, and received, as in the place of god, the homage of his subjects. This reverence for the kingly office is clearly observed in David's refusal to lift up his hand against Yahweh's anointed,²⁰ in the king of Aram sending Naaman to the king of Israel for healing,²¹ in an instance in the Amarna letters where the king of Egypt is called *god*,²² in the royal address "my lord, the king,"²³

¹⁴ Num. 21:29.

¹⁵ Is. 1:2 ff.; Hos. 11:1 ff.

¹⁶ Jer. 2:27.

¹⁷ Deut. 32:18.

¹⁸ *Ben-'Ozen*; *Ben-Anath*; *Bint-Anath*, "daughter of Anath," Breasted, *HE*. p. 449; *Ben-Ana*, Knudtzon, 170:37.

¹⁹ See p. 212.

²⁰ 1 Sam. 24:7 (6); 26:11.

²¹ 2 K. 5:5-7.

²² Knudtzon, 152:1; 157:1, &c.

²³ 1 Sam. 24:9 (8); 2 Sam. 14:9, 12.

in the expression used in mourning, "Ah lord,"²⁴ and in the identity of Yahweh's throne with that of the king.²⁵

Deities, in their dealings with men, were benevolent or malevolent according as they were, or were not, fittingly worshipped. If the tribe or any individual of it paid due homage to the chief deity, or to any other deity capable of granting favors, then the deity concerned exhibited his power on behalf of his worshippers. Thus, gods of war gave victory in battle,²⁶ or protection in siege²⁷; gods of fertility, offspring²⁸; and other gods, the gifts of healing,²⁹ "fulness of power,"³⁰ and protection,³¹ etc. The old Canaanite theophorous names are pregnant with meaning in expressing the attributes of deities and their benevolence to man. Thus, the deity is high, exalted, good, kind, strong, noble, friendly, righteous, abundant, delightful, and mighty; while, on the active side, the deity dwells, creates, knows, helps, fills, laughs, saves, sows, hastens, protects, heals, gathers, sees, contends, blesses, and gives joy, deliverance, and strength. On the other hand, if the gods were slighted or disobeyed in any way, the malevolent side of their natures was displayed in sending upon their subjects such misfortunes as barrenness, miscarriage,³² defeat in battle,³³ captivity,³⁴ and death.

The symbolic representations of the departmental gods, as we know especially in the case of 'Ashtart, attained to a degree of embellishment not reached by the sacred stone fetishes; which fact may favor the conclusion that the graven and molten images, so common at the high places, were especially confined to the representations of gods of this class. It is easy to see, however, that the line of cleavage may not always be free from obscurity.

The divine titles and names of gods known at this time, in

²⁴ Jer. 22:18; 34:5.

²⁵ 1 Chr. 28:5; 2 Chr. 9:8.

²⁶ Judg. 11:11, 30, 39.

²⁷ 2 K. 3:27.

²⁸ Gen. 18:1-12; 28:13; 49:25; Ex. 23:26; Judg. 13:7.

²⁹ See pp. 19, 49.

³⁰ Knudtzon, 86:4.

³¹ Gen. 31:29, 33, 42; 46:1 ff.

³² Hos. 9:14; cp. 9:11.

³³ 2 Sam. 24:13.

³⁴ 2 K. 17.

addition to those of the foregoing period, are considered in the following pages.

TITLES. Melek. A god bearing the title *ham-Melek*, "the king," but pointed in the Massoretic text with the *bosheth* vowels to express contempt, as *ham-Molek*,³⁵ was worshipped at least during the latter part of this period; for the Deuteronomist brands this cult as Canaanite,³⁶ and Jeremiah identifies the god with a Canaanite *ba'al*.³⁷ Only two sanctuaries in the Hebrew period are known to have retained the Canaanite cult of *ham-Melek*, namely, *Bamath hat-Tephath*,³⁸ or *Bamath-hab-ba'al*, in the valley of Ben-Hinnom south of Jerusalem,³⁹ and Beth-el.⁴⁰ The distinguishing rite of this cult of making a son or a daughter "to pass through fire to *ham-Melek*,"⁴¹ or "pass over to *ham-Melek*,"⁴² is probably best explained as a devoting of children to the god⁴³ by offering them as burnt-offerings.⁴⁴ The children were probably slain before they were offered, since Jeremiah's reference to the people defiling the valley of Ben-Hinnom with the blood of innocents is mentioned in connection with burning children in the fire,⁴⁵ and since Isaac was to have been slain before he was offered as a burnt-offering.⁴⁶ Moreover, Psalm 106:37, 38 is conclusive: "Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons, and shed innocent blood, Even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan." The deity according to this reference seems to have been represented by an image of some kind before which the offerings of the blood of innocents,

³⁵ Except in 1 K. 11:7 where it is simply *Molek*.

³⁶ 2 K. 16:3; cp. Ps. 106:37, 38.

³⁷ Jer. 19:5.

³⁸ Is. 30:33; Jer. 7:31.

³⁹ Jer. 19:2; 32:35.

⁴⁰ Am. 7:13, "sanctuary of *ham-Melek*."

⁴¹ Deut. 18:10; 2 K. 16:3; 17:17, 31; 21:6; 23:10; Jer. 32:35; Ezek. 20:31; 23:37.

⁴² Lev. 18:21.

⁴³ See Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, and Skinner, in *Century Bible*, on 2 K. 16:3; Frazer, p. 401.

⁴⁴ Ps. 106:37, 38; Jer. 19:5; Ezek. 16:20; cp. Jer. 7:31.

⁴⁵ Jer. 19:2, 4, 5.

⁴⁶ Gen. 22:9, 10.

and the burnt-offerings of children⁴⁷ and the offerings of oil and unguents⁴⁸ were made. Prostitution may have been one of the rites.⁴⁹

There can be no doubt that in the Hebrew period Yahweh came to be identified with *ham-Melek*, and was worshipped under the title "the king" with the rites that originally belonged to the cult of the Canaanite *ham-Melek*. It is significant that Yahweh is often called "king."⁵⁰

It is doubtful if *Milcom*,⁵¹ the god of the Ammonites, whose cult Solomon honored by erecting for it a high place on the "mountain of destruction,"⁵² had anything to do with *ham-Melek*, at least during the Hebrew period. However, the similarity of names *MLK* and *MLKM* possibly intimate an ultimate common origin. It is probable that *MLKM* is a divergent form, a dialectic variation of the original *Melek* or *Milk*, as for example, *Melkart* of Tyre⁵³ and *Malak-bel* of Palmyra.⁵⁴

Adon, "lord," may have been used as a title of deity in the preceding period; but at any rate it appears in this period as an appellation for an otherwise unknown Semitic god whose worship was early widespread throughout the Semitic world.⁵⁵ *Adon* appears in the Amarna personal name *Aduna*⁵⁶ and as a divine title in many personal names in the Old Testament,⁵⁷ and in Phoenician,⁵⁸ Punic,⁵⁹ Nabataean,⁶⁰ and Hebrew⁶¹ inscrip-

⁴⁷ Jer. 19:4, 5.

⁴⁸ Is. 57:9.

⁴⁹ Lev. 20:5; 2 K. 17:17; Ps. 106:39.

⁵⁰ Is. 6:5; 44:6; Jer. 8:19; Mic. 2:13.

⁵¹ 1 K. 11:5, 33; 2 K. 23:13; *Malkam*, 2 Sam. 12:30; 1 Chr. 20:2; Jer. 49:1, 3; Am. 1:15; Zeph. 1:5.

⁵² 1 K. 11:33; 2 K. 23:13. *Milcom* is probably intended for *Molech* in 1 K. 11:7.

⁵³ = *MLK-KRT* = "Milk of (the) city."

⁵⁴ Consult *HDB.* under "Molech"; Benzinger, p. 364; Moore, in *JBL.*, xvi. 1897, pp. 161 ff.; Nowack, ii. pp. 305 ff.; Toy, *Ezekiel*, on 16:21; Cooke, pp. 268 ff., 300.

⁵⁵ See p. 94.

⁵⁶ King of *Irkata*, Knudtzon, 75:25; 140:10.

⁵⁷ *'Adonī-bezek*, Judg. 1:5, &c.; *'Adonī-šedeck*, Josh. 10:1, &c.; *'Adonī-lam*, Ezr. 2:13, &c.; *'Adonī-ram*, 1 K. 4:6, &c.; *'Adonī-Yahū*, 1 K. 1:8, &c.; *'Adonī-Yah*, may have stood originally for *'Arawenah*, 2 Sam. 24:16.

⁵⁸ *'ShMN-ʾDN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 229; *'DN-ʾShMN*, *'DN-BʾL*, p. 208; *'DN-PLT*, *'DN-ShMSh*, p. 209; Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 352.

tions. Moreover, not only was this title, 'Adōnay, applied in many cases directly to Yahweh, but its vowels were applied by the Massoretes, for the purpose of reading, to the ineffable name Yahweh itself.⁶²

Dan, "judge," was also used appellatively for deities since it appears as an element in Assyrian⁶³ and in Amarna⁶⁴ personal names, affirming, in the former, the divine nature of the sun-god Shamash; and, in the latter, that of Adad. Moreover, the place-names *Dan*⁶⁵ and *Maḥaneh-Dan*,⁶⁶ "camp of Dan"—both probably of Canaanite origin—and the tribal name *Dan*⁶⁷ which probably is a hypocoristicon⁶⁸ for some such original compound name as *Dani-'el*⁶⁹ and 'Abi-Dan⁷⁰ add confirming parallels from the Old Testament. A personal name in a Nabataean⁷¹ and another in a Palmyrene inscription⁷² also contain this theophorous element. The title of judge is frequently attributed to Yahweh.⁷³

'Elyōn, "highest," (?) is the title of the unnamed god worshipped by Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem.⁷⁴ As a title it was applied by the Hebrews also to Yahweh.⁷⁵ According to Philo of Byblos⁷⁶ there was a Phoenician deity bearing the name of *Elioun*, called "the most High."

Kōsh, "lord,"⁷⁷ as a divine title is revealed in the river-

⁵⁹ 'DN-BL, Ldzb., HNE., p. 208; 'DN-B'L, Ldzb., EPH. ii. p. 403.

⁶⁰ B'L-'DN, Ldzb., HNE., p. 240.

⁶¹ 'DN-Sh', *ibid.*, p. 209; 'DN-M'Š, Ldzb., EPH. i. p. 352.

⁶² 'Adonay, Gen. 15:2, &c.

⁶³ *Ashur-dan*, *Dayan-Asher*.

⁶⁴ *Addu-dāni*, Knudtzon, 292:3; 295:3.

⁶⁵ Gen. 14:14; cp. *Danya'an* (?), 2 Sam. 24:6.

⁶⁶ Judg. 13:25; 18:12.

⁶⁷ Gen. 30:6; Ex. 31:6, &c.

⁶⁸ Cp. *Amon*, *Jehu*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*.

⁶⁹ "Judge is god," 1 Chr. 3:1, &c.; Ezek. 14:14, &c.

⁷⁰ "Father is Judge," Num. 1:11, &c.

⁷¹ DNY-'L, Ldzb., HNE., p. 256.

⁷² DN-'L, *ibid.*

⁷³ *dayyan*, "judge," 1 Sam. 24:16 (15); Ps. 68:6 (5).

⁷⁴ 'El 'Elyon, Gen. 14:18, &c.

⁷⁵ Num. 24:16; Deut. 32:8; 2 Sam. 22:14; Ps. 7:18 (17), &c.; Is. 14:14; Lam. 3:35, 38.

⁷⁶ Euseb., *Praep. Evang.* i. 36; cp. 'LYN', Ldzb., HNE., p. 341.

⁷⁷ From Arabic Kūs. See Peiser, in *ZAW.*, xvii (1897), pp. 348 ff.

name *Kishōn* mentioned by Thutmose III⁷⁸ and Judges⁷⁹; possibly in the names of the two towns, *Kishyōn*⁸⁰ and *'El-Kōsh*;⁸¹ in those of two Edomite kings⁸²; and in other personal names from Hebrew,⁸³ Nabataean,⁸⁴ and Arabic⁸⁵ sources. *Kusha'* in late times, if not earlier, was a Nabataean deity.⁸⁶

'Addar, "noble," may safely be considered a divine title, since the term is preserved in Palestinian nomenclature beginning as early as the time of Thutmose III⁸⁷ and including later the name of a district of the Amarna period⁸⁸ and place-names mentioned by Sheshonk,⁸⁹ the Old Testament,⁹⁰ and Phoenician inscriptions.⁹¹ Moreover, one Old Testament,⁹² one Phoenician,⁹³ and two Punic⁹⁴ personal names with possible Assyrian⁹⁵ and Babylonian⁹⁶ parallels add confirming evidence.

Ham, "father-in-law," because of its occurrence in four Hebrew personal names,⁹⁷ may have also been a title.

⁷⁸ No. 37, *MVG.*, 1907, p. 16.

⁷⁹ *Judg.* 4:7, &c.

⁸⁰ *Josh.* 19:20, &c.

⁸¹ *Nah.* 1:1.

⁸² *Ka-ush-ma-la-ka*, *Ka-ush-gab-ri*, kings of Edom in the time of Tiglath-pileser III and Esarhaddon respectively, *KAT.*³, p. 472.

⁸³ *Bar-kōs*, *Ezr.* 2:53; *Kūsh-Yahū*, 1 Chr. 15:17 = *Kishī*, 1 Chr. 6:29 (44); *Kish*, 1 Sam. 9:1, &c.

⁸⁴ *KYShW*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 363.

⁸⁵ *Wellh.*, p. 67.

⁸⁶ *KYShH*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 363; *Cooke*, p. 234; *KYSh'*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 363; *Cooke*, p. 219.

⁸⁷ *'d-r.'* = *'Addar*, *Breasted*, *ARE.*, iv. § 716; *'A-ti-ru*, No. 14, *Müller*, in *MVG.*, 1907, p. 11 = *Haṣar-'addar*, "enclosure of Addar," *Num.* 34:4 = *'Addar*, *Josh.* 15:3.

⁸⁸ *Aduri*, *Knudtzon*, 256:24.

⁸⁹ *'d-rw-m'-m*, *Breasted*, *ARE.*, iv. § 712 = *'Adōrayim*, in *Judah*, 2 Chr. 11:9.

⁹⁰ *'Atarōth*, *Num.* 32:34, &c.; *'Aṭarōth-'addar*, *Josh.* 16:5; 18:13 = *'Aṭarōth*, *Josh.* 16:2.

⁹¹ *RSh-'DR*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 370.

⁹² *'Addar*, 1 Chr. 8:3.

⁹³ *'DR-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 209.

⁹⁴ *'DR-B'L*, *'DR-(H)MN*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 209.

⁹⁵ *'Adram-melek*, god of Sepharvaim, 2 K. 17:31; son of Sennacherib, 2 K. 19:37.

⁹⁶ *ZA.*, 1907, pp. 256 ff.

⁹⁷ *Ham*, *Gen.* 5:32, &c.; *Hamū-Tal*, 2 K. 23:31, &c.; *Hem-Dan*, *Gen.* 36:26; *Hammū-'el*, 1 Chr. 4:26.

Besides the special gods who presided over the events of life, namely, 'Ashtart, Ya, She'ol, Ya'akob, and 'Amor, previously treated, whose cults continue through this period, the following gods are to be noticed:

Since 'Ashtart continued to be worshipped throughout this period with increasing popularity, it seems best to notice the evidence and the distinctive features of her cult belonging to this and to the following periods. The appearance of images and plaques of this goddess in all the levels that belong to this period,⁹⁸ if not to the former,⁹⁹ is very significant. Even before the fourteenth century B. C. this goddess, under the name of *Ashirat*, revealed herself at Taanach.¹⁰⁰ Judging from the maternal traits which characterize the image of the mother-goddess found in all the levels throughout Palestine, it may be assumed that her nature remained unchanged from early times. She was the giver of offspring, and therefore answered the prayers of would-be mothers who sought her shrines.¹⁰¹ She required, by the rite of circumcision, the consecration of the male's reproductive powers,¹⁰² and she demanded the sacrifice of the first born of men¹⁰³ and of animals.¹⁰⁴ The function which the early Semites ascribed to the mother-goddess of giving fertility to plant and tree came, through economic causes, to be usurped by the *ba'als*; while the same function in man and animal remained within her sphere of authority, hence the close connection that has already been mentioned between 'Ashtart and the *ba'als*.¹⁰⁵

From her office as mother-goddess to that of patroness of sexual love, the step was only a short one. In this latter rôle her character is most clearly revealed in both literary and archæological sources. In Egypt, whither her cult was carried by Semitic settlers and slaves, she was named "Kedesh," a synonym for temple-harlot; and she was pictured standing naked

⁹⁸ See p. 197.

⁹⁹ See pp. 90 ff.

¹⁰⁰ According to a clay tablet found at Taanach, Sellin, p. 108.

¹⁰¹ This function was absorbed by Yahweh in the case of Jacob, Hannah, Sarah, Rachel, etc. In Phœnicia it was thought that the gods gave seed to men, *CIS.*, i. 3, 11.

¹⁰² See pp. 52, 53.

¹⁰³ See p. 209.

¹⁰⁴ See p. 209.

¹⁰⁵ See pp. 235, 236.

and face-front on a lion, and holding, to symbolize both the peril and charm of her cult, a snake in one hand and a lotus flower in the other.¹⁰⁶ As *Kedesh* her name is preserved in the names of four Canaanite cities which must have been centers of her worship.¹⁰⁷ *Kedesh* appears with *Rashpu* and the old ithyphallic *Min* in an Egyptian triad. In agreement with these representations the images and plaques of 'Ashtart found in all the *tells* represent her naked or thinly veiled, with prominent breasts, adorned with necklace or earrings, or both, often holding a serpent and a flower, and in some cases a tambourine—another symbol of her charm.¹⁰⁸ 'Ashtart, because of her identity in nature and characteristics with the Egyptian goddess of love, naturally became merged with *Hathor*. Thus Hathor was called the queen of Byblos,¹⁰⁹ and was probably the same to the Phoenicians as 'Ashtart. In consequence of this merging, 'Ashtart, as is shown by the pictured wig and head-dress in many images, took on some of Hathor's features; while, on the other hand, Hathor, by being represented with horns, revealed influences of 'Ashtart.

The influence of 'Ashtart, during her supremacy in Canaan, left its traces in Egypt in art motives and monumental records; while in Canaan itself survivals of her cult appear in the name of the ancient city, '*Ashtarti*'¹¹⁰ and in the personal name '*Abd-'Ashtart*'.¹¹¹ Moreover, her cult is often mentioned or implied in the Old Testament. Here her name seldom occurs in the singular but mostly in the plural form '*Ashtarōth*' which, in some cases at least, intentionally identified the local goddesses with 'Ashtart.¹¹² In other cases the name, originally in the singular,

¹⁰⁶ Müller, p. 314.

¹⁰⁷ *Kd-sh*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 308, &c. = *Kidshi*, Knudtzon, 151:60 = *Kedesh*, in Naphtali, Josh. 12:22, &c.; *Kedesh*, in Issachar, 1 Chr. 6:57 (72); *Kedesh*, in South Judah, Josh. 15:23.

¹⁰⁸ See p. 197.

¹⁰⁹ Müller, pp. 189, 314.

¹¹⁰ '*A-s-ti-ra-tu*', Müller, pp. 162, 313 = *Ashtarti*, Knudtzon, 197:10; 256:21 = '*Ashtarōth*', Deut. 1:4; Josh. 9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 31; 1 Chr. 6:56(71) = *Be'eshterah* = *Beth-'Ashtarah*, Josh. 21:27 = *Ashterōth Karnaim*, Gen. 14:5 = *Karnaim*, Am. 6:13 = *Carnaim*, 1 Macc. 5:26; 2 Macc. 12:21.

¹¹¹ Knudtzon, 63:3; *Abdi-Ash(rta)*, 82:23.

¹¹² Judg. 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam. 7:4; 12:10.

was altered for obvious reasons by orthodox scribes. Thus in the text the name was either supplanted by *bosheth*, "shameful thing,"¹¹³ or was vocalized in the last two syllables with the vowels of "bosheth" making it *Ashtōreth*¹¹⁴; or was replaced by *'asherah*, the sacred post that was dedicated to the goddess in the sanctuaries. This was probably carved into revolting shapes,¹¹⁵ and for that reason became later an object of ridicule. The rite of prostitution, so clearly manifest in the early Hebrew times, must have come down from still earlier times. It was participated in both by male and by female prostitutes, whose offices were then not regarded with contempt but with favor as essential functions of religion, as they were elsewhere in the Semitic world.¹¹⁶

'Anath. Considering the warlike nature of this goddess, one would almost expect to find evidence that she was the feminine counterpart of Addu, or Resheph, but such is not forthcoming. The etymology of the name, though doubtful, is best sought in *'anā* in the transitive sense of "to afflict"¹¹⁷; since such a meaning is in perfect harmony with her nature as depicted on the Egyptian monuments where she wields a spear in her right hand and brandishes a club in her left. Once, along with *'Ashtart*, she is called "the shield" of Ramses III.¹¹⁸ A royal war-horse bore the name "*Anath-is-satisfied*"¹¹⁹ and a royal dog, "*Anath-is-protection*."¹²⁰ As early as the time of Thutmose III this goddess was honored at Thebes by a priesthood,¹²¹ but her most marked influence over Egyptian life was exerted from the time of the nineteenth dynasty onward. Her name won favor in the royal family, for Ramses II's daughter bore the name "*Bint-*

¹¹³ Jer. 11:13; Hos. 9:10.

¹¹⁴ 1 K. 11:5.

¹¹⁵ See p. 185. There can be no separate goddess *'Asherah*, as *'Asherah* and *'Ashtarōth* are used interchangeably with *ba'al*. Cp. Judg. 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam. 7:4 with Judg. 3:7 (*'Asherōth*); [1 K. 18:19 (*'Asherah*)]; 2 K. 23:4.

¹¹⁶ See pp. 216 ff.

¹¹⁷ Cp. 1 K. 11: 39; cp. Assy. *enū*, "to do violence to"; Palmyrene *'annī*, "oppress."

¹¹⁸ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 105.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, iii. § 84.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, § 467.

¹²¹ Müller, p. 313.

'Anath.'¹²² Moreover, votive seals, belonging to the reign of the same king, have been found in Egypt in no small numbers.¹²³ Besides being carried to Egypt, probably through Canaanite captives, the cult of this goddess reached Cyprus, where, in a votive inscription as late as the fourth century B. C., she is called the "strength of life."¹²⁴ On Palestinian soil, however, the evidence of her worship is preserved only in Canaanite geographical¹²⁵ and personal¹²⁶ names, which appear first in the time of Thutmose III and continue on through the Amarna period down to the time of Sheshonk. The Old Testament mentions again the place *Beth-'Anath*,¹²⁷ adding another place of the same name from Judah,¹²⁸ besides recording another urban¹²⁹ and two personal namesakes¹³⁰ of the goddess. 'Anath cannot be identified with the Babylonian Anatum, the consort of Anu.¹³¹ A Phoenician goddess also bore the name 'Anath.¹³²

'Edōm, "maker,"¹³³ was a Canaanite god since his name is associated with that of Shamash in the place-name *Shemesh-'Edom*, mentioned in the lists of Thutmose III.¹³⁴ 'Edōm is probably to be identified with the eponym-ancestor of the Edomites.¹³⁵ However, in Egypt, 'Edōm was regarded as a goddess, being mentioned as the wife of Resheph, the lightning

¹²² "daughter of Anath," Breasted, *HE.*, p. 449.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

¹²⁴ *CIS.*, i. 95; Cooke, p. 80.

¹²⁵ *B'-t-'-n-t* = Bēth-Anath, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 114; *Tun-Anat*, Knudtzon, 53:43; *Bēth-Anōth*, Sheshonk's list, No. 124. Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 716.

¹²⁶ *Anati*, Knudtzon, 170:43; *Ben-Anath*, "son of 'Anath," a Syrian sea-captain, Breasted, *HE.*, p. 449.

¹²⁷ Josh. 19:38; Judg. 1:33.

¹²⁸ *Bēth-'Anōth*, Josh. 15:59.

¹²⁹ *'Anathōth*, Is. 10:30; *'Anathōth* instead of *Hannathōn*, Josh. 19:14, cp. LXX *Anathōth*.

¹³⁰ *'Anath*, Judg. 3:31, &c.; *'Anthōthi-Yah*, 1 Chr. 8:24.

¹³¹ Because 1. Anu is not prominent enough in Canaan. 2. Antum is insignificant in Babylonian religion. 3. Reading of Antum is uncertain. 4. Anath has an initial guttural which was unknown in Babylon.

¹³² Ldzb., *HNE.*, pp. 172b, 344.

¹³³ Cp. Assy. *adāmu*.

¹³⁴ *Sh'-my-sh-y-t'-my*, No. 51, Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 783n.

¹³⁵ Smith, *RS.*, p. 42; Gen. 25:30.

god.¹³⁶ The name of this god, or goddess, found expression in the place-name '*-d-m-*' in Naphtali, mentioned in the list of Sheshonk I¹³⁷—a place which may have been included in the country of *Udumu*¹³⁸ mentioned in the Amarna letters; or identical with it; in the Old Testament place-names '*Adamah*,¹³⁹ '*Admah*,¹⁴⁰ '*Adomī-han-nekeb*,¹⁴¹ '*Adam*,¹⁴² and '*Ma'aleh*' '*Adummīm*'¹⁴³; and in Old Testament,¹⁴⁴ Phoenician,¹⁴⁵ and Punic¹⁴⁶ personal names.

'Esaw, "maker," may have been another name or form for 'Edōm just considered for the following reasons: 1. Both 'Esaw and 'Edōm were, according to two separate traditions, the original progenitors of the Edomites.¹⁴⁷ 2. Both names appear to have the same root-meaning. 3. 'Edōm in Egypt was associated with the lightning-god, Resheph,¹⁴⁸ while 'Esaw in Phoenician mythology was connected with the thunderbolt.

To the Phoenicians, according to a myth preserved by Philo Byblos,¹⁴⁹ 'Esaw was known as *Ousoös* who had a quarrel with his twin brother *Hypsuranios*. The twins were mighty sons of Light, Fire, and Flame. Hypsuranios inhabited Tyre and contrived to build huts out of reeds and rushes; while Ousoös was a mighty hunter who not only first made garments from the skins of hunted beasts, but also first discovered the art of ship-building. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this myth is reflected in the story of Jacob's wrestling with the angel. In the original Biblical narrative the wrestling angel was doubt-

¹³⁶ " '*A-tu-ma*, wife of *Rshpu*," Müller, p. 316.

¹³⁷ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 714 = '*Adamah*, Josh. 19:36.

¹³⁸ Knudtzon, 256:24.

¹³⁹ Josh. 19:36.

¹⁴⁰ Gen. 10:19, &c.

¹⁴¹ The pass of '*Adamī*, Josh. 19:33.

¹⁴² Josh. 3:16.

¹⁴³ The ascent of '*Adummīm*, Jos. 15:7, &c.

¹⁴⁴ '*Adam*, Gen. 4:25, &c.; 'Edōm = '*Esaw*, Gen. 25:30; '*Obed-Edom*, "servant of Edom," 2 Sam. 6:10, &c.; '*Abdodom*, LXX 2 Chr. 34:20 for '*Abdōn*.

¹⁴⁵ '*DM-YTN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 208.

¹⁴⁶ '*BD-DM*, *ibid.*, p. 332.

¹⁴⁷ Cp. Gen. 36:9, 43 with 36:1, 8, 19.

¹⁴⁸ See Resheph, p. 237.

¹⁴⁹ Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 10, pp. 34 f.

less none other than the god 'Esaw; and the weaker of the contending warriors, though not clearly stated in the present story, overcame the stronger by a trick.¹⁵⁰

As 'Edōm was regarded as a goddess in Egypt¹⁵¹ so 'Asīth appears to have been the feminine form of 'Esaw. In a votive-offering inscription of the eighteenth dynasty this goddess is associated with Kadesh, and is referred to as 'Ā-sī-ti of the sand (desert).¹⁵² Her picture on a rock in the desert near *Redesieh* represents her true character as a goddess of the chase, riding on a horse and holding a spear in one hand and a shield in the other.¹⁵³ One Old Testament personal name may have come from that of the goddess.¹⁵⁴

Gad, "fortune," was the god of fortune who brought good luck to his worshippers. His cult had a place in the religion of Canaan, Phoenicia,¹⁵⁵ and Arabia.¹⁵⁶ A city near Mount Lebanon bearing the name *Ba'al-Gad*¹⁵⁷ might seem to favor the idea of a *ba'al* of fortune; but since such an idea is foreign to the conception of *ba'al*, the name is better explained with Stade,¹⁵⁸ as referring to the *ba'al* of the territory occupied by the tribe of Gad,¹⁵⁹ as for example, *Ba'al Yehūdah*.¹⁶⁰ The tribe of Gad which "dwelt in the land of 'Ataroth from of old,"¹⁶¹ and which had for its deity the original progenitor Gad,¹⁶² was probably an old Canaanite-tribe adopted into the Israelite confederacy.¹⁶³ Certain places of probable Canaanite origin,¹⁶⁴ and many Semitic personal names surviving in the Old Testa-

¹⁵⁰ Gen. 32:24-30; cp. Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 278.

¹⁵¹ See 'Edōm above.

¹⁵² Müller, p. 317.

¹⁵³ Müller, p. 316.

¹⁵⁴ *Ascith*, LXX for 'Ashwath, 1 Chr. 7:33.

¹⁵⁵ Baethgen, pp. 76 ff.

¹⁵⁶ Nöldeke, in *HERE.*, i. p. 662a; Wellh., p. 146.

¹⁵⁷ Josh. 11:17, &c.; see Paton, in *HERE.*, ii. p. 289 ff.

¹⁵⁸ Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. p. 272n; *HERE.*, ii. p. 289b.

¹⁵⁹ "Land of Gad," 1 Sam. 13:7; cp. Jer. 49:1.

¹⁶⁰ Emended text, 2 Sam. 6:2.

¹⁶¹ *MI.*, 10; Josh. 18:7, &c.

¹⁶² Gen. 30:11, &c.

¹⁶³ Son of Jacob by concubine Zilpah, Gen. 30:10.

¹⁶⁴ *Migdal-Gad*, "tower of Gad," Josh. 15:37; *Ba'al-Gad*, Josh. 11:17; *Dibon-Gad*, Num. 33:45, 46.

ment,¹⁶⁵ in Assyrian documents of the time of Sargon,¹⁶⁶ in Phoenician,¹⁶⁷ Punic,¹⁶⁸ Neo-Punic,¹⁶⁹ Aramaic,¹⁷⁰ Palmyrene,¹⁷¹ Nabataean,¹⁷² and Hebrew¹⁷³ inscriptions—all bearing the name of this god as a prominent element—show the widely extended influence of the worship of this god of fortune. As late as the Exile, Hebrew idolaters preferred to forsake Yahweh and his holy hill for preparing tables with sacrifices to Gad.¹⁷⁴

Saray, or Sarah, "princess," may have had some connection with *Sharratu*, "queen," a title of the consort of the lunar god Sin of Haran,¹⁷⁵ not only because the names are similar, but also because Haran is the traditional source whence sprang the Aramaean migration of which the Sarah-tribe was a part.¹⁷⁶ Her worship came to be localized in a sacred cave at Hebron, where she was worshipped by the Hebrews and was later regarded by them as a tribal ancestress.¹⁷⁷ Possibly her name exists in the tribal name *Yisra-'el*¹⁷⁸ and in the personal names *Sera-Ya*¹⁷⁹ and *'Aḥi-Shar*.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, it is worthy of note that during the Persian period, the Nabataeans dwelling in North Arabia especially at Petra, and in the Hauran at Adra'a and Bostra, had for their chief god and associated goddess *Dhu-Sharā*, "possessor of Shara," and *Saryat* respectively.¹⁸¹ *Dusares* of Petra was a *ba'al* who was thought to dwell in a black

¹⁶⁵ *Gadī*, 2 K. 15:14, 17; *Gaddī*, Num. 13:11; *Gaddī-'el*, Num. 13:10; *'Az-Gad*, Ezr. 2:12, &c.

¹⁶⁶ *Gadī-Yā*, *Gadī-Ya*, *Gadā*, *Gada-'*, *Gadī-ilu*, *Gadī-a*, *Gadī-i'*, *KAT.*³, pp. 479, 480.

¹⁶⁷ *GD-ShD*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 249; *GD-RM*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 353.

¹⁶⁸ *GD-NM*, *GD-N'M*, *GD-N'MT*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 249.

¹⁶⁹ *GD-HShMM*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 353.

¹⁷⁰ *GD-'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 248; *GD-NBW*, *ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁷¹ *GD-'T'*, *GD-RŠW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 249; *GD-'T'()*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 414.

¹⁷² *GD-TB*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 248.

¹⁷³ *Gaddī*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 405.

¹⁷⁴ Is. 65:11.

¹⁷⁵ *KAT.*³, p. 364.

¹⁷⁶ Gen. 12:5.

¹⁷⁷ Gen. 16:1, &c.

¹⁷⁸ Gen. 47:27, &c.

¹⁷⁹ 2 Sam. 8:17, &c.

¹⁸⁰ 1 K. 4:6.

¹⁸¹ Cooke, p. 218; *CIS.*, ii. 197.

rectangular stone block, and through it to receive libations of blood. Whether *Sary* was the name of a fetish or of a locality is not known. In support of the latter view, however, three Arabic place-names may be cited.¹⁸² It may be that this *ba'al* as well as his consort was, in name at least, a survival of the old Canaanite *Saray*.

Yishak, "the laughter," was the *numen* of the sacred "well of seven" at Beer-sheba. He was possibly otherwise styled 'El-'ōlam, "god of old time." He appears to have been an oath-witnessing and covenant-confirming god; and one who created, by a peculiar laugh, a terrible dread among his enemies¹⁸³ and a feeling of protection among his worshippers.¹⁸⁴

Sheol, "underworld," the Canaanite equivalent of the Sumerian *Aralū*,¹⁸⁵ was the god of the underworld.¹⁸⁶ The name found expression in the old Canaanite place-names *Beth-Sheol*, "(the) house of Sheol," and *Mi-Sh'al*, "(the) place of Sheol,"¹⁸⁷ in the name of a sacred hill connected with early Hebrew history¹⁸⁸ as well as in the personal name *Shà'ul*,¹⁸⁹ a native of the same place, and two other Hebrew personal names.¹⁹⁰ The frequent poetic personifications of Sheol, whether alone or in parallelism with *Death*, or the *Pit*, betray a lingering influence of the cult of this god.

Mūth, "death," was another Canaanite name for the god of the underworld. This is shown by the use of *mūth* as a personification in the Old Testament¹⁹¹ and by the occurrence of

¹⁸² Wellh. pp. 48 ff.

¹⁸³ Whence "Fear of Isaac," Gen. 31:42, 53; see Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 254 ff.

¹⁸⁴ *yishak* = "he laughs," ep. Gen. 21:6.

¹⁸⁵ See p. 129.

¹⁸⁶ *Ba-ti-sha'-ra*, Thutmose III's list, No. 110, Müller, p. 193; *MVG.* 1907, p. 29 = *B'-t-sh'-r'*, Ramses III's list, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 114 = *Bct-sha-el*, Sheshonk's list, Müller, pp. 164, 192.

¹⁸⁷ *Mi-sh-'a-ra* = *Mi-Sh'al*, No. 39, Müller, p. 181.

¹⁸⁸ *Gib'ath-Sha'ul*, "(the) hill of Sheol," (1 Sam. 11:4; 15:34; Is. 10:29) which according to 1 Sam. 10:5, is the same as *Gib'ath-ha-'elohim*, "the hill of God."

¹⁸⁹ Saul, 1 Sam. 9:2, &c.

¹⁹⁰ *Methū-Sha'el*, Gen. 4:18; *Mi-Sha'el*, Ex. 6:22, &c.

¹⁹¹ As *Maweth*, see pp. 131, 133.

this element in proper names. The name is an element in the Canaanite personal name *Mut-ba'lu*¹⁹²; in the Canaanite place-name *Yar-Mūth*¹⁹³; in the Old Testament place-names '*Az-Maweth*,¹⁹⁴ or *Beth-'az-Maweth*,¹⁹⁵ which may also be Canaanite, and in the Hebrew personal names '*Ahī-Mōth*¹⁹⁶ and *Yerī-Mōth*.¹⁹⁷ Mūth cannot have had anything to do with the Egyptian goddess of the same name, because the latter attained to little importance in her own land, to say nothing of Palestine where even the more important Egyptian gods never left so much as a trace of their influence in the nomenclature. There was a god of this name also among the Phoenicians.¹⁹⁸

Bala-'el, the "god who swallows," or *Bela-'el*, "god of destruction," according to a justifiable correction of *Belīya'al*, "without use," in the Massoretic text, was the name for the ruler of the underworld used by the Hebrews as is shown by its occurrence in poetic parallelism with *Mūth*.¹⁹⁹ Possibly the Old Testament personal name *Bela'*²⁰⁰ bears the god's name.

Šūr, "rock," came to be deified probably because a rock was dedicated as the conventional abode of a *numen*. In many Old Testament passages *Šūr* is a designation of Yahweh,²⁰¹ and in others, of a heathen god²⁰²; while in many other passages it is used as a figure of God's defense and support of his people. Further evidence confirming the existence for this divinity arises from the occurrence of *Šūr* in the Phoenician place-names *Šurru*,²⁰³ and *ŠRY*,²⁰⁴ in the Old Testament place-names, *Beth-*

¹⁹² "Death is lord," Knudtzon 256:2, 5.

¹⁹³ Josh. 10:3, &c.

¹⁹⁴ Ezr. 2:24.

¹⁹⁵ Neh. 7:28.

¹⁹⁶ 1 Chr. 6:10 (25).

¹⁹⁷ 1 Chr. 7:7, &c.

¹⁹⁸ Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 38.

¹⁹⁹ 2 Sam. 22:5, 6 = Ps. 18:5, 6 (4, 5).

²⁰⁰ Gen. 36:32, &c.

²⁰¹ Deut. 32:4, 15, 18, 31, 37; 1 Sam. 2:2; 2 Sam. 22:32, 47; 23:3; Ps. 31:4 (3); 62:7, 8 (6, 7), &c.; Is. 17:10; 44:8; Hab. 1:12.

²⁰² Deut. 32:31; 1 Sam. 2:2; 2 Sam. 22:32; Is. 44:8.

²⁰³ In Tell el Amarna Letters; = Egyptian *Da-ru*, Müller, p. 185; = *Šūr* (Tyre), 2 Sam. 5:11, &c.

²⁰⁴ *ŠRY*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 359.

Šūr, "house of Šūr,"²⁰⁵ and Šer²⁰⁶; and in Old Testament,²⁰⁷ Punic,²⁰⁸ Aramaic,²⁰⁹ personal names.

Kemōsh may have been originally a Canaanite god; since the name is contained in *Mi-Kmash*, "place of Kemōsh."²¹⁰ He appears later as the Moabite national god,²¹¹ being mentioned on the Moabite stone.²¹² For this cult Solomon erected a high place.²¹³

Kin, or Kūn, offers evidence of being a deity, since the name, or its variations, occurs in the Canaanite place-name *Kunēa*²¹⁴ and the personal name *Kin-Anat*²¹⁵; in the Old Testament place-names *Kinah*²¹⁶ and *Kanah*²¹⁷; in *Kain*,²¹⁸ the eponym of the Kenites; in Old Testament,²¹⁹ Nabataean,²²⁰ and Sinitic²²¹ personal names; and in the name of a Sabæan divinity.²²²

Sedek, "righteousness," was at first a god, but later he appears to have become the mere attribute of some god or other. *Šedek* is often used as an attribute of Yahweh.²²³ Evidence for the existence of this god is found in the Amarna personal name *Rab-Zidki*,²²⁴ in the Canaanite personal names 'Adōnī-Šedek,²²⁵ and *Malki-Šedek*,²²⁶ and in other personal names from Assy-

²⁰⁵ Josh. 15:58.

²⁰⁶ Šer, place-name, Josh. 19:35.

²⁰⁷ Šūr, Num. 25:15, &c.; Šūrī-'el, Num. 3:35; Šūrī-shadday, Num. 1:6, &c.; 'Elī-Šūr, Num. 1:5.

²⁰⁸ ŠR, ŠR-BM, Ldzb., HNE., p. 359.

²⁰⁹ BR-ŠR, Zenjirli, Panammu Insc. 1.

²¹⁰ 1 Sam. 13:2, &c.

²¹¹ Baethgen, pp. 13 ff., 238, 256.

²¹² Lines 3, 5, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17-19, 32, 33.

²¹³ 1 K. 11:7, 33; 2 K. 23:13; Jer. 48:7.

²¹⁴ Knudtzon, 37:22.

²¹⁵ Breasted, HE., p. 353.

²¹⁶ Josh. 15:22.

²¹⁷ Josh. 19:28.

²¹⁸ Gen. 4:1, &c.; Judg. 4:11, &c.

²¹⁹ Kēnān, Gen. 5:13, &c.

²²⁰ KYNW, Ldzb., HNE., p. 362.

²²¹ KYNW, *ibid.*

²²² KYNN, CIS., iv. 8, 2.

²²³ Jer. 23:6; 33:16.

²²⁴ Knudtzon, 170:37.

²²⁵ Josh. 10:1, 3.

²²⁶ Gen. 14:18.

ian,²²⁷ Old Testament,²²⁸ Moabite,²²⁹ Phoenician,²³⁰ Neo-Punic,²³¹ Aramaic,²³² and Sabæan²³³ sources.

Because of the frequent appearance of certain elements in proper names in the same relations with other accompanying elements as in well-known theophorous names, there is justification for the existence of the following deities: 'Ezer, "help," in Old Testament,²³⁴ Phoenician,²³⁵ Punic,²³⁶ Aramaic,²³⁷ and Hebrew²³⁸ personal names; Palet in the place-name *Beth-Palet*²³⁹ and in many Old Testament²⁴⁰ and one Phoenician²⁴¹ personal name; 'Ad, or 'Adah, "ornament," in the place-name 'Am-'Ad²⁴² and in several Old Testament personal names²⁴³; Hud, "majesty," in many Old Testament personal names²⁴⁴; and Urash.²⁴⁵

²²⁷ *Zu-bi-si-id-ki*; *Si-id-ki-ilu*, Assy. eponym of 764 B. C., *KAT.*^a, p. 474.

²²⁸ *Sidkī-Yahū*, 2 K. 24:17, &c.; *Ṣadōk*, 2 Sam. 8:17, &c. *Yehō-Ṣadaḳ*, 1 Chr. 5:40 (6:14), &c.

²²⁹ *KMSH-ṢDK*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 297.

²³⁰ *ṢDK-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 357.

²³¹ *ṢDK*, *ibid.*, p. 357.

²³² *ṢDK-RMN*, *ibid.*

²³³ *ṢDK*, *CIS.*, iv. 287, 1, 2.

²³⁴ 'Ezer, Neh. 3:19, &c.; 'Ezer, 1 Chr. 7:21, &c.; 'Ezra', Ezr. 7:1, &c.; 'Ezrah, 1 Chr. 4:17, &c.; 'Azzūr, Jer. 28:1, &c.; 'Azar-'el, 1 Chr. 12:6, &c.; 'Azrī-'el, Jer. 36:26, &c.; 'Azar-Yah(ū), 2 K. 15:6, &c.; 'Ezrī, 1 Chr. 27:26; 'Azrī-ḫam, 1 Chr. 3:23, &c.

²³⁵ 'ZR, 'ZR-B'L, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 338; 'ShMN-'ZR, *ibid.*, p. 229; 'ZR, Ldzb., *EPH.*, ii. p. 409.

²³⁶ 'ZR-B'L, 'ZR-B'L, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 338; 'ZR, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 358; *MLKRT*-'ZR, *ibid.*, p. 357; B'L-'ZR, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 241.

²³⁷ B'L-'ZR, *ibid.*, p. 241.

²³⁸ 'ZR, 'ZR-YHW, *ibid.*, p. 338, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 358; 'L-'ZR, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 218.

²³⁹ *Bēth-Palet*, "house of Palet," Josh. 15:27, &c.

²⁴⁰ *Pelet*, 1 Chr. 2:47, &c.; *Paltī*, Num. 13:9, &c.; *Piltay*, Neh. 12:17; *Paltī*-'el, 2 Sam. 3:15 = *Paltī*, 1 Sam. 25:44; *Pelaṭ-Yah(ū)*, Ezek. 11:1 &c.; *Yaphlet*, 1 Chr. 7:33.

²⁴¹ 'DN-PLT, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 209.

²⁴² 'Am-'Ad, Josh. 19:26.

²⁴³ 'Adah, Gen. 4:19; 'Ada-Yah(ū), 2 Chr. 23:1, &c.; 'Adī-'el, 1 Chr. 4:36, &c.; 'Iddō('), 1 K. 4:14, &c.; Yō-'Ed, Neh. 11:7; 'El-'Ad, 1 Chr. 7:21; 'El-'Adah, 1 Chr. 7:20.

²⁴⁴ 'Abī-Hūd, 1 Chr. 8:3; 'Aḥī-Hūd, Num. 34:27; *Abioud*, LXX for 'Abī-Yah, 1 Chr. 7:8; 'Ish-Hōd, 1 Chr. 7:18; 'Ammī-Hūd, 2 Sam. 13:37, &c.; Hōd, 1 Chr. 7:37; *Hōda-we-Yahū*, 1 Chr. 3:24, &c.; *Hōd-Yah*, Neh. 7:43; *Hōdī-Yah*, 1 Chr. 4:19, &c.

²⁴⁵ *Abdī-Urash*, "servant of Urash," Knudtzon, 170:36.

The deified shades of the dead were in this period regarded with the same reverence and awe as had been accorded them in the former period²⁴⁶; only the fact stands out more distinctly now that certain sanctuaries came to be especially hallowed because they contained the graves of certain prominent heroes who probably later were worshipped as ancestors. There is no evidence to show that Canaanite religion originated in the cult of the dead or of ancestors. No grave, not even that of a hero, could be the origin of a holy place; but, on the other hand, the evidence points in the opposite direction that holy places were the most fitting burying places for the dead; and as time went on the memory of great deeds of heroes exalted their shades to the position of gods. Thus at certain tombs, such as that at Hebron, the spirits of ancestors were thought to linger and to receive the prayers of inquiring souls. The fact that most sacred tombs, at that time as well as in modern times, were situated on the tops of hills and mountains only confirms the assertion already made, that holy places determined the location of graves, because hill-tops were the most popular locations of the high places.

Yoseph, the father of Ephraim and Manasseh, became the *numen* of a sacred tomb probably situated on the holy plot of ground at Shechem.²⁴⁷ The name appears in the list of Thutmose III as that of a city, or of a district,²⁴⁸ in what was later known as Mount Ephraim, and, therefore, stood in some connection with the tradition of Joseph's inheritance and burial at Shechem. There may possibly be a reference to this cult in the expressions: "house of Yōseph,"²⁴⁹ "remnant of Yōseph,"²⁵⁰ and "affliction of Yōseph."²⁵¹ The name *'El-Yasaph* is suggestive.²⁵²

Saray, 'Abram, Yishak, Ya'akob, and possibly Le'ah and Ribkah, the eponymous ancestors and ancestresses of well-known old Aramæan tribes, were undoubtedly regarded as divine

²⁴⁶ See pp. 103 ff.

²⁴⁷ Gen. 48:22; 50:25; Josh. 24:32; see Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 288, 289, 292.

²⁴⁸ *Y-sha-p-'a-ra*, Müller, pp. 162 f.; Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 131.

²⁴⁹ Am. 5:6.

²⁵⁰ 5:15.

²⁵¹ 6:6.

²⁵² Num. 1:14, &c.

shades, and were worshipped as such at the traditional tomb of Machpelah.²⁵³

Rahel, "ewe," the mother of the tribes of Joseph and Benjamin, was the *numen* of the sacred tomb at Ephrath on the northern border of Benjamin, being worshipped through the medium of a standing pillar²⁵⁴ and possibly through some ritual of weeping.²⁵⁵

Deborah, "bee," another *numen* of a tomb below Beth-el, appears to have been worshipped through the medium of a holy oak and a ritual of weeping, whence came the name 'Allōn-bakūth, "oak of weeping."²⁵⁶

Many other places were hallowed by old tombs of renowned heroes or tribal ancestors whose *numina* were undoubtedly consulted on behalf of the living. Thus Miryam was worshipped at Kadesh²⁵⁷; 'Aharon, at Mōserah²⁵⁸; Mosheh, at Nebō²⁵⁹; Yisra-el, at 'Abel-miṣraim²⁶⁰; 'Elon, at 'Ayyalōn²⁶¹; 'Ibsan, at Beth-Lehem²⁶²; 'El-'Azar, at Gib'ath-phīnehas²⁶³; Ya'ir, at Kamōn²⁶⁴; Manōah and Shimshōn, at Maḥaneh-Dan²⁶⁵; 'Abdōn, at Pir'athōn²⁶⁶; and Tola', at Shāmīr.²⁶⁷

²⁵³ Gen. 49:30, 31.

²⁵⁴ Gen. 35:16-20; 48:7; 1 Sam. 10:2.

²⁵⁵ Jer. 31:15.

²⁵⁶ Gen. 35:8.

²⁵⁷ Num. 20:1.

²⁵⁸ Deut. 10:6.

²⁵⁹ 34:1, 5.

²⁶⁰ Gen. 50:10, 11.

²⁶¹ Judg. 12:12.

²⁶² 12:10.

²⁶³ Josh. 24:33.

²⁶⁴ Judg. 10:5.

²⁶⁵ 16:31.

²⁶⁶ 12:15.

²⁶⁷ 10:2.

CHAPTER XXIX

PANTHEON: FOREIGN CULTS

Foreign gods, whose cults entered Palestine as a result of the incursion of peoples from the north and of Egyptian supremacy, belong also to that class of deities known as gods of the events of life.

The **Hittites** left no traces of their religion in Canaan except in the name of one of their gods, namely, **Hiba**,¹ found in the Amarna personal names *Abdi-Hiba*² and *Hibi-Ya*.³ The name may possibly survive in an Old Testament personal name.⁴

Egyptian Influence, at least of a political sort, made considerable impression upon Canaan during this period. It began when Egypt threw off the yoke of the Hyksos kings, and when the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties through their untiring energy brought all of Syria and Palestine under their sway. Several kings proudly placed their inscriptions on the perpendicular rock-surfaces at the mouth of the *Nahr el-Kelb* near Beirūt. Seti I set up a votive stele at *Tell esh-Shināb* near Damascus,⁵ and Ramses II erected a monument, now called the "Stone of Job," cast of the Sea of Galilee at a place now called *Sheik Sa'd*.⁶ The excavations have brought to light numerous objects of Egyptian culture which agree with the facts that the monuments reveal about Egyptian supremacy in Canaan. These objects, which were numerous at Gezer, particularly in the levels belonging to the Second and the Third Semitic periods (1800-1000 B. C.), are the following: A statue of a seated figure three feet high, together with other objects found in an Egyptian house⁷; a granite statuette of a seated figure four inches high

¹ *OLZ.*, 1911, col. 341.

² Knudtzon, 285:2, &c.

³ 178:2.

⁴ *Hobay-Yah*, Ezr. 2:61.

⁵ *PEFQS.*, 1904, p. 78.

⁶ *ZDPV.*, xiv. p. 142; Baedeker, p. 159.

⁷ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 307.

on which was an inscription by Heqab to the king and to *Ptah-Sotar*⁸; a funeral statue on which was an inscription by *Dudu-Amen* expressing thanksgiving to Osiris, "the living lord who gives sepulchral feasts, clothes, divine incense, and wax"⁹; various images and amulets of gods enumerated below; statuettes in bronze, ivory, and stone; a richly ornamented incense-burner; several alabaster, ivory, and pottery objects; quantities of scarabs; and all kinds of amulets.¹⁰ The favorable position of Gezer, which is situated on the edge of the Philistine plain, undoubtedly explains why Egyptian objects of culture were found there in greater abundance than elsewhere; however, other excavations also make a contribution, though of lesser importance. Thus an idol, besides several other images of gods, was found at Lachish¹¹; a considerable number of scarabs at Megiddo,¹² Lachish,¹³ and Beth-shemesh¹⁴; several Horus eyes at Megiddo,¹⁵ Taanach,¹⁶ Lachish,¹⁷ and Beth-shemesh¹⁸; and amulets at Megiddo,¹⁹ Taanach,²⁰ Lachish,²¹ and Beth-shemesh.²²

After all the evidence has been submitted, the only fair-minded conclusion to which one may come is that Egyptian religion made merely a superficial impression on the religious conceptions of the Canaanites, with the possible exception of the fusion of the natures of 'Ashtart and Hathor and the consequent coloring which each gave to the other as shown in their iconic representations found respectively in Egypt and Canaan. Most of the remains, bearing a superficial Egyptian character, may easily be accounted for by the fact that, during the Egyptian supremacy in Palestine, Egyptian officials, soldiers, and

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 311 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 312 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 313 ff.

¹¹ See below.

¹² Schumacher, p. 8, fig. 124.

¹³ Bliss, p. 79.

¹⁴ *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 61 ff., 69, 72, 73.

¹⁵ Schumacher, p. 88, fig. xxviii, c.

¹⁶ Sellin, p. 111.

¹⁷ Bliss, p. 80, fig. 158.

¹⁸ *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 60 ff.

¹⁹ Schumacher, p. 88, fig. xxviii, b.

²⁰ Sellin, p. 111.

²¹ Bliss, p. 40.

²² *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 60 ff.

residents made their home in Canaan. It is evident, then, that the religion of Canaan was of that virile and conservative type which admitted no compromise with foreign cults.²³

Amon-Re, the sun-god, the creator and dispenser of nourishment, came into prominence with the ascendancy of Thebes at the beginning of the Middle Empire, and continued to be the chief god of the kingdom while Thebes held the scepter of power. During the palmiest days of Egyptian supremacy in Palestine and Syria, the conquering Pharaohs introduced into the Asiatic dependencies the enforced worship of Amon-Re, which had a superficial character, since it was associated in the minds of the people with the Egyptian extortion of tribute. At Amon-Re's annual feast of Opet, Thutmose III presented the god with three captured towns of southern Lebanon.²⁴ Such a worship existed at Tyre²⁵; at Tunip where the people declared that the gods and the wood(en) *naprillan* of the king of Egypt dwelt²⁶; at Gebal, where the forefathers of the kings continually sacrificed to Amon²⁷; at Taanach, where a tablet bearing the name *Amon* was found²⁸; and in the land of Zahi where Ramesses III built "a mysterious house" (temple) in which was placed a "fashioned statue" of the "divine" Amon to which "the Asiatics of Retenu came—bearing their tribute."²⁹ Rib-Addi of Gebal, out of respect to the Pharaoh, in more than one letter prays to "Amon the gods of the king."³⁰ Twice he associates the god with the *ba'alat* of Gebal³¹ whom he once connects with *Shamash*, the Semitic sun-god³²; thus showing an identity of natures of the two gods Amon and Shamash. This is accidentally shown again in an instance where Abimilki addresses Pharaoh as *Shamash* when thinking of Amon.³³ It appears to have been customary for the Pharaoh, when confer-

²³ Müller, p. 309.

²⁴ Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 557.

²⁵ Knudtzon, 149:6 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 59:9, 10.

²⁷ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 580.

²⁸ *A-mu-na*, Sellin, p. 120.

²⁹ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

³⁰ Knudtzon, 71:4 ff.; 86:3 ff.

³¹ 87:5 ff.; 95:3 ff.

³² 116:62 ff.

³³ 149:6 ff.

ing an honor upon a friend or when soliciting a favor from a subject prince, to send him as a present an image of Amon. Thus Wenamon, a messenger of Hrihor, the high priest of Amon at Thebes, takes an image called "Amon-of-the-way" to the king of Gebal in order to secure his favor in obtaining cedar-wood.³⁴ With the waning of Egyptian authority in Palestine the cult of Amon passed away, only the faintest traces of his influence remaining in the place-name *Amon-hatbi*³⁵ and in the Amarna personal names *Pen-Amon*³⁶ and *A(m)an-(masha)*³⁷ and in the Old Testament personal name 'Amōn.³⁸

The cult of the *Pharaoh* was the result of the enforced worship in Canaan of Amon-Re, of whom the Pharaoh thought himself to be an incarnation. A temple in Phoenicia was the official place where the subject princes had to avow every year their loyalty to their sovereign lord, the king, by bowing down before the image of the Pharaoh³⁹ and making offerings to it. A satisfactory act of worship, particularly when a rebellious city wished to surrender to the besieging army of the Pharaoh, was the burning of incense in a censer exhibited from the top of the city-walls.⁴⁰ The Syrian princes in most of their letters to the king use language expressive of worship. Thus Widia of Askelon says, "To the king, my lord, my god, my sun, the sun of the sky, thus Widea . . . speaks, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the stable-slave of thy horse, at the feet of the king, my lord, I bowed down seven times and seven times, way down with belly and back."⁴¹ Zimridi of Sidon writes, "To the king, my lord, my god, my sun, the breath of my life, etc."⁴² Abimilki of Tyre says "O king, my lord, as the sun, as Adad in the sky thou art."⁴³ Again the Pharaoh is often called "the son of Shamash," i. e., the sun,⁴⁴ which is an attempt to translate the

³⁴ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 569 ff.

³⁵ Knudtzon, 185:11.

³⁶ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. p. 284.

³⁷ Knudtzon, 113:43.

³⁸ 1 K. 22:26, &c.; cp. 'Amōn, 2 Sam. 3:2, &c.

³⁹ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

⁴⁰ Müller, p. 305.

⁴¹ Knudtzon, 320:1 ff. and six other Letters.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 144:1 ff.; cp. 143:1 ff.

⁴³ 149:4 ff.

⁴⁴ 55:1.

Egyptian title "son of Re." This ludicrous inconsistency of styling Pharaoh both "sun" and "son of the sun" furnishes another indication that the devotees of the Pharaoh did not enter into their worship of Amon-Re, or his incarnations at all heartily, and were glad at the first opportunity to prove traitorous to this kind of religion.

A prayer to the king as a god, in association with Ptah-Sotar, the artificer-god, was inscribed on an Egyptian statuette of the twelfth dynasty found at Gezer⁴⁵; which shows that at least some loyal Egyptian faithfully rendered divine homage to the ruling Pharaoh.

Hathor, the goddess of love, having in nature much in common with 'Ashtart, came early to have no small place in the religious regard of the Canaanites, or at least of her Egyptian devotees living in Canaan, as is shown by the representations of Hathor alone or in combination with 'Ashtart in images and plaques discovered in nearly all the excavations.⁴⁶ These images of 'Ashtart variously represented in Egyptian fashion like Hathor with a wig or headdress, or holding lotus flowers, a serpent, or a tambourine, indicate to what extent the conceptions of Hathor influenced those of 'Ashtart. In the same connection it is interesting to note that the *ba'alat* of Gebal was pictured similarly as Hathor with the sun-disk between her horns.⁴⁷ This identification of the two goddesses obtained also in Egypt, where the *ba'alat* of Gebal was known as *Hathor of Gebal*⁴⁸ and where the worship of 'Ashtart in her varying forms found fertile soil for growth.

Bes, the Egyptian name for some unknown Semitic god, after entering the Egyptian pantheon from Canaan at an early date,⁴⁹ took on many Egyptian features, and returned to Canaan again as a grotesque bearded dwarf-god. He is portrayed with long ears and arms, bandy legs, a tail, and a feathered crown. His cult was especially popular in southern Palestine since amulet-images of him, with the exception of one at Taanach,⁵⁰ have

⁴⁵ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 311 ff.

⁴⁶ See p. 197.

⁴⁷ Müller, p. 314.

⁴⁸ Meyer, § 357.

⁴⁹ See p. 101.

⁵⁰ Sellin, p. 105.

been found mostly in the southern *tells*, namely, Tell eš Šāfi,⁵¹ Tell el Hesiy,⁵² Gezer,⁵³ and Beth-shemesh.⁵⁴

Osiris, the lord of the nether-world, is addressed in a prayer, inscribed by *Dudu-Amen* of Gezer on a funeral statue, expressing thanksgiving for the gifts of "sepulchral feasts, clothing, divine incense, and wax."⁵⁵

Likewise, Ptah-Sotar, the artificer-god, is addressed in a prayer by *Heqab*, inscribed on a funerary statue of granite belonging to the time of the twelfth dynasty found at Gezer.⁵⁶ Moreover, the same god is represented in a bronze image four inches high found at Lachish⁵⁷ and also by three amulets.⁵⁸

Other Egyptian deities exerted some influence in Canaan, as is shown by a few statuettes and amulets found in various places. These are Ushabti⁵⁹; Sekhet⁶⁰; Khuun⁶¹; Isis alone,⁶² or with Horus,⁶³ or Nephthys⁶⁴; and Taurt.⁶⁵

Scarabs,⁶⁶ pendants, amulets, and divine eyes,⁶⁷ which were found with more or less regularity throughout the Canaanite and Hebrew levels in all the *tells*, were carried on the person and were cherished with some of the same regard that was accorded the images of the gods themselves. The virtue which the possessor fancied them to possess was that of tempering baleful influences, keeping off the evil eye, and giving confidence in expecting personal good fortune.

⁵¹ Six figures in paste, Bliss and Macal., p. 40.

⁵² A charm, Bliss, p. 40.

⁵³ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 326, 328, 331, 332, 403.

⁵⁴ *PEFA.*, ii. p. 60.

⁵⁵ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 312.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 311 ff.

⁵⁷ Bliss, p. 67, fig. 110.

⁵⁸ One in the fourth stratum and two in the fifth, Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 332.

⁵⁹ One at Gath, Bliss and Macal., p. 40, Pl. 84.

⁶⁰ Two at Gath, *Ibid.*, Pl. 84, Nos. 10, 11. At Gezer, one in stratum III and one in V, Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 331 ff.

⁶¹ One in III.

⁶² Five in V.

⁶³ Three or four in III.

⁶⁴ Two in V.

⁶⁵ One in IV, Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 331 ff.

⁶⁶ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 314 ff.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 331 ff.

WAS AMOS A SHEEPMAN?

PAUL HAUPT

Johns Hopkins University

At the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature held in Philadelphia on December 31, 1907 I presented a paper (see JBL 27, iv)¹ in which I showed that the term *bôlés* in the biographical ballad describing Amos' encounter with the priest Amaziah of Bethel (Am. 10:10-17) was not denominative, derived from *bálas*, fig, which we find in Ethiopic, but the participle of the verb *balás*, to pierce, which appears in Assyrian as *palášu* (Syr. *pěláš*). My explanation was recorded in GB¹⁵, xiii, ad 100^b, but it is not mentioned in GB¹⁶.

We need not regard *bôlés* as an Assyrian loanword (with *s* for Assy. *š*; cf. OLZ 17, 421; ZDMG 65, 561, 17). It may be merely an inaccurate spelling, just as *bôsēkēm*, your tramping, is written in Am. 5:11 both with *š* and *s*. Similarly we find in Am. 6:11 *rēšišim*, fragments, instead of *rēšišim*, from the same stem from which *Taršiš*, spalling-floor (for the dressing of ores) is derived (BL 59). For the *b* in Heb. *bôlés* instead of the *p* in Assy. *palášu* we may compare Heb. *barzēl*, iron, Assy. *parzillu*; Heb. *biq'ā*, valley, Syr. *pēqā'tā*. In Nah. 2:4 we find *bērôšim*, cypresses, instead of *pārašim*, horsemen (Nah. 40). Similarly we read in 2 K 8:19 *lē-hanāu*, for his sons, instead of *lē-fanāu*, before him (JBL 33, 166). On the other hand, we have in Est. 1:6 *karpās*, white lawn, for Aram. *karbās* (Est. 9) and Heb. *palāt*, to escape, is the Assy. *balātu*, to survive, recover, live. Aram. *hāspā*, clay, corresponds to the Assy. *xaṣbu*, earthen vessel. These changes are due to partial assimilation (GB¹⁶ 79^a, above).

Also in the OT this stem *palášu*, to pierce, break through, is written with *p* in Pss. 58:3; 78:50; it means there *to make way, open a path*. The original spelling with *p* and *š* is preserved in the name of the Philistines, *Pēlišṭīm*, which means *invaders* (WF 200). For *hitpallēš* see JBL 29, 98, n. 13; Mic. 77.

¹ For the abbreviations see vol. 34 of this JOURNAL, p. 41.

Balas, sycamore-fig, is not a non-Semitic word (Lagarde, *Mitteilungen* 1, 68) but an intransitive nominal derivative from the stem *palāšu*, to pierce, just as Arab. *xātan*, son-in-law, is an intransitive nominal derivative from the stem *xātana*, to circumcise (ZDMG 63, 515, 9; *Mic.* 53, n. †). Heb. *ḥatān*, bridegroom, means originally *circumcised*, and *ḥōtēn*, father-in-law: *circumciser*. Among the Hebrews young men were originally circumcised by their father-in-law prior to their marriage (AJSL 22, 252, n. 10). The primary meaning of *balas*, sycamore-fig, is *pierced*, *punctured*. To induce earlier ripening, and to improve the flavor, the apex of the fruit of the sycamore-fig is removed, or an incision made in it (EB¹¹ 10, 333^b; EB 4832; RE³ 6, 304, 42). Dr. Post states (DB 4, 635^a) that this puncturing of the sycamore-figs (*scalpendo ferreis unguibus*, Pliny 13, 57) is no longer done in Palestine, but, according to RB 979^b, below, it is still practiced by the gardeners of Cairo.

This puncturing of the sycamore-figs must not be confounded with the so-called *caprification*, which denotes the suspending in the cultivated fig-trees of branches (Talmud. *gamzīḥōt*) of the caprifig, i. e. the uncultivated male form of the common fig (Hehn⁶ 99). Nor does Talmud. *gamzūz* denote a sycamore-fig, but a *caprifig* (ἐπιαστός) although Syr. *gummīzā* and Arab. *jummāz* signify *sycamore-fig*. Lagarde's explanation of *bōlés* as *caprifying* (see his *Nomina*, p. 108) is unwarranted. In the notes on the translation of *Ezekiel* in the Polychrome Bible (p. 182) I have pointed out that an Assyrian sculpture from the Northwest Palace of Nimrūd represents the caprification of figs.² Herodotus (1, 193) confuses the caprification (ἐπιασμός) of fig-trees with the artificial fecundation of the female date-palm (Arab. *ṭāllaqa*, *lāqqāḥa*, *ūbara*; Greek ἐλυνθάζειν). The Assyrian term is *rukkubu* (MVAG 18, 2, p. 40) = Talmud. *hirkīb* (e. g. at the end of *Pes.* 55^b) which does not mean *to graft* (BT 2, 520). Cf. Arab. *rākūb* and Syr. רכנתא, fecundation, Greek ἐπιβίτρω (BL 72, n. †). This cross-fertilization of date-trees is also referred to in *Pes.* 56^a: רב אחא בר'ה רבא

² Cf. Duncan S. Johnson's address *The History of the Discovery of Sexuality of Plant* in the Smithsonian Report for 1914 (Washington, 1915) p. 384 (reprinted from *Science*, Feb. 27, 1914).

אמר מְנַחֵי כּוּפְרָא דִּיכְרָא לְנוּקְבָתָא, *they apply*³ *the male palm-inflorescence*⁴ *to the female flower* (JBL 32, 116, n. 38). According to the Talmud (*l. c.*) this is one of the six things which the men of Jericho practiced (שֵׁשֶׁה דְּבָרִים עָשׂוּ אֲנָשֵׁי יְרִיחוֹ).

Amos calls himself a *bôqér u-hôlés šiqmîm*. The last term means *piercer of sycamore-figs*. The Hebrew name of the sycamore trees, *šiqmîm* (Hehn⁶ 375) may be an old causative (AJSL 23, 248) derived from the root *qm*; the original meaning may be *statureosa*; cf. *gēbāh qômā*, lofty of stature, Ezek. 31:3. The *figus Aegyptia* may reach a height of 50 feet. *Bôqér* in Am. 7:14 is generally regarded as a scribal error for *nôqēḏ*, shepherd, because we find in the introductory gloss at the beginning of the Book that Amos lived among the *nôqēḏîm* from Tekoa, and *nôqēḏ* means *sheepmaster* in 2 K 3:4 where we read that King Mesha of Moab was a sheepmaster who rendered to the King of Israel 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams in fleeces. *Nôqēḏ* is derived from *naqôḏ* which denotes a *spotted sheep* (or *goat*) in the story of Jacob and Laban (Gen. 30:32). The original meaning is *punctured, dotted*. The noun *niqqûḏ* is the Hebrew term for *punctuation*; the *punctuators* are called *naqdanîm*.

I believe therefore that *nôqēḏ* in Amos' statement *kî-nôqēḏ anôḱî u-hôlés šiqmîm* does not mean *shepherd*, but *puncturer, pricker*: the poet says, *A pricker am I, a piercer of sycamores*.

The statement at the beginning of the Book that Amos lived among the *sheepmen* from Tekoa is due to a misinterpretation of *nôqēḏ* in 7:14, just as the statement that Amos prophesied *two years before the earthquake* is due to a misunderstanding of the final pentastich at the end of c. 2 where the poet says, with reference to the imminent political upheaval which will be brought about by the Assyrians, *I'll shake the earth 'neath your feet as a waggon shakes (on rough ground)*. For *hinné anôḱî me'îq* in Am. 2:13 we must read *hinnēnî mefîq*, and *tafûq* for *ta'îq* in the second hemistich; *ha-mēle'â* after *ha-aḡalâ* is

³ The singular of מְנַחֵי (for מְנַחֵ) is מְנַח (not מְנַח, Levias, § 519) = Heb. מְנַח; cf. Margolis' grammar, p. 135^ab, below, also p. 28.

⁴ The original meaning of *kufrâ* (Arab. *kâfûr*, Syr. *gufrâ*; cf. Assy. *guxlu* = Heb. כַּחֵל; see GB¹⁶ 341^a) is *cover* (BL 127, below) i. e. *spathe* of a palm.

a secondary addition, and *lâh 'amîr* is a tertiary gloss (OLZ 10, 310). After this first line of the final pentastich we must insert 4:11 (*uĉ-hafaḱtî &c.*).

Am. 1:1 is secondary, and the two statements *who was among the sheepmen from Tekoa* and *two years before the earthquake* are tertiary additions. Earthquakes are so frequent in Palestine that the date *two years before the earthquake* would be very indefinite. This gloss may have been derived also from 8:8 and 9:5. The first of these two passages (*ha-'al-zôṭ lô-ṭirgáz ha-'ârç*) is genuine, but does not refer to an earthquake; it means simply, *Must not the land be stirred up over this?* The second passage (*who touches the earth that it totters*, lit. *surges, heaves*; Nah. 1:5; ZDMG 61, 278; Nah. 8) belongs to a Maccabean psalm; 9:5. 6 must be combined with 5:8. 9 and 4:12. 13.

Amos could not have punctured sycamore-figs at Tekoa; this place lies too high for sycamores: it is situated on a detached hill about 2,700 feet above the level of the sea. Nor can we suppose that he was a shepherd at Tekoa, but owned a plantation of sycamores in the foothills leading down to the Philistine coast, where sycamores were common (1 K 10:27).

My view that *nôqêḏ* in Am. 7:14 does not mean *sheepman*, but *puncturer* seems to be at variance with the first hemistich of v. 15, *the Lord took me as I followed the flock*, but *haç-çôn* in this passage is a corruption of *haš-šôn*, peace, tranquillity, which we have in the place-name *Beth-shean*. The Amarna tablets show that this word was pronounced *šan*, not *šē'an*, about 1400 B. C. (see JBL 29, 97, n. 10; GB¹⁶ 98^a). Afterwards it may have been pronounced *šôn*, so that the difference between *šôn*, peace, and *çôn*, flock, would be slight. Confusion of *š* and *ç* is found in several passages; in Is. 9:4 *e. g.* we must read *çêrefâ*, smelting, instead of *šêrefâ*, burning:

Every clanking shoe	and cuirassed corselet
Will go to the smelter	to feed the fire.

All the weapons will go to pot, *i. e.* will be sent as old metal to the melting-pot; see *Mic.* 51, below; *cf.* JBL 32, 113, n. 23). In Syriac, *šaiṇâ* means *peace* and *tranquillity*, and *hâiṇê mēšâiṇê* signifies a *peaceful life*. Heb. *me-'ahrê* before *haç-çôn* in Am. 7:15 may therefore be a corruption of *me-haiṇê*; the letters *i* and *r* are often confounded (AJSL 26, 10). The phrase *haiṇê haš-*

šân (or šôn) would be synonymous with *ḥanîê haš-šalyâ*. The Peshita has 'úmrâ šālîâ uĕ-nîhâ in 1 Tim. 2:2 for ἡρεμος καὶ ἡσύχιος βίος. Syr. *min-šlîâ* (or *min-gau-šlîâ*) is used also for *unexpectedly*.

The introductory lines of the ballad describing Amos' encounter with the priest Amaziah of Bethel have 3 + 3 beats, also the last two lines exhibit the same rhythm, but the intervening stanzas have 2 + 2 beats in each line. Similarly the first two couplets and the last two couplets of David's dirge on Saul and Jonathan (JHUC, No. 163, p. 55; cf. AJSL 20, 164 and contrast 32, 124) have 3 + 3 beats, while the intervening three triplets have 2 + 2 beats. According to Duhm, *Die Zwölf Propheten* (Tübingen, 1910) p. 16 (cf. ZAT 31, 15) Am. 7:10-17 is written in prose. The Hebrew text, however, should be read as follows:

<p>^β אל-יִרְבֶּעַם מֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקֶרֶב בֵּית-יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹהֲכִיל אֶת-כָּל דְּבָרָיו: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל גָּלָה יִגְלָהּ:</p>	<p>^a 7, 10 i וַיִּשְׁלַח אֹמְצִיָּה הַכֹּהֵן קָשָׁר עָלָיו עָמוֹס לֹא תֻּכַּל הָאָרֶץ בְּחֶרֶב יָמוֹת יִרְבֶּעַם 11</p>
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<p>אל-עָמוֹס הַחֹזֶה אל-אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה וַיִּשֶׁם תִּנְבָּא: עוֹד לֹהֲנָבָא וּבֵית מִמְּלָכָהּ:</p>	<p>וַיֹּאמֶר אֹמְצִיָּה 12 ii לֵךְ בְּרַח-לֶךְ וְאָכַל-שֶׁם לֶחֶם וּבְבֵיתֶאֱל לֹא-תוֹסִיף 13 כִּי-מִקְדָּשׁ מֶלֶךְ-הוּא</p>
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<p>וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל-אֹמְצִיָּה וְלֹא-בֶן נָבִיא: וּבּוֹלֵם שְׂקָמִים: מִחַיִּי ה'שָׂאן אל-עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל:</p>	<p>וַיַּעַן עָמוֹס 14 iii לֹא-נָבִיא אֲנִכִּי כִּי-נִקְדָּר אֲנִכִּי וַיִּקְחֵנִי יְהוָה 15 לֵךְ הַנִּבָּא</p>
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לא תנבא ^θ	ואתה אמר {}	16 iv
על-בית ישחק:	ולא תפיק	
דבר יהוה {}:	וועתה ישמע	
ובניך () בחרב יפלוג	ואשתך ^(κ) בעיר תזנה	17 v
וישראל גלה יגלה ^ν :	ואתה על-טמאה תקמות	

מיעל אדמתו ^(δ)	11 כי כה אמר עמוס ^(γ)	לאמר ^(β)	7, 10 (a)
על ישראל ^(θ)	15 ויאמר אלי יהוה ^(η)	הוא ^(ζ)	13 (ε)
ואדמתן בחבל תחלק ^(λ)	ובנתיך ^(κ)	לכן כה אמר יהוה	17 (ε)
מיעל אדמתו ^(ν)		אדמה	(μ)

This may be translated as follows:

Amos and Amaziah.

- i 7, 10 The priest Amaziah^a reported
to King Jeroboam of Israel:β
Amos conspires against thee
in the midst of the House of Israel.
The land is not able to bear
all his denunciations:
- 11 γ“By the sword Jeroboam will die,
and Israel will be deported.”δ
- ii 12 Amaziah said
to Amos, the seer:
Go, flee thee away
to the land of Judah;
There eat (thy) bread,
and there prophesy!
- 13 But prophesy not
any more at Bethel!
’Tis a royal sanctuary,
εa national temple.
- iii 14 Then answered Amos,
and said to Amaziah:
No prophet I,
nor prophet’s son ;ζ

- A pricker I,
a piercer of sycamores.
- 15 JHVH took me
from the peaceful life:
η "Go, prophesy
to my people Israel!"
- iv 16 {} Thou sayest to me:
Thou must not prophesy,^θ
Thou must not bespatter⁵
the House of Isaac.
Now therefore hear thou
the word of JHVH: }
- v 17 ι Thy wife(κ) will be made a harlot,
thy sons () will fall by the sword; λ
'Mong strangers^μ wilt thou die,
and Israel will be deported.^ν

(α) 7,	10 of Bethel	(β) saying	(γ) 11 for thus said Amos
(δ)	11 from her land	(ε) 13 it is	(ζ) I (η) 15 JHVH said to me
(θ)	16 against Israel		(ι) 17 therefore thus said JHVH
(κ)	17 and thy daughters		(λ) thy land will be allotted
(μ)	land		(ν) from her land

Amos' expulsion from the Northern Kingdom after his encounter with the priest Amaziah of Bethel may have taken place about the end of the reign of Jeroboam, *i. e.* prior to 743, but his patriotic denunciations of Israel may have been composed in Judah after Tiglath-pileser IV had captured Arpad (*i. e.* Irbid SW of Magdala on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee) in 740, and after the Assyrian king had annexed 19 districts of Hamath (the ancient capital of Galilee at the hot springs S of Tiberias) in 738 (ZDMG 69, 170, 35; *cf.* 64, 706, 33; ZAT 34, 144, 231). The *Entrance to Hamath*, mentioned in Am. 6:14, is the *Wady al-Hammâm* N of Irbid. *From the Entrance to Hamath to the River of the Wilderness* means From the northern end of the Sea of Galilee down to the Dead Sea

⁵ Heb. רָחַץ does not mean simply to drop, as we say to drop a remark (contrast Mic. 76) but to asperse with reproach or calumny. Arab. *nāṭṭafa* means to denounce, accuse (of wickedness, *qāḍafahu bil-fujūri*).

(read *iam* for *nahl*). Am. 6:2 is secondary, and *rabbâ* after *Hamât* is a tertiary gloss. The Galilean *Irbid* or *Arbela* (EB 291) appears in the OT also as *Beth-arbel* and *Riblah* (see my paper on *Shalman and Beth-arbel* in BA 10, part 2). The fall of the Galilean stronghold in 740 and the deportation of the Galileans in 738 opened Amos' eyes; he foresaw the fall of Samaria.

There is no evidence that Amos began to prophesy in 760, nor are we justified in assuming that Amos preceded Hosea (cf. JBL 34, 43). Hos. 4:15; 5:8; 10:5 (cf. AJSL 32, 74) which are supposed to be derived from Am. 5:5 (cf. Cornill's *Einkl.* 192) are not Hoseanic, nor is Am. 5:5 Amosian. I believe that Amos' patriotic poems were composed about 740-735 (according to Valeton, *Amos und Hosea*, 1898, p. 12: 745-741). His predictions were fulfilled: Ammon (cf. AJSL 32, 71) and Moab (cf. KB 2, 21, l. 61) were subdued by Assyria in 734; Damascus fell in 732, Samaria in 722 (cf. *Mic.* 58).

Both Hosea and Amos were Israelitish poets, but Amos was an Israelitish gardener living in Judah after he had been banished from the Northern Kingdom (cf. EB 147, n. 3; Valeton, n. 86).

The biographical ballad in 7:10-17 certainly does not show that Amos was a farmer, just as 3:12 (cf. ZDMG 69, 168, 26) cannot prove that he was a shepherd (contrast Valeton, p. 93). Nor can we draw any conclusions as to Amos' occupation from 2:13; 3:4. 5; 4:1-3 (cf. JBL 32, 117); 5:11. 17. 19; 6:12; 7:1. 2 (*Joel*, n. 94) and 4. 5; 8:1. 2; 9:3. 13. 14, especially as several of these passages are secondary (contrast Marti's commentary, p. 146; Nowack², p. 120). We might just as well say that Schiller's statement, science is to some *eine tüchtige Kuh, die ihn mit Butter versorgt*, shows that the poet was a dairyman (cf. *Mic.* 62, l. 9).

HEB. *GALŪT-ŠÖLĒMĀ*, A PEACEFUL COLONY

PAUL HAUPT

Johns Hopkins University

In OLZ 10,308 (June, 1907) I pointed out that the *τρισαλιτρία* (OLZ 16,530) denounced in the Maccabean addition Am. 1:6-8 referred to the treacherous capture of the Maccabee Jonathan at Ptolemais in 143 B. C. (1 Macc. 12:48; 13:12). For 'Azzā (Am. 1:6, 7) we must substitute 'Akkā = 'Akkō = Ptolemais. Also in the Maccabean poem glorifying Jonathan's triumphant return to Jerusalem after his exploits in Antioch, 145 B. C. (ZDMG 69, 172) we must read at the end of the second triplet (Zech. 9:5): *uē-'ābaḏ mēlḵ me-'Akkā*, counsel will perish from Accho, i. e. Accho will be at her wits' end, will be in despair (JBL 34, 54). In 1 Macc. 13:43 *Ⲅ* and all Versions have *Gaza* instead of *Gazara*.

For *galūt* in the second line of the pentastich Am. 1:6-8 we must read *mišlāḥt*, mission, delegation (Ps. 78:49) and in the second hemistich of this line: *lē-hasgîr [bē-mirmā] la-'Arām*, to deliver treacherously to the Syrians. The reading *galūt* instead of *mišlāḥt* is due to v. 9^b where *galūt šōlēmā* (read *šōlēmā* or, in pause, *šōlémā*) denotes the peaceful colony of Jews in Tyre. The scribes have often repeated the same expression where the original text had a different word (cf. JBL 29, 106, n. 81; WF 217, l. 1.). After this hemistich we must again read *la-'Arām* instead of *lā-'Āḏôm*, and this should be followed, not by *uē-lō-zakrû ḥērît aḥḥîm*, but by *uē-šihhét rahmāy* (read *uē-šahhét rôhmāy*) which appears in *ⲙ* before *uā-ittôr la-'āḏ appô uē-'ābraṭô šamērā la-nāḥḥ*. *Appô* and *'ābraṭô* are nominatives, not accusatives. For the verbs *naṣār*, to be furious, and *šamār*, to rage, see *Nah.* 21, below. In Jer. 3:5 we must read, with Duhm, the Niphal *innaṣér* = Assyrian *innaṣir*; the *o* before the *r* is due to dittography (*Mic.* 72, ζ). The clause *uē-lō-zakrû ḥērît aḥḥîm* is the second hemistich to *'al-rodḏô ḥah-ḥārḥ aḥūy* in v. 11^b. Heb. *galūt* means *emigration*; an emigrant is *ben-gôlā*, but *galūt* denotes also a *settlement* of emigrants, just as *ἀποικία* has both meanings.

𐤌 šēlemâ instead of šôlēmâ (Ps. 7:5) is based on Jer. 13:19 where the original text was *galût šēlemâ* = ἡ ἀποικία τελεία. On the other hand, 𐤌 hoġlât šēlômîm (miswritten for *galût šôlēmâ*) in Jer. 13:19 is derived from the original reading in Am. 1:9, *galût šôlēmâ*. Also in Ps. 55:21 we must read *šalāh iadāy bē-šôlēmāy hīllél bēriṭô*. The view that šôlēm is participle Poel (for *mešôlēm* = Arab. *musālim*, syn. *muṣālīh*; GK § 52, s; § 55, b) is gratuitous; šôlēm is participle Qal of a denominative verb derived from the noun *šalôm*; šôlēm (Ps. 7:5) = *iš šôlēmî* (Ps. 41:10). For the form *qôṭēl* instead of *qafēl* see *Nah.* 42; cf. WdG 1, 136, B. Ḡ has αἰχμαλωσία τοῦ Σαλωμών in Am. 1:6, 9; 𐤌 *captivitas perfecta*, and *transmigratio perfecta* in Jer. 13:19, 𐤌 have the same rendering (*šēbītā šalmēṭā* and *galū šālmā*) in all three passages.

The anti-Jewish attitude of the Tyrians is emphasized by Josephus (GJV³ 3, 127, below). An illustration of the manner in which some of the Hellenistic cities treated the peaceful Jews who lived among them is given in 2 Macc. 12:3-9; this passage states expressly that the Jews were desirous to live in peace (*εἰρηνεύειν θέλοντες*). Nevertheless the Hellenistic inhabitants of Joppa perpetrated a *δυσσέβημα*, a *τρισαλιτρία*. For the anti-Jewish attitude of Tyre we may compare also 1 Macc. 5:15; for Ashdod: 1 Macc. 10:84; 11:4, also 5:68; 16:10; for Ashkelon: 10:86; 11:60; for Akkaron: 10:89; for Philistia: 3:24, 41; 4:22; 5:68; for Idumea: 1 Macc. 4:61; 5:3, 65; 2 Macc. 10:15; Dan. 11:40; Obad. 10-14 (*Mic.* 48-50). Cf. also the references to Tyre, Ashkelon, Akkaron, Accho, Ashdod in the Maccabean poem Zech. 9:1-10, referred to at the beginning of this paper.

I subjoin text and translation of the three Maccabean insertions in the first chapter of the Book of Amos. Am. 1:3-5 and 12-15 were composed c. 740-735, and vv. 6-12 were added 600 years later, c. 140-135. I have explained the phrase *lô ăššēbēnnû*, I shall surely requite him, in OLZ 10, 306 (cf. TOCR 1, 327; JBL 29, 104, n. 61) and I have given text and translation of Am. 1:12-15 in AJSL 32, 71.

ועל-ארבעה לא אישכנו	6 על-שלשה פשעי עקה
: להסגיר במרמה לארם:	על-הגלותם משלחת שלמה
: ואכלה את-ארמנתיה:	7 ושלחתי-אש בחומת עקה
ותומך שבת מאשקלון	8 והכרתי יושב מאשדוד
: ואבד שארית פלשתים:	והשיבותי ידי על-עקרון

- ועל-ארבעה לא אשיבנו
לארם [וישחת רחמיו]
ואכלה את-ארמנותיה :
- ועל-ארבעה לא אשיבנו
[ולא-זכרו ברית אחים] }
ועברתו שְׁמֶרָה לַנֶּצַח :
ואכלה את-ארמנותיה 0 :
- על-שלשה פשעי הזר
על-הסגרים גלות שלמה
ושלחת-אש בחוקת הזר
- על-שלשה פשעי אדום
על-רדפו בחרב אחיו
ויטור לער אפו
ושלחת-אש בחוקת (בצרה) ε :

9 (γ) כה אמר יהוה
12 (ε) בתימן

8 (β) אמר אדני יהוה

6 (α) כה אמר יהוה
11 (δ) כה אמר יהוה

MACCABEAN ADDITIONS TO AMOS

- 6 αFor the threefold crime of Acca,
aye, fourfold! I will requite her;
For they captured a peaceful mission,
betraying it to the Syrians.
- 7 To Acca's wall I'll set fire
devouring all her mansions.
- 8 I'll cut off the dwellers from Ashdod,
the truncheon-bearer from Ashkelon;
I'll turn my hand against Akkaron,
the last Philistine shall perish.^β
- 9 γFor the threefold crime of Tyre,
aye, fourfold! I'll requite her;
They delivered a peaceful colony
to the Syrians, [] {destroying their friends.}
- 10 To Tyre's wall I'll set fire
devouring all her mansions.
- 11 δFor the threefold crime of Edom,
aye, fourfold! I'll requite her;
They pursued with the sword their brethren,
{ } [unmindful of brotherly bonds;]
Their anger raged for ever,
their fury stormed for aye.
- 12 To (Bozrah's) ε wall I'll set fire
devouring all her () mansions.

(α) 6 thus said JHVH
(β) 8 said (the Lord) JHVH
(γ) 9 thus said JHVH

(δ) 11 thus said JHVH
(ε) 12 in Teman

I shall cut off the truncheon-bearer from Ashkelon (v. 8) means *I shall deprive Ashkelon of her independence*, bring her under my sway; 1 Macc. 10:86; 11:60 state that the men of Ashkelon did homage to Jonathan. The preceding hemistich *I shall cut off the dwellers from Ashdod* does not mean *I shall destroy Ashdod and her inhabitants* (cf. 1 Macc. 10:84; 11:4) but *I shall expel the Hellenistic inhabitants of Ashdod* and settle Jews there, as Simon did in Joppa and Gazara (1 Macc. 13:11). Cf. the fourth triplet (Zech. 9:6, 7) of the Maccabean poem referred to at the beginning of this paper:

וַיִּשָּׁב צִדִּיק בְּאַשְׁדּוֹד ⁶	וְהִכְרַתִּי גֵּאֹן פְּלִשְׁתִּים 6
וַיִּשְׁקְצוּ מִבֵּין שִׁנָּיו	וְהִסְרַתִּי דַמְיוֹ מִפִּי 7
וְהָיָה כְּאַלְף בִּיהוּדָה ^β	וְנִשְׁאַר גַּם-הוּא לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ

(β) 7 וַיִּקְרָן כִּבּוּס

(α) 6 מְכֹזֵר

{ } I'll destroy the Philistines' glory,
 { so that godly men^α dwell in Ashdod; }
 7 I'll remove the blood from their mouth,
 abominations from between their teeth;
 They too, will be left for our God
 and become like a clan in Judah.^β

(α) 6 bastards

(β) 7 and Akkaron like the Jebusites

The original reading *ṣaddiq* was supplanted (cf. BL 62, n. 50; Nah. 32, l. 27; 40, l. 4; Mic. 94, n.*) by the gloss *mamzér* which was added by a Jew who believed that his coreligionists would be bastardized in Ashdod, as it happened in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. 13:24; cf. also Kings 216, 13). Peiser's idea (OLZ 4, 313) that *mamzér* is the Assyr. *umâm gêri*, beasts of the field (KB 6, 234, l. 86), is almost as bad as Riessler's rendering *gulls will nest in Azot*. Riessler (JBL 32, 111, n. 13) combines *mamzér* with Arab. *mâzûr* given by Freytag (4, 175)! The stem of Heb. *mamzér* appears in Arabic as *mâdîra*, to be rotten = Syr. *maddâr* (e. g. *bî'ê maddûrâtâ*, rotten eggs). In Ethiopic we find *manzer*, spurious (NBSS 46). The Amosian line '*al-šêlôšâ piš'ê Ādôm uē-'al arba'â lô āšîbennû*, for the threefold crime of Edom, aye fourfold! I shall requite her, is rendered by Riessler: *Zu der grössten und beklagenswertesten der Schandtaten von Edom lasse ich es nicht wieder kommen*.

The pronouns in Zech. 9:7 refer to Ashdod; the Hebrew text has the singular (*his mouth, his teeth*). For the blood *cf.* Deut. 12:23, and for the abominations, *i. e.* pork and other *unclean* food, Is. 65:4; 66:17. The last hemistich but one, *They too, will be left for our God*, means, The heathen who are left in Ashdod will be forced to embrace the religion of JHVH and to observe the Jewish Law.

Bozrah in the Maccabean denunciation of Edom at the end of the first chapter of the Book of Amos is the modern *al-Bu-çêrah*, north of *aš-Šôbak* (ZAT 34, 230, *ad n.* 83; JBL 34, 186). At the beginning of the Maccabean period the capital of the Edomites was not Bozrah, but Hebron (1 Macc. 5:65).

THE MISSION OF THE DISCIPLES

Mt. 9:35—11:1 and Parallels

FREDERICK C. GRANT, Evanston, Ill.

The following discussion rests upon and seeks to substantiate the theory, which has now several advocates, that Mark knew and made use of Q. For the sake of clearness, the passage in Matthew with its parallels and doublets may be tabulated as follows:

MT.	MK.	LK. 9	LK. 10	MT.	MK.	LK.
9:35	6:6			4:23		
36	34					
37f			10:2			
10:1	7ac 7b	9:1	1			
2-4					3:14-19	6:13-16
5f						
7		2				
8						
9-10a	8f	3	4			
10b			7b			
11	10	4				
12f			5f			
			7ac8f			
14	11	5	10f			
15			12			
16			3			
17f	13:9	12:11f		24:9a		21:12f
19f	11					14f
21	12					16
22	13			12b13		17.19
23						
24f		6:40				
26		12:2				
27-32		3-8		4:22		8:17
33		9				21:18
34-36		51.53		8:38		9:26
37		14:26				
38		27		16:24	34	23
39		17:33		25	35	24
40				18:5 (?)	9:37 (?)	48(?)
41						10:16(?)
42					41 (?)	
11:1						

These may be examined easily in Huck's *Synopsis*.

Mt. 9:35 represents Mk. 6:6b plus Mt. 4:23. That Mt. had Mk. 6 before him is at first glance quite probable; the transitive use of *περιῆγεν* (contrast 4:23) is parallel to Mk. (B. Weiss in Meyer I, 1, ed. 9 and 10, p. 193), though the verse as a whole, like 4:23, forms the heading to a new section in the gospel. Weiss also refers the omission of *ἐν . . . τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ* to Mk.; Jesus is accordingly represented as not limiting his preaching-tour to Galilee. But this can hardly be significant, in view of 19:1; Jesus does not carry his public ministry outside the limits of Galilee until considerably later. Moreover, *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλ.* in 4:23 is parallel to Mk. 1:39 *εἰς ὅλην τ. Γαλ.*; where it is also to be noted that Mt. prefers *περιῆγεν* to Mk.'s *ἦλθεν*. In view of this phenomenon, Mk.'s use of the rare¹ *περιῆγεν* in 6:6 is striking; (and note Mt.'s omission of *κύκλω* (strongly LXX), which is unnecessary if the force of *περι* in *περιῆγ.* is retained). At the very least, we cannot close our minds at once against the possibility that Mt. has particular, perhaps documentary, reason for preferring the uncommon *περιῆγεν* in 4:23; and that Mk., although avoiding it in 1:39, comes to it in 6:6 (here only in his gospel; that he did not thoroughly understand it is implied in his addition of *κύκλω*). The same phenomenon is to be noted in the case of *διδάσκων*. That the verse in Mt. is a repetition of 4:23 for the purpose of introducing a new section of the gospel is most likely; but is its form derived from Mk., with the addition of a summary of Jesus' activity from Mt.'s own hand?—or do both 9:35 and 4:23 go back to a formula upon which Mk. also is dependent, and which he abbreviates in his customary manner? The latter seems at least a possibility to the present writer.

9:36 represents Mk. 6:34, although *ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους* is in Mt.'s style (cf. 5:1), and *ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐριμμένοι* may be due to his didactic ("homiletic"? cf. 12:40) purpose (the difference in number, *τ. ὄχλους* instead of *πολὺν ὄχλον*, simply represents a difference in style; Mt. ordinarily prefers the plural, Mk. the singular, of *ὄχλος*). But the Marcan parallel occurs considerably later, and has a different motive: it introduces Jesus' "teaching them many things" just before the feeding of the 5,000. Does Mt. use it by anticipation? Hardly so, for Mt.

¹ I. e., in the intransitive N. T. sense. The word occurs in the N. T. only in Mt. (thrice), Mk. (once; here) and in Ac. (once).

follows Mk. when he reaches 6:34 in his narrative (14:14,—which is certainly due to Mk.; Lk.'s parallel goes off on a decided tangent—ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ—although Mt. and Lk. agree against Mk. in representing our Lord as *healing* on this occasion, thus perhaps indicating a Q-substratum introductory to the feeding of the 5,000). The parallel is possibly due to oral tradition, or else, more likely, to Mt.'s familiarity with Mk.; he must have been tolerably familiar with a writing upon which he relies so thoroughly as he relies upon Mk. The sharp contrast in figure with 37f renders it probable that Mt. has inserted v. 36, out of its context, in order to emphasize Jesus' motive in sending out the Twelve. Despite his skill in conjoining 36 and 37f, (cf. τότε), this change of figure is too abrupt, although the sense is continuous: it was a vision of the great need which prompted the call to prayer for help and for helpers. Vv. 37f are without doubt from Q.; they are closely paralleled in Lk. (10:2), and B. Weiss points out (*Quellen d. syn. Ueb.*, p. 25) the use of *θερισμός*, *ἐργάται*, and *ἐκβάλη* elsewhere in Q.

10:1. As Weiss remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 25), the *προσκαλεσάμενος* throws us off the track; it is a Marcan word, occurring nine times in that gospel. But Mt. and Lk. agree against Mk. in supporting a participial construction (Lk. in c. 9, where he is following Mk.); in a more logical order than Mk.'s (1. Call, 2. Giving authority over unclean spirits—Lk. adds *δύναμιν*, which he emphasizes (cf. 5:17, etc.), 3. Sending out (Mt. 10:5, Lk. 9:2). Mk.'s order is 1, 3, 2); and in the addition of healing (*καὶ νόσους θεραπ.*; Mt. has formulated this after his previous model, 9:35; 4:23; cf. Lk. 9:2—*καὶ ἰᾶσθαι*). This observation suggests as a solution the possibility, once more, of Q. underlying the whole passage, which (Q.) Mk. used and abbreviated. ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά, like *μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ*, is an explanatory addition by Mt. Reference will be made later to the "Hebraisms" of the passage. Mk.'s δύο δύο (which is not necessarily a Hebraism; cf. J. H. Moulton, *Gram. of N. T. Greek, Proleg.*,³ p. 21 note 3, p. 97), paralleled by Lk.'s ἀνὰ δύο (10:1; ?ἀνὰ δύο δύο B^KII min syrsin?—either the unnecessary second δύο is a copyist's error, or else the reading is a conflate, due to the influence of Mk.), presents a difficulty whether ascribed to Mk., Q., or oral tradition. If Mk., why did Mt. and Lk. (c. 9) omit it? If Q., why

did Mt. omit it,—especially since he arranges the list of the XII in pairs? If oral tradition, how came Lk. to add it in c. 10 after omitting it in c. 9? The expression is not foreign to Mk.'s style; cf. v. 39 f. (where note also Lk.'s // 9:14—though the command is phrased in Hebraic style, Lk. has simply ἀνὰ πενήκοντα); but Lk.'s parallel seems to be undesigned—it occurs, as we have already noted, not when he is copying Mk., but when inserting the “special” (oral?) matter regarding the Mission of the Seventy (in which section, as shall be seen, he uses Q. very largely). *Quid explicatio?*

Vv. 2-4 were doubtless inserted here by Mt. He has just used τοὺς δώδεκα, adding μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ inasmuch as up to this point he has recorded the call of only five of the XII (and accordingly has not, heretofore, used the expression, “the Twelve”); now he proceeds to append a list of their names. It is hardly to be supposed that he thought of the XII as being set apart on this particular occasion, although he omits Mk.'s account (3:13 ff.). According to Mk.'s account, the mission of the disciples took place much later in Jesus' ministry, shortly before his retirement from public activity, when the full number of the XII was complete. Mt.'s stopping here to give a list of the XII is a tacit approval of the view that the mission took place considerably later. If we examine the three lists (Mt. 10:2-4; Mk. 3:16-19; Lk. 6:14-16) we note the following phenomena: Mk. lists them 1. Peter, 2. James, 3. John his brother, 4. Andrew, 5. Philip, 6. Bartholomew, 7. Matthew, 8. Thomas, 9. James son of Alphaeus, 10. Thaddeus, 11. Simon the Canaanite, 12. Judas Iscariot. Mt.'s order is 1, 4, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 7, 9-12; Lk.'s is 1, 4, 2, 3, 5-9, 11 (10; Judas the son of James same as Thaddeus?), 12. Mt.'s order 1, 4, 2, 3, is the order in which he records their call to discipleship (4:18-22); the inversion of 7 and 8 is on stylistic grounds (cf. E. Klostermann *ad loc.* in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum N. T.*); but how comes it that Lk.'s order 1, 4, 2, 3, 5 ff., agrees with Mt. against Mk.? The explanation of Mt.'s order does not apply to Lk., for he omits the call of Andrew altogether. It may be offered in explanation that the name of Andrew (4) is placed after that of Peter on account of his relationship (“ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ”); but this only completes our statement of the case—for both Mt. and Lk. have this addition, while Mk. omits it. Furthermore, both Mt. and Lk. omit Mk.'s

addition of the clause mentioning the name given to the sons of Zebedee. It would seem that some better account of these discrepancies and agreements must be given than the hypothesis that Mt. and Lk. were wholly dependent upon Mk., revising Mk. each in his own way and in the light of wider knowledge. Mk.'s disagreements with Mt. and Lk., in order, and in matter (v. 17), seem much more like explanatory additions to, or arbitrary rearrangement of, "Q." (or other document containing a list of the apostles) than like concerted omissions on the part of Mt. and Lk. Mt.-Lk.'s combined rearrangement and "omissions" are strongly suggestive of a common source,—which Mk. also used, rearranged, and lengthened.

Vv. 5-8. V. 5 τοὺς ἰβ' ἀπέσπειλεν and παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς can naturally be explained as taken over from Mk. (vv. 7 and 8; though Lk. has ἀπέσπειλεν, exactly equivalent). But how does Mt. come to insert 5b-8, wedging in this long paragraph of directions between the direct and indirect objects of Mk.'s παρήγγειλεν? How, also, does it come that Lk. has a parallel (9:2) to this section which is not found in Mk., though in c. 9, 1 ff. Lk. is most certainly following Mk.? The simplest explanation is that Mt. is not *inserting* vv. 5b-8, but that Mk. has omitted them in copying Q. (Mt. vv. 5-10). What motive is to be ascribed to Mk. as explaining this omission? We do not know. Mk.'s brevity in this section seems unaccountable, especially in view of his extended account of John the Baptist's death later in the chapter. We should certainly expect him to give some reason, in our Lord's own words, if possible, for the sending out of the XII; and yet, none is given, except that it is said they went out preaching repentance, exorcising many demons, and anointing with oil many that were sick and healed . . . (v. 12 f.). According to Mk.'s representation, the disciples are told *how* to go, but not *why*; they are given no message to deliver, no commission to carry out. How should this occur, unless Mk. presupposed an acquaintance on his readers' part with the tradition regarding this event—which he only mentions and hastily passes over? Or else, unless the difficulties involved in the command to confine the mission to the Jewish towns and villages of Palestine—"the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt. v. 6)—seemed unsurmountable and inexplicable? And yet, this was the only time at which our Lord could so have directed

the XII; and the limitations which he placed upon them in their mission were just those which he had recognized in his own work all along (cf. Mt. 15:24; 4:23; 9:35). It is evident that the paragraph is very old and authentic (i. e., not due to Mt.); note the "Hebraisms" in vv. 5 f.: the anarthrous ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν, πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν, οἶκον Ἰσραήλ.² Why Lk. omitted the equivalent of 5b and 6, if it stood in Q., we can only surmise. Perhaps it was "not suited to his purpose"; or it would only give rise to misunderstanding in the minds of his readers; or it did not suit his conception of the mission. We do not know why. He gives the equivalent of vv. 7 f. in 9:2 and 10:9. There is no reason why δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε, v. 8, should not properly belong in this connection. The difficulty arises when it is understood to refer to *teaching*: "you have learned without cost; therefore, do not expect to receive compensation for your labor of teaching others" (cf. Irenaeus I, 4, 3; and even Schürer, *GJV*⁴ II. 379; etc.). This is hardly a necessary or even a possible construction. Originally it could only have meant, pressed to exact and explicit definition, δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε τὴν ἐξουσίαν, δωρεὰν δότε · θεραπεύετε, κηρύσσετε (vv. 7 and 8).

Vv. 9 and 10 are parallel to Mk. vv. 8 f. Here Mk.'s order is

1. μηδὲν αἴρωσιν . . . εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον,
2. μὴ ἄρτον,
3. μὴ πήραν,
4. μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν,
5. ἀλλὰ ὑποδεδεμένους σανδάλια,
6. καὶ μὴ ἐνδύσθητε δύο χιτῶνας.

Compared with this, Mt.'s order is

4. μὴ (κτῆσθητε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ) χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν,
3. (+ εἰς ὁδόν),

² Cf. Blass, *Gramm.* § 46, 9; but also Moulton, *Proleg.*³ p. 81 f.; 236; Radermacher, *Gramm.*, p. 94. It is possible that these expressions had acquired, among Greek-speaking Jews (i. e., bilingualists), a grammatical character approximating to that of proper names, fixed "ἰδιώματα." To these may be added the expressions found in vv. 15, 23 (BD om. του 1°), 41 (μισθόν twice. Ct. v. 42; this may have some bearing on the literary analysis of the two verses), and even in v. 1 (where there are three), where Mt. is commonly supposed to be using Mk. Edersheim long ago pointed out the essentially Jewish forms of thought and modes of expression in this chapter (cf. *Life and Times*,³ i, 641, 644 f.).

6. (μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας),
5. (μηδὲ ὑποδήματα; cf. Lk. 10:4),
1. μηδὲ ῥάβδον!

Lk.'s order (c. 9) is

1. (but equivalent to Mt.; the ῥάβδος is forbidden),
- 3, 2, 4. (μήτε ἀργύριον; cf. Mt.),
6. (μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν).

In c. 10, Lk.'s order is

4. (μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον),
- 3, 5. (μὴ ὑποδήματα; cf. Mt.), and
7. μηδὲνὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσθησθε.

Perhaps the first peculiarity observable in going over these lists is that Mt.'s order is more closely parallel to that of Lk. 10 than to that of Mk. 6, and that Mk. is paralleled by Lk. 9 more closely than by either Mt. or Lk. 10. The similarities and identities of language are next to be noted, especially those in which Mt. and Lk. agree against Mk.: Mt.'s ἄργυρον (silver) and Lk.'s ἀργύριον (money); the prohibition of the staff, and (Lk. 10) shoes (ὑποδήματα). Noticeable also is Mk.'s ἀλλά, which is almost meaningless, since there is no transition in thought, and is followed by καὶ μὴ ἐνδ. δύο χιτ., continuing and completing the list of proscribed articles. Mk.'s ἀλλά presupposes the μὴ ὑποδήματα which Mt. and Lk. (c. 10) give, answering as it does the question naturally raised by that prohibition, 'if not shoes, then—ὑποδεδεμένους σανδάλια'. Mk. does not write all that is in his mind; and the transition is not clear to us, as it was to him. If, as I suspect, Q. lay before him, ὑποδεδεμένους would be very easily suggested by ὑποδήματα, which he omits. The following hypothesis suggests itself as the simplest explanation of the parallels: Mk. uses (and revises) Q.; Mt. combines Mk. and Q.; Lk. 9 follows Mk., with slight additions from Q. (μήτε ῥάβδον, μήτε ἀργύριον); Lk. 10 follows Q., omitting what he has already given in 9:3, (and changing "girdles" to "purse"?). It is to be noted that Mt. (while perhaps expanding the first part of the passage (v. 9) so as to include both Mk. and Q.?) offers a natural climax: "take neither money nor a wallet, nor two tunics, nor shoes, nor even a staff" (cf. Mt.'s order in 4:3-10, which is a natural climax, ignored by Lk.). This order, if it is that of Q., is misunderstood or ignored by Mk.,—who places the staff first; Lk.

follows Mk.'s order, though retaining the original form of the command in regard to the staff (i. e., prohibition). This seems to afford an explanation of Mt.'s and Lk.'s agreement against Mk. in forbidding the staff preferable to that of B. Weiss (Meyer I, 2^o, p. 419)—i. e., that Mt. and Lk. concurrently testify to the later misunderstanding of Mk.'s wording—as if Mk.'s εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον could have presented any difficulty!³ Lk.'s distributive (9:3) is hardly to be matched against Mt. and Mk.; he simply does not understand (or his readers will not understand) the custom of wearing one garment over another on long journeys⁴ referred to in Mk.; as in 3:11, he supposes the possession of two χιτῶνες to be a mark of affluence. It may be asked, in objection to the analysis of the passage just given, Why does Lk. fail to recognize (as Mt. has recognized) the dependence of Mk. on Q.? Doubtless this is the difficulty which the analysis of the whole section leaves with us; it is more defined at this point because the parallelism is here more close than in any earlier passage. We cannot go sufficiently far back of the earliest documents and traditions to find a sure answer. And the difficulty is only increased by reference to Mk.'s δύο δύο (v. 7), paralleled in Lk. 10. If we may hazard a guess, it is that Lk. had the definite narrative of Mk. before him, and also the sayings (with no context of narrative) in Q. Mk.'s version of the Q.-sayings (i. e., in v. 8 f.) represented such a complete revision that the identity was not at once recognizable (especially if they occurred, where Mt. places them, much earlier in Q. than in Mk.); his own tradition (oral?) of the Mission of the Seventy supplied the key—there were two missions, one of the XII, another of the LXX—and although he wavered in c. 9, correcting Mk. by reference to Q., he soon decided upon the solution of the difficulty by placing the balance of Q. in his account of the later mission (c. 10). It is possible that the "confused and unintelligible tradition" (Bousset) dates from Mk.'s revision of Q., and was almost as confusing to Lk. as to us. V. 10b (= Lk. 10:7c) is not in Mk., and is therefore, according to the ordinary canon, from Q. Since it fits either context, it is practically impossible to decide in which it belongs—though in Mt.

³ Contrast J. Weiss' explanation in *Die Schriften*,² i, 126.

⁴ Cf. Jos., *Antiq.*, 17:5:7; E. Klostermann *ad loc.*

it apparently breaks the close connection of vv. 10 and 11 implied in δέ (v. 11).

Vv. 11-13, which B. Weiss, Harnack and Wellhausen unanimously ascribe to Q., contains the practical rule which the disciples are to observe upon entering a new town or village. It may be remarked at once that there is nothing in Mk. (v. 10) which cannot be explained as abbreviation of Q., and indeed, although καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς and ὅπου ἔάν are common Marcan phrases, the verse as a whole is best so explained. Mk.'s ὅπου ἔάν is equivalent to the Matthean-Lucan phrase εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν (Mt. v. 11, Lk. 9:4; 10:5). But did Q. read πόλιν ἢ κώμην (Mt.) or οἰκίαν (Mk., Lk. 9 and 10)? B. Weiss prefers οἰκίαν. He views Mt. 10:11 as an interpolation of the author into Q., in consequence of which he wrote εἰσερχόμενοι instead of εἰσέλθῃτε in v. 12 (*Quellen d. s. Ueb.*, p. 26). It may further be said for this view that οἰκίαν is testified to not only by Lk. 10:5 and 9:4 (= Mk. 6:10), but also by the addition of ἡ τῆς πόλεως in v. 14 after ἐξερχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας, in a passage which undoubtedly refers primarily to rejection by an entire town, not by a single household (as Mt. himself indicates in the next verse (15) τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ, which verse is from Q.). But, the sword is two-edged! The *whole* passage refers to acceptance or rejection by an entire town or village. The disciples' message is to whole communities; it is not a house-mission, nor 'individual work': "greet no man by the way" (Lk. 10:4). Mk. has abbreviated the passage by selecting the outstanding principle of these directions—"into whatsoever *house* you enter, there remain till you depart (from the town," obviously, although the sentence is not clear as it stands alone in Mk.). Lk. has followed Mk.'s abbreviated form in c. 9, with the change (back to Q.) of ὅπου ἔάν into καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν. In c. 10, however, the passage (vv. 5-12) presents this peculiarity: in v. 7, the disciples are bidden to accept the hospitality of the *house* receiving them; in v. 8, in similar terms, they are bidden to accept the hospitality of the receptive *city*. The most natural explanation of this phenomenon would seem to be as follows: Q. read something like the present Matthean form of the passage, εἰς ἣν [δ'] ἂν πόλιν (ἢ κώμην? may be due to 9:35) εἰσέλθῃτε, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀξίος ἐστίν (where did Mt. get this, if not from his documents? It was hardly the method of the later Palestinian Christian missionaries). Lk.

omits this—perhaps for the same reason for which he omitted the equivalent of Mt. vv. 5b, 6; perhaps the direction, simple enough in itself, in view of the common Jewish custom, was unintelligible to his Gentile mind, perhaps it was “unsuited to his readers” (although he records the claims which Jesus himself made for hospitality later in the gospel; cf. 19:5; 30 ff.; 22:10 ff.). It may be supposed that Mt. v. 13 (i. e. its equivalent in Q.) was not easily understood, and so Lk. explains the ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν in v. 12 by giving the explicit πρῶτον λέγετε· εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ (which Mt. v. 13 certainly presupposes). Thus also he avoids the use of ἀσπάσασθε,—which, following v. 4 (μηδένα . . . ἀσπάσησθε), might give rise to an apparent contradiction which would have to be explained; at least, for the sake of literary style, it was better to paraphrase the word. Klostermann (*Handbuch z. N. T., Mt.*, p. 225) prefers Lk.’s form to that of Mt.: “ἀσπ. αὐτ. . . . erscheint stärker gräzisiert als die dem Semitischen . . . besser entsprechende und zu der Fortsetzung bei Mt. selbst allein passende Form Lc. 10:5” (and cf. B. Weiss, *Q. d. s. U.*, p. 26 f.). Moulton and others have pointed out Mt.’s improvement of the Greek of his sources (cf. Moulton’s *Gram. of N. T. Gk.* i³, Index III, s. v. “Matthew”). This preference in no way invalidates our argument, viz., that Q. contained an equivalent to Mt. v. 11a. V. 6 in Lk. is practically equivalent to Mt. v. 13, the formulation of the conditions in each case being determined by the preceding verses (ἐὰν . . . ἀξίῳ, or ἐὰν . . . εἰρήνης). Lk. then (v. 7) gives the equivalent of Mt. v. 11e, which is doubtless in its logical place here. This is followed (v. 7b) by the direction to eat and drink such things as are offered (τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν). This cannot refer, as has often been supposed, to the waiving of the recognized distinctions between Jewish and Gentile dishes—food which is “clean” and that which has been offered to idols—for Lk. definitely bases it upon the maxim: ἄξιός γάρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ (// Mt. v. 11b); it refers to the *right* of the disciples to such food as is offered them—what was really presupposed in the command not to take provisions on the journey (v. 4 // s). This renders unlikely the supposition that the words are due to Lk. himself (“under Pauline influence”). Although the words mean the same in Mt. as here, the connection of thought in Lk. is too close not to be original; probably Lk.’s location is to be

preferred (and cf. what was said above on Mt. v. 10b). To this is now added the direction, *μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν*. The words have no parallel in Mt., and indeed, seem unnecessary after the first part of the verse, in which the direction is implied. It is possible that Lk. has in mind here a later abuse—cf. *Διδαχῇ*, cc. 11-13—perhaps the situation when men arose who endeavored to make of the Gospel a way of gain. However, there is no reason why our Lord should not have forewarned the disciples against a kind of tactlessness incompatible with the dignity and seriousness of their mission. Then, either because of the interruption occasioned by the insertion of the two sentences, “the laborer is worthy . . . go not from house to house,” or, more likely, because he prepares to include the directions to heal and to preach the coming of the Kingdom (which he omitted above; parallel to Mt. vv. 7, 8—the command doubtless belongs in the Matthean location. It was natural for the disciples to be told *why* they were to go before being told *how* to go), he goes back to the beginning of the passage in Q.: *εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθῃτε*. The *καὶ δέχονται ὑμᾶς* is presupposed in vv. 5-7 (that the expression is in Lk.’s own style, cf. the following verse and 9:5, where he prefers it to Mk.’s *δέξεται*); *ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα* is from Q. (v. 7; repeated here as giving a summary of the situation); and v. 9 embraces the omitted Q.-verses (Mt. vv. 7 f.). Q. accordingly read *εἰς ἣν [δ'] ἂν πόλιν [ἢ κώμην?]* Lk. would have no reason for omitting it; cf. 13:22] *εἰσέλθῃτε, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἁγίος ἐστιν· εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν*. [or, *πρῶτον λέγετε· εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ*.] *καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἢ ἡ οἰκία ἁγία, ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτήν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἢ ἁγία, ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστραφήτω*. (or, Lk. 10, 6). *ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε, ἔσθοντες καὶ πίνοντες τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν· ἁγίος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ [τρωφῆς? may be an accommodation to the facts of the present case (!) of what was originally a proverb] αὐτοῦ*. [*μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν?*]

V. 14 (the presence of which in Q. Harnack questions; Weiss prefers Lk.’s form) follows Mk., with the explanatory addition of *τοὺς λόγους* (cf. additions in 9:36 and 10:1). Mk.’s *ἐκπορευόμενοι* is strongly Marcan (cf. statistics in Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*,² p. 12); and although Lk.’s (9:5) *ἐξερχόμενοι ἀπὸ* is strongly in his own style (cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 18), still the parallel *ἐξερχόμενοι* in Mt. cannot be ignored, since the possibility has been

considered that Lk. was following (or that he remembered) Q. as well as Mk. in c. 9. Mt. abruptly omits Mk.'s τόπος, and in its place has later τῆς οἰκίας ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης. Why? Because from the very beginning of the passage (v. 11) οἰκία has been in his mind—the treatment which the XII were to receive from and to accord the households approached (so also the Q.-verse which he omits, Lk. 10:7). He returns to the conception of the whole city accepting or rejecting the message, and adds ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης (which is Q.; cf. Lk. 9:5, where the exact phrase occurs, and 10:10 πόλιν). For the same reason—because it is in Q.—he prefers κοινοῦτόν (paralleled in Lk. 9:5; 10:11) to Mk.'s peculiar χοῦν. Lk. 10:10 f. is built out of Q., but in contrastive parallelism to his own vv. 8 f. B. Weiss (*op. cit.*, p. 28) pronounces impossible any change of the metaphorical words (Lk. 10) into the symbolic action (Mk. and parallels), but nevertheless prefers the Lk. 10 form in his reconstruction of Q. It does not seem impossible (nor unlikely) that a change in the opposite direction has taken place. According to these observations, Q. probably read: εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθῃτε καὶ μὴ [δέξεται?] ὑμᾶς, ἐξερχόμενοι . . . τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τὸν κοινοῦτόν . . . τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἀποτινάσσετε (Lk. would not insert ἀπό three times into Mk. 6:11 unless he had good reason for so doing). Lk. 10:11b is a completion of the parallelism to v. 9.

V. 15 is Q., though to be preferred in its Lucan form. To the reasons which B. Weiss gives (*l. cit.*) for so doing, in disagreement with Harnack, it may be added that Mt. avoids the presence of the demonstrative ἐκείνη twice in the same sentence, referring each time to a different dative noun.

V. 16. Both Harnack and B. Weiss prefer Lk.'s location (10:3); apparently, it has been placed here as an introduction to vv. 17 ff. But both the motive and the figure of Lk. 10:3 conflict with the preceding verse. Moreover, it would seem more natural for the verse to have formed the conclusion to the preceding directions and a transition to the following warnings (some of which must, so we shall endeavor to show, have stood in this connection in Q.), than as an introduction to the whole discourse on the mission of the XII. However, it is not to be denied that the verse as a whole may represent a considerably later point of view, when the mission was met (or could be expected to meet) with positive and powerful opposition. The

chief objection to Weiss' connection of Lk. 10:3 and Mt. 10:6 ("but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Behold, I send you forth as rams—leaders of the flock—in the midst of wolves"; cf. *Quellen d. s. Ueb.*, p. 26 note 3; also in Meyer, I, 2^o, p. 442, which is ratified in I, 1¹⁰, p. 200 note) is that *ἀρνός* [*ἀρνῶν*] (here only in N. T.) does not bear the interpretation placed upon it. In classical Greek, it invariably means 'lamb' or 'sheep,' and although related to Latin *aries* is nevertheless the equivalent of Latin *agnus*. In the LXX, it is used as equivalent to כִּרְיָא ('fatling'; I Kgs. 1:9), כֶּשֶׁב ('lamb'; Gn. 30:32), נִרְיָ ('kid'; Ex. 23:19), etc.—while the LXX consistently uses the thoroughly classical *κρίος* as the equivalent to Heb. אֵיל. More than this, is it likely that both Mt. and Lk. would have ignored and destroyed this sequence of thought if the passage had so stood in Q.—the one by widely sundering its two sections, the other by omitting half the saying? Lk. has corrected the loose and vulgar *πρόβατα*, which was an indefinite term for small cattle, including goats, and as referring to sheep was used of indolent persons, by substituting the finer expression, *ἀρνες*.

The remainder of the chapter (with the exception of vv. 24 f.) occurs later in Lk.—mainly in c. 12—i. e., not only later than Mt. places it, but later even than the (Lucan) parallel to Mt. 10:1-16. It is most likely, therefore, that these paragraphs came later in Q., since it is generally conceded that Lk. preserves Q.'s order better than Mt. But they did not occur so much later in Q. that Mt. was entirely without justification in inserting them here.

Vv. 17-22 are almost word-for-word parallel to Mk. 13:9-13. For this reason, when he comes to Mk. 13, Mt. contents himself with the bare summary, (*παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς*) *θλίψιν*, and the conclusion of the discourse, 24:9; 13. In the present location, the tone hardly passes with 9:36 ff. Is Mt. inserting the discourse here in contravention of Mk.'s exact dating (13:1; 3)? Or is he locating here a section (undated) from Q. which Mk. has located in the discourse on the Mount of Olives—and whose Marcan equivalent Mt. recognizes as a section taken from Q.? In view of Mt.'s treatment of Mk. and Q. above, we are inclined to the latter view. It is to be noted that Harnack, though very

doubtful, labels the section Q. V. 18, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (cf. 24:9-14) perhaps meant (as in Mk. 13:10, its parallel) the heathen world at large; but Mt., in view of vv. 5 f., 23b, thinks only of the heathen military residents in Palestine. The context of Lk.'s parallel (12, 11 f.) is later—if we may call it 'context'; for the "great insertion," in which it occurs, seems to be composed of many separate sayings and events placed in an order which does not commend itself as the probable historical order,—but sayings and events which, with only a few exceptions, must be placed late in Jesus' public life. The whole cast of the section is (with few exceptions) futuristic (especially c. 12, which contains sections placed by Mt. in connection with the Synoptic Apocalypse, 24:42—25:13). And the language here decidedly betokens working-over: ἀρχάς, ἐξουσίας, ἀπολογήσῃσθε, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (as a proper name), and the deterministic ἀ δεῖ εἰπεῖν (which is, however, no real enlargement upon the parallels). Still, the curious πῶς ἢ τί, found in Mt. (v. 19) but not in Mk. (13:11), cannot be ignored. Doubtless Lk. has here a detached Q.-saying (or "logion") which Mk. places in a better—probably the correct—context; and he has dealt with this saying in the same fashion in which he deals with Mk. in 21:12-19.

After this insertion, v. 23 continues the original Q. passage (note the ὅταν (cf. v. 19 // Mk. 13:11), πόλει, etc.) directing the XII what to do in case the message met with hostility (vv. 14 ff.). V. 23b, *if authentic*, could have been spoken only at this time (and cf. v. 6). The mission of the XII represents Jesus' final effort to win over the nation as a whole—"the lost sheep of the house of Israel"—and took place just before his retirement with the disciples and their restless wanderings in N. Galilee and on the E. side of the Lake (cf. even Edersheim^s i, 643; this much we can allow the Schweitzerian thesis). Later, as the shadow of the Cross darkened more heavily his path, and the complete rejection of his message by his own people became more certain, he began to look to the world at large as the proper objective of his disciples' efforts (Mk. 12:9 // s; 13:10 / Mt. 24:14; Mt. 22:9 //; Mk. 14:9 //). The date of the Parusia became more indefinite—though still confined within the lifetime of the then-living generation. And although Mt., in harmony with his general conception of the present discourse (cf. Weiss, *Quellen*, p. 25; etc.), may possibly think that it

refers to the early Palestinian Christian mission after the death of Jesus (i. e., in his own day), nevertheless, if v. 23b were placed very much later in his gospel, we should certainly at once doubt its authenticity.—But it is one thing to posit the existence of a saying in Q., and another to accept it as authentic; one does not follow from the other. To Lehrs' dictum, 'Thou shalt not worship an ancient manuscript' (Nestle, *Einführung*,³ pp. 180, 244), might need to be added to-day, 'Neither shalt thou worship an hypothetical document.' We may perhaps see in v. 23 an indication of the date of Q.—the time when the "great persecution" arose in Jerusalem, and the Church was scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, following the death of Stephen (Ac. 8:1-4), when Saul "laid waste the church." In this hour, as the disciples were hounded from city and village, the saying in v. 23b became current (perhaps based upon some such foundation as the (later) 'fly-sheet' in Mk. 13). In answer to the cry, אֵלֵינוּ יֵשׁוּעַ, were found the words, "οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις Ἰσραὴλ ἕως ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου." The saying must have been before Mt. in Q.; the fact that he gives it, despite his open recognition throughout (and culminating in 28:19) of the Gentile mission, proves it to have had somewhat greater authority than that of oral tradition, great as such authority no doubt was. An objection can be raised against its having stood in this connection in Q. on the ground that while v. 14 f. presuppose a situation where the XII can enter and leave a city in peace, and shake off the dust from their feet against it, v. 23 presupposes active persecution. But v. 23 has certainly as much right to the present location in Q. as has v. 16 (which is undeniably Q., and in its present context in Q.); and v. 16, in Q., introduced v. 23, and formed the transition to it from 14 f.

Vv. 24 f. base this expectation of persecution upon Jesus' own experience in the past. Lk.'s parallel places the saying in a wholly different context and gives it an entirely different form and meaning (cf. Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, ii., 44 f.).

Vv. 26-33 may perhaps belong elsewhere (as in Lk.); and possibly much later than the place given them in Lk. Mk. parallels v. 26b in 4:22 (followed by Lk. 8:17), a not impossible context (explanation of parables). (V. 26a *αὐτοῖς* refers back to v. 17 *οἱ ἄνθρωποι*, and is probably added by Mt.). Mk.

also has a parallel to v. 33 (8:38; followed by Lk. 9:26). The natural inference from these two facts, taken together with the fact of Mt.'s and Lk.'s complete parallelism in the whole present section (vv. 26-33 //), is that a section such as this stood entire in Q.—a series of sayings, or a discourse, on the subject of courageous confession of the Christian name and fearless preaching of the Gospel message. And if we consider the saying in v. 16 (or even that in v. 14) to belong in its present connection, there is no reason why this section should not have been related originally to the discourse at the mission of the XII. It is easy to minimize the danger which attended this mission of the XII to the cities and villages of Galilee during our Lord's lifetime, by thinking mainly of the circumstances accompanying the efforts of the Apostles after Pentecost. But that there was real danger involved in this mission is clear from such passages as Lk. 11:53 f.; Mk. 9:30 f.; Lk. 13:31; Mk. 3:6; Lk. 4:29; clearer still, from the fate which so soon overtook Jesus himself. As for the *ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοί* (v. 32), it is surely no stretch of the imagination to suppose that the XII were to go forth on their journey as emissaries of Jesus; the whole thing was meaningless otherwise;—they were to cover territory which Jesus could not himself reach. The main reason for placing the section later is found in vv. 26b-27, which apparently are intended to convey the impression that the time for reticence and restraint in announcing the message is past; the hour for avoiding agitation among the masses at the cost of silence is now by: "what ye have heard (whispered) in the ear, shout forth from the house-tops." This may or may not suit a later date than the present. (Cf. Jülicher, *op. cit.*, ii. 96 f.)

The same considerations apply to vv. 34-39. The Lucan contexts appeal for preference over the Matthean not only because of Mt.'s inclination to group related sayings into discourses, but *especially*, as Jülicher says (*op. cit.*, ii., p. 208), because the Lucan parallels give no hint of time or place (except that they are addressed to the disciples in the presence of the multitudes). I. e., Lk. has taken them over just where they stood in Q., without attempting (as Mt. has done) to locate them more definitely. We may assume the truth of this in regard to vv. 34-36. With vv. 37-39 the case is somewhat different. As in vv. 26 and 33, so in v. 38 f. we have a Marean parallel at a

different place (8:34 f.), here followed, not by Lk. alone, but by both Mt. (16:24 f.) and Lk. (9:23 f.). The same general conclusion is to be drawn: Mk. has used Q.—and has located the sayings in what is not at all unlikely the true context (sayings laying down the conditions of *discipleship*, not of participation in the Mission). The induction is strengthened by the fact that in Mk. 8, as here, the complete saying—in two sections: a. bearing the cross, b. saving one's life—is preserved (contrast Mk. 4:22 and 8:38, where parts of the sayings are lost), and *in the same order*. V. 37 obviously does not belong here (in Mt.). Were the relatives of the XII at hand endeavoring to dissuade them from entering upon Jesus' mission, as Jesus' own relatives had earlier done? The verse is inserted here because of its connection with vv. 35 f. But we cannot omit 37 alone; 37 and 38 stood connected in Q., as Lk. 14:26 f. indicates; and so did also 38 and 39, as Mk. 8:34 f. proves. What is the solution?—That all three verses stood in their Matthean order in Q.; that Lk. used the Q.-section in c. 14, Mk. using it in c. 8.—Mt. and Lk. following the latter in cc. 16 and 9 respectively. (Lk.'s use of part of the section (// to v. 39) in 17:33 is certainly "out of order"; the application given to it by the context—a description of the Day of the Son of Man—is curious if not disconcerting.)

Vv. 40 ff. apparently return to the original Mission-discourse—presupposing the situation of receptivity and hospitality (vv. 11 ff.), promising a reward to those who entertain the missionaries. The laborer is worthy of his keep (10b); but also, the one who keeps him shall not lack a rightful compensation—nay, he who gives to one of these little ones (the disciples; cf. Lk. 12:32 τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον) only so much as a cup of cold water, 'in the name of a disciple,' shall by no means lose his reward. That some such conclusion stood at the end of the discourse is proven by the parallel Lk. 10:16. But in what sense could the XII be spoken of as προφῆται and δίκαιοι? "In diesen Sprüchen liegen wohl Worte Jesu zugrunde, aber Matthaeus hat sie umgestaltet zu einer Anweisung an die späteren Missionare und Gemeinden" (J. Weiss, *Die Schriften d. N. T.*², i., 313). Vv. 40 and 42 are completely tangled-up with Mk. 9:37 and 41. What has really happened can only be conjectured. The efforts

to place the sayings in suitable contexts have been so thorough as almost completely to disguise their original form and significance. Probably Mk. has placed the saying in v. 40 (// Lk. 10:16) in 9:37, making the change which was required by the new context, but retaining the rest of the verse (latter part) in its original form; and has used the equivalent of v. 42 in 9:41—in a different ('later'?) form, though preserving the correct interpretation: *ὑμᾶς* equivalent to *οἱ μικροί*. The inference lies close to hand that vv. 40 and 42 stood in their Matthean-Marcian sequence in Q.; and that Mk., though omitting the 'Mission discourse' as a whole, yet preserves these sayings, placing them in contexts which to him appear suitable. Q. probably did not contain any extended 'Mission discourse,' as such, but followed the account of the mission more or less immediately with a series of sayings which have been used by Mt. in the present chapter, by Mk. partly in his parallel chapter and partly in cc. 8 and 9, by Lk. partly in cc. 9, 10, 12, and 14.

V. 1 of c. 11 is Mt.'s own addition.

We may accordingly summarize our conclusions in regard to Mt. 9:35-11:1 as follows:

9:35 = a Q. formula (cf. 4:23) which Mk. abbreviates.

36 = inserted from Mk., not by anticipation of 6:34, but to emphasize motive. (For cf. Mt. 14:14.)

37 f. = Q.; Mk. omits.

10:1 = Q., with additions by Mt.; Mk. abbreviates.

2-4 = Q., but out of Q.-location; Mk. revises (c. 3).

5-8 = Q.; Mk. omits.

9 f. = Q.; Mk. revises.

11-13 = Q.; Mk. abbreviates.

14 = Q. plus Mk.; Mk. revises.

15 f. = Q.; Mk. omits.

17-22 = Q. (belongs much later? Mk. places in c. 13).

23-25 = Q.

26-33 = Q., a series of detached sayings? (Paralleled in Mk. cc. 4 and 8.)

34-39 = Q.-sayings (out of place? Also paralleled in Mk. 8); vv. 37-39 stood in their Matthean order in Q.

40 = Q., hardly in its original form; (prefer Mk. 9:37, except first six words).

41 = Mt. (Q.-substratum?).

42 = Q., (placed by Mk. in 9:41, which preserves the original sense, but gives later form).

11:1 = Mt.

Mk.'s whole passage is brief and sketchy; he simply records the fact of the mission, gives briefly the directions as to personal equipment and acceptance of hospitality, what to do in case the message is rejected, and states the fact of their preaching and healing, omitting any further statement of their message. It is difficult to account for this brevity. Especially, if he uses Q., why does he omit so much? Lack of space does not dictate it, for, as above noted, he follows the passage with an extended account of the death of John the Baptist. It has been frequently observed that Mk. is more concerned in giving the narrative of Jesus' work than in recording his teaching. But this observation only presents a further problem for solution. It would seem that Mk. is interested in giving the narrative of Jesus' life ('Petrine tradition') in order to supplement (but not supplant) the discourse-document already in the possession of the Christian community. (If the discourses were not already in written form, but merely in oral tradition (J. Weiss, *Die Schriften*,² i., 125 f.), why should Mk. *write* the narrative and not also the discourses?) This seems a much more plausible explanation of Mk.'s brevity, and his omission of discourse-material, than the assumption that Mk. was limited, through Peter's reminiscences, to narratives, and did not *know* the discourses (would Peter have remembered the narratives, while forgetting the discourses?). It is true, he begins his gospel with the words, "The Evangel concerning Jesus Christ, Son of God"—which without doubt means, 'concerning Jesus Christ, a person who taught and healed and wrought miracles in Galilee, and then went up to Jerusalem and died, at the hands of the authorities, as the Savior'; and not, 'the Evangel of Jesus Christ, which he himself first preached, and then through his apostles gave to the world'; yet we can hardly imagine him so completely ignoring the *teaching* of Jesus unless he could assume that his readers were already familiar with it. The question must have arisen more than once, as he wrote his narrative and recorded the fact of Jesus' teaching the crowd, the disciples, etc. (1:21; 2:2; 13; etc.—only in 4:1 ff. does he give an account of the

matter taught), 'What did Jesus teach, in the synagogues, at the lake-side, in the house and on the highways, as the multitude came about him to hear "the word"?'⁵

As we emerge from the tangled thicket of textual analysis and criticism, we are confronted with the historian's questions: What was the character and object of this mission? When did it occur? How long a period of time did it require? Was the mission repeated?

The synoptic evangelists agree in representing our Lord's public ministry as falling into two broadly distinguishable periods: one of popular activity, the other of comparative retirement. This retirement was due, in all likelihood, to the opposition of the popularly influential scribes and Pharisees (with the "Herodians"?); but at the same time, the opposition was accompanied by the apathy and unrepentance of the masses of the people—in the cities, especially Capernaum, where his "mighty works" had been done. On withdrawing from public activity, he devoted himself almost entirely to the 'training of the XII,' preparing them to meet the hour which was inevitably coming, when the rising storm should burst and the Son of Man be put to shameful death, and announcing his certain return to establish (or inaugurate) the Kingdom of God. As the day is apparently drawing to its close, and he can see the shadows gathering about him, believing that 'his hour' is soon to come, he sends out the disciples with a final appeal, the call to repentance before the coming of the Kingdom (Mk. 6:12; Mt. 10:7; Lk. 10:9).⁵ How successful was this mission, we cannot say. The disciples return (Mk. 6:30; Lk. 10:17) with joy, relating their success in casting out demons. But we hear of no great awakening to repentance among the people of the land. In the later period, perhaps because of the unrepentance which he, and then later the XII, had found, and the consequent unfitness of the nation to receive the Kingdom, Jesus' view of the future changed. Together with the assurance that the Kingdom would be taken away from the favored people and given

⁵ There is this much of truth in Schweitzer's theory of the Mission (cf. his *Messianität und Leidensgeheimnis*, p. 15 ff.; *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 357 f.); as a whole, his theory is not based upon a thorough documentary analysis of the sources, and hence is mechanical and subjective.

to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof (Mt. 21:43), perhaps coëval with the growth of this conviction, his sense of the Kingdom's *immediacy* (with which he had begun his preaching in Galilee) gave way more and more to the feeling that "the day and the hour knoweth no man"—though he persisted to the end in maintaining the coming of the Kingdom within a generation (Mk. 9:1; 13:30).

Now the location which we will choose for the material contained in Mt. 10 depends considerably upon our acceptance or rejection of this *Lebensbild*—which, however, seems plainly indicated in both the synoptics and John (cf. Jn. 6:66). If we accept it, there seems little reason for denying the place in the Discourse on the Last Things which Mk. (13:9-13) has given to Jesus' words on the destiny of the disciples, placed by Mt. in c. 10. Perhaps the substance of these words was given more than once (hardly in identical form); at least this is the impression given to us in all the gospels. Mk. reports three distinct occasions upon which Jesus announced to the XII his own impending fate (cf. ἡμέρα, 8:31). It was necessary to repeat it to them because they were slow to accept so hard a saying (8:32b; 9:32). Would it have been any the less necessary for him to repeat his prediction of the future awaiting the XII, their trials and duties—so out of harmony with *their* conceptions (cf. Mk. 8:32; 9:33-37; 10:35-45)? Would it not have been strange if, when predicting the fate of Jerusalem, and other signs which should accompany and precede the end, he had left wholly out of consideration his own disciples' part in these events, if he had not repeated the warnings and counsels already given them? The character of the sayings connected in Mt. (and Lk.; also in Q.?) with the mission of the disciples seems to fit the latter period far better than the former. Accordingly, our answer to the historical questions is: There was only one 'mission'; and this took place during Jesus' lifetime.⁶ How

⁶ Wellhausen's doubt that the mission ever occurred, on the score that it was not repeated, and that the XII were afterwards as passive and lacking in independence as before, has been well answered by J. Denney in his *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 194 f.: "We have no such knowledge of the circumstances as enables us to say that this experiment if successful must have been repeated. The fact that a thing is not done twice is not a proof that it was not done once. When the Twelve returned from their

long the disciples were gone on this mission, we have no means of knowing. But they were not sent out with the expectation that they were not to reappear until the Parusia (as is implied by Mt.'s discourse as it stands—the crux of Schweitzer's argument).

In lieu of any second mission, or general commission, of the disciples, to be fulfilled after Jesus' death, Mk. gives his words to the disciples regarding their future, in the (composite) Discourse on the Last Things, and other discourses on the Parusia of the Son of Man, sayings which were uttered, possibly, during our Lord's last days, possibly on the way up to Jerusalem (Mk. 10:32-45),—at any rate, towards the very end of his life.⁷

How were these sayings (in Mt. 10) drawn out of their original context (i. e., final discourses and sayings) and connected with the words at the mission of the XII during Jesus' ministry in Galilee? There are two considerations to be suggested: 1st, we have seen what Mt. has done in 10:17 ff.; 2d, we do not know what was the order of Q. Lk. gives us what we suppose to be an approximate order; and, as we have seen above, this order apparently located the sayings soon after the narrative of the mission.—But even Lk. was a redactor, and also, he followed the lead of Mk. (his *καθεξῆς*, 1:3, must be valued relatively to this fact)—and Mk. had already suggested the mission of the XII as a possible location for these sayings.—Certainly, we cannot get back of a hypothetical reconstruction of the order of Q.⁸

experimental mission, a crisis was at hand in the ministry of Jesus; and from that time He kept them closely by Him, and devoted Himself almost exclusively to preparing them for the dark future which was now impending."

⁷ There are numerous traces of agreement of Mt./Lk. against Mk. even in the "Synoptic Apocalypse"; cf. Mt. 24, 2, *ταῦτα; καταλυθήσεται*; 3, *λέγοντες*; 4, *εἶπεν*; 5, *γάρ*; 6, *γάρ*; 7, *καὶ 2°*; 21, *ἔσται; μεγάλη*; 30, *καὶ δόξης πολλῆς*; 34, *ὥς ἂν πάντα*.

⁸ Cf. above on vv. 9 and 10 *fin.*, and 16 *fin.*

E. Schott has suggested that the mission could not have taken place before the disciples accepted the truth of Jesus' messiahship, and therefore Mt. is inconsistent in placing this mission before 16:13ff (*Die Auskündigungsscene*, in *ZNTW* for 1906, p. 150). Doubtless this is correct; yet it is by no means obvious that Jesus' messiahship was to form the subject of their message. Rather, this was the Kingdom of God (Lk. 9:2; the approach of the Kingdom, Mt. 10:7)—the subject of Jesus' own public preaching from the first.

Σήμερον καὶ αὔριον, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ (LUKE 13:32).

ALLAN H. GILBERT, Cornell University.

The text of Luke 13:31-33 is as follows: 'Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ προσῆλθάν τινες Φαρισαῖοι λέγοντες αὐτῷ· ἔξελθε καὶ πορεύου ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι Ἡρώδης θέλει σε ἀποκτεῖναι. (32) καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες εἶπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ· ἰδοὺ ἐκβάλλω δαιμόνια καὶ ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ σήμερον καὶ αὔριον, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι. (33) πλὴν δεῖ με σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ ἔχον μένῃ πορεύεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολίσθαι ἔξω Ἱερουσαλήμ. (That same day there came certain of the Pharisees, saying unto him, Get thee out, and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee. (32) And he said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected. (33) Nevertheless, I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.)

The interpretation of the words *σήμερον καὶ αὔριον, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ* has always met with difficulties. Plummer¹ lists five interpretations of them: three actual days, the three years of the ministry, a long time, a short time, a definite time. The last he thinks 'probably right.' The second, being wholly figurative and incapable of proof or disproof, is, for those convinced of its correctness, inexpugnable. Plummer says that the same expression is used of three actual days in 'XIX. 10, 11,' apparently a mistaken reference which I have not identified. As to the literal interpretation, of three actual days, Godet suggests that 'it would be difficult to reduce so weighty a saying to greater poverty of meaning.'² In support of his view that the words symbolically express the idea of a very short time³ he, like Plum-

¹ *The International Critical Commentary, Luke*, New York, 1910.

² Similarly, to show that a supposed reference to the cries of the multitude on Palm Sunday is 'quite inadequate' to indicate the point of time referred to in verse 35, Plummer writes: 'Christ would not have declared with this impressive solemnity the fact that He would not enter Jerusalem for some weeks, or possibly months.'

³ Three days ('three suns') seems to be used in the sense of a 'very short time' in Tennyson's *Ulysses*:

Life piled on life
Were all too little, and of one to me
Little remains; but every hour is saved

mer, refers to Hosea 6:2, which, in the Septuagint, is as follows: *ὑγιάσει ἡμᾶς μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας · ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ ἀναστήσόμεθα*. In support of a long time, one notes that the series of three days is twice repeated, possibly as though to emphasize the effect of length, and *αὔριον* is employed somewhat as in Joshua 22:28: *ἐὰν γένηται ποτε καὶ λαλήσωσιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ταῖς γενεαῖς ἡμῶν αὔριον*. Plummer's preference, a definite time, does not conflict with any of the other four, if the definite time may be any clearly defined period, long or short.

It seems as though Plummer's interpretation might be advantageously expanded. First, a number of parallel passages may be adduced:

τὸν χόρτον ὄντα σήμερον καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον (Luke 12:28, and similarly Matthew 6:30).

φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν (1 Cor. 15:32, from Isaiah 22:13).

καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπεστράφητε σήμερον ἀπὸ Κυρίου · καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν ἀποστήτε σήμερον ἀπὸ Κυρίου, καὶ αὔριον ἐπὶ πάντα Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται ἡ ὀργή (Joshua 22:18).

βασιλεὺς σήμερον, καὶ αὔριον τελευτήσει (Ecclesiasticus 10:10).

σήμερον δανιὲ καὶ αὔριον ἀπαιτήσῃ, μισητὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τοιοῦτος (Ib. 20:15).

Compare also *μὴ καυχῶ τὰ εἰς αὔριον, οὐ γὰρ γινώσκεις τί τέξεται ἡ ἐπιούσα* (Proverbs 27:1).

In all these the idea of sudden reversal is prominent. To-day the grass is green and flourishing, to-morrow dry and withered; to-day feasting and revelry, to-morrow their opposite, death. All show how transitory is any human state, and how striking a contrast two consecutive conditions may offer. This contrast, rather than any particular space of time, is apparently in the mind of Jesus. He does not mean that his period of healing the sick is to endure either a short time or a long time, so much as that it is to continue for a space—the definite time of Plummer—and then be abruptly broken off: the third day is to present a complete contrast to the days preceding.

From that eternal silence, something more,
A bringer of new things; and vile it were
For some three suns to store and hoard myself,
And this gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought—(24-32).

In one important particular the parallel passages differ from Luke 13:32. They all deal with but two days (to-day and to-morrow), while it deals with three (to-day, to-morrow, and the third day). However, they are valid parallels, and Luke's verse is a more elaborate expression of the same sort; for they contrast two consecutive periods of time, each having its own verb (*ὄντα σήμερον, αὔριον βαλλόμενον*), just as it does (*σήμερον καὶ αὔριον ἀποτελῶ, τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι*); *σήμερον* in the parallels equals *σήμερον καὶ αὔριον* in Luke 13:32. The object of this expansion is probably to signify some continuance of time before the sudden reversal; there is an even progression of events, abruptly interrupted. This series, either long or short, being cleanly cut off, might be said to occupy a definite time. An English parallel presenting an ascending series of two days with a third day in complete contrast to them is furnished by a speech of Wolsey's in *King Henry VIII*; the Cardinal reflects on his own prosperity and sudden, unexpected ruin.

This is the state of man: to-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope; to-morrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him;
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost;
And when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls, as I do—(3:2. 353-359).

Some attention should be given to the passage as a whole. Its style is notable, being especially marked by repetitions, the most obvious of which is the series of verse 33: *σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ ἐχομένῃ*. Clearly reflecting the series of verse 32, it differs in that it is not broken into two opposed parts, but is continuous, and modifies one verb. It denotes an unbroken period of undiversified activity. Commentators usually think of *τῇ ἐχομένῃ* as equivalent to *τῇ τρίτῃ* in verse 32, and this is possible. But it seems possible also to interpret the entire second series as equivalent to only the first part of the first series (*σήμερον καὶ αὔριον* = *σ. καὶ αὔ. καὶ τῇ ἐ.*). Two expressions of uninterrupted time are then equated; the first being thought of as sharply closed by *τελείωσις*, the other as indefinitely stretching on. In spite of the different setting, one is reminded of Macbeth's

To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time—(5:5. 19-21).

(It is interesting to note that Macbeth, as he continues, speaks of a sudden interruption of the series—'Out, out, brief candle!', 'his hour upon the stage,' etc.). Πορεύεσθαι in 33 is echoed from 31 and 32. Plummer suggests that, since ἐξελθεῖν in 31 is not also repeated, the repetition of πορεύεσθαι may be accidental, and takes the word to refer to the departure of Jesus from the domain of Herod. It seems also possible that in the mouth of our Lord the word, caught from the Pharisees, is used not of a departure from Galilee or Perea, but, figuratively, of continuance in the daily work of his life. Such a modification of the meaning of the repeated word adds to the effect of the passage, and explains why ἐξελθεῖν, which is incapable of figurative use, is omitted. Furthermore, Jesus also omits ἐντεῦθεν, which the Pharisees used with πορεύεσθαι. The parallelism⁴ of the passage is obviously not exact and rigid. A literal interpretation of πορεύεσθαι—to depart from Galilee—is harmonious with an entirely literal interpretation of the three days, but less so with one that is at all figurative.

Some commentators (see Meyer on the passage) take τελειοῦμαι as applicable to the completion of the work in hand—a needless reduction of the passage to its lowest significance. But if the word has such a meaning, the use is unique in the New Testament, for the verb always has either a direct object (*e. g.* τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας, Luke 2:43), or is used passively (*e. g.* Hebrews 5:9). A direct object (ἔργον, δρόμον) would be expected in Luke 13:32 if the reference were to completion of labors. Plummer explains the word as probably passive, and not middle, and renders it 'I am perfected.' In his usage it appears most typically in Hebrews, and Westcott, in his commentary on the epistle, gives a special discussion of τελείωσις to which Plummer refers. After that discussion, it seems hardly possible to insist on a low meaning of the verb in Luke 13:32. The following reference to the solemn subject of the death of Christ at Jerusalem throws its influence over the meaning of the verse in question. Having in mind his decease, our Lord in his reply to the Pharisees well might refer to more than the affairs of the moment, and glance forward to the abrupt termination of his earthly course.

⁴ A further instance of parallelism is the repetition of ἐθέλω in verse 35.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE BIBLICAL PHRASE TO ORDAIN A LAMP

For my explanation of the phrase *I have ordained a lamp* in JBL 33, 166 I may refer to OLZ 19, 39.¹ In a lament addressed to Istar (KB 6, 2, p. 132, ll. 86/7) we find *ešû qatru limmir kinûnî, biliti linnapix dipârî*, My hearth, which is now black and smoldering, may glow again; my torch, which is now quenched, may flare again. *Kinûnu* is the Aram. *kânônâ*, hearth, brazier, firepan, which has passed into Arabic as *kânûn*. December and January are called *First Canun* and *Second Canun* as the *brazier-months*. The original meaning of *kinûnu* is *stand*, frame, support; cf. Heb. *ken* (GB¹⁰ 352^a) = Syr. *kânnâ*, base, support, just as the primary connotation of Syr. *těfâûû*, hearth, is *foot* (see above, p. 157). The Sumerian equivalent of *kinûnu* is *ki-izi*, fireplace (SGI 117.27). The reading *ki-ne* (AkF 33; cf. Zimmern's *Bab. Rel.* 69) is uncertain. *Dipâru*, torch, on the other hand, which is combined by Zimmern (GB¹⁰ 388^b) with Heb. *lappîd*, may be a Sumerian loanword (= *de*, flame, and *bar*, light; SGI 135. 66). For *bilitu* see AJSL 22, 259.

HEB. *AUUAṬ NĀFŠ*, RUT, HEAT

In the corrupt gloss Jer. 2:24 we must read: *Hap-par hal-limmûd miḏbar bē'auuāt nafšô ša'áf ha-rûḥ*. The bull, used to the desert, in his rut sniffs the scent (*viz.* of the female camel, Heb. *bikrâ*, v. 23). *Bull* refers here to a male camel. We call a male elephant, or even a male whale, a *bull*. The omission of the article before *par* is due to haplography. The pointing *pārāḥ* is based on 14:6. The final *h* of *pārāḥ* must be prefixed to *limmûd*; in the same way we must read *ša'áf ha-rûḥ* (he draws air, *viz.* through the nose; cf. above, p.

¹ For the abbreviations see vol. 34 of this JOURNAL, p. 41.

156). Male camels are very much excited during the rutting-season. Duhm reads *pârâh*, cow, and *lîmmûdat*. According to Grotius *¶ attraxit ventum amoris sui* means *eminus olfecit marem*. For the secretion from the scent-glands (Arab. *ḍifrâ*) of the male camel—see Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (1897) p. 70.

HEB. *šĕġāl*, QUEEN = ARAB. *TAJLĀ'*

In *Nah.* 45 I stated that Heb. *šĕġāl*, queen, was identical with Heb. *šĕġār*, dam, which might be a Šaphel of *gûr*, young. Similarly *šikaru*, brandy, is derived from the root *kar* which we have in Arab. *takárrâ* = *nâma*, to sleep (see JHUC, No. 287, p. 32). The translation *Wurf*, given in GB¹⁰ 808^a, is incorrect: *šĕġār* does not mean *litter*, *brood*, but *dam*, *female parent* (so correctly Siegfried-Stade) and the original form of the absolute state is *šĕġar* = *šġaru*, not *šġr*. If we hesitate to substitute *šĕġār* in Ex. 13:12, we must at least point שְׁגָר instead of שֶׁגָר. This *šĕġr* = *šġr* is a syncopated form of *šġar*, just as we have in Assyrian *šikru* = *šikaru*, brandy, and *zikru* = *zikaru*, male. Similarly the construct of *katēf*, *shoulder*, is כְּתֵף = *katp* = *katip*; cf. אֵרֶךְ = *ark* = *arik*, as construct of אֵרֶךְ, *long*, Assyrian *arku* = *ariku*, fem. *ariku*. I have explained these formations in AJSL 1, 228, n. 1; cf. 23, 262; JBL 34, 54.

Assyr. *šigrêti* (for *šigarâti*) ladies of the harem (AL⁵ 178^b) is identical with Aram. *šĕglâtâ* in Dan. 5 and *šġlônôt*, concubines, *Snh.* 95^b (BT 7, 411). Similarly our *quean* is a doublet of *queen*, and *dam* is identical with French *dame*, just as *sire*, male parent of a beast, is the French *Sire* used in addressing a king. Luther used *Dirne* for *girl*, but the word means now *courtesan*, and German medical writers use Lat. *puella* in the same sense. Our *wench* had originally no depreciatory implication. For these changes of meaning cf. *Est.* 62; ZDMG 64, 703, 16. Nevertheless there is no connection between *šĕġāl*, queen, and the obscene verb *šġél*. I stated *Nah.* 46 that while *šĕġāl* = *šĕġār* might be a Šaphel of *gûr*, young, the verb *šġél* might be a Šaphel of *gal*, well. Sexual intercourse with a woman was regarded as irrigation of a field; see my note *Well and Field* = *Wife* in JAOS 36.

König's *Wörterbuch* combines *šegál* with Arab. *sajl*, pail, pitcher; cf. the Arabic parallels cited in BL 91, n. 40. Storchenski says to Elga in Gerhart Hauptmann's *Elga* (Berlin, 1905) p. 53: *Mein Eigentum bist Du! Mein Eigentum! Du bist mein kostbares Eigentum! Du bist wie ein Krug! Es giebt kein zweites Gefäß so köstlich wie Dich in der weiten Welt, und wär' es aus Onyx oder Jaspis geschnitten. Man trinkt daraus den köstlichsten Wein. Nie wird es leer* (BL 90, nn. 34. 35).

Lagarde, *Nomina*, 51, 20; 153, 20 remarked that *šegál* seemed to be a Babylonian loanword, but Peiser's conjecture (OLZ 8, 336; AkF 7) that Heb. *šegál* represents the Assy. *ša ekalli*, of the palace (Sumer. *egal*) is as unsatisfactory as the explanation that Heb. *sârís*, eunuch, is the Assy. *ša rêši* (AkF 6). I have pointed out in JHUC, No. 287, p. 32 that *sârís*, eunuch, means *mashed*, just as Assy. *serášu*, beer (contrast AkF 40; OLZ 19, 41) denotes originally *mash*. The stem of Heb. *sârís* and Assy. *serášu* appears in Arabic as *šarasa* = *márasa*, Assy. *marášu* (AkF 38). Heb. *sârís* corresponds to *θλαδίας*, *θλιβίας* (BL 47). The famous surgeon of the Byzantine school of medicine, Paul of Ægina, who seems to have lived in the 7th century, describes this method of emasculation as follows: *Puerorum balneo tepido submersorum comprimebantur et fricabantur testiculi aut manibus aut per instrumenta. Tali modo evirati θλασώι sive θλιβώι appellabantur*. See W. Ebstein, *Die Medizin im AT* (Stuttgart, 1901) p. 50, n. 2. The original Greek text of Paulus Ægineta's *Ἱατρικὴ* was published at Venice in 1528. The passage quoted is found in Book 6, c. 8.

Heb. *šegál* may be connected with Arab. *ṭájila*, to be bigbellied (*ṭájilat* = *ázuma báṭnuhá*). The ideogram for Sumer. *ama*, mother, is also used for *dagal*, wide, spacious, Arab. *baṭīn* (SGI 52. 131; BA 9, 2, No. 231). Also Assy. *ummu*, mother, means originally (pregnant) *womb* (AJSL 20, 171, below). Orientals consider a fat woman especially beautiful; see my remarks on the etymology of *Miriam* in AJP 27, 163. The fact that we have a *ṭ* in Arab. *ṭájila* does not disprove my theory that the *š* in *šegál* = *šegár* is the causative prefix (JAOS 28, 114). *T* for *š* is often secondary (ZDMG 64, 707, 10): Assy. *šaqálu*, to weigh, which is a Šaphel of *qal*, appears in Arabic as *ṭaqala*.

At any rate, Arab. *tājila* is a denominative verb, as is also Arab. *tāqula*, to be weighty (contrast AkF 23). The original meaning of *ša-qal*, to weigh, is *to lift*; cf. Aram. *šeqāl*, also our *to weigh anchor* and *to weigh a ship that has been sunk*. A thing that is easily lifted is light (Heb. *qal*). In Assyrian, *šuqallulu* (HW 686) is used of clouds floating or hovering (lit. *hanging, suspended*) in the air. Ethiopic *saqāla* means *to hang, suspend*. The two pans of a balance are suspended. Also Arab. *ḡāqala* = *sāqala*, to polish, is a Šaphel of *qal*; cf. *nēḥōšt qalāl*, burnished bronze in Ez. 1:7; Dan. 10:6 and the verb *qilqāl* in Eccl. 10:10 (see *Mic.* 98). The statement made in Fürst's lexicon that we must read *šeḡāl* instead of *šalāl* in Jud. 5:30 is gratuitous (JAOS 34, 423). Nor can Heb. *šeḡāl* be combined with Arab. *šāqala* = *jāma'a*. Arab. *šāqala* = *uāzana* is a doublet of *tāqala*; but both verbs are loanwords.

I have subsequently noticed that Rödiger in *Ges. Thes.* 1363 refers to both Arab. *tājila* and *šāqala* = *jāma'a*, although he combined the verb *šaḡél* with Arab. *tāqula*, to be pregnant. My attention was drawn to the connection between Heb. *šeḡāl* and Arab. *tājila* by the form *'atjal* cited as a parallel to Arab. *'ūsaj* = *aušag* = Assy. (*u*)*ašagu*, brier (see my note on *Askari*, soldier, and *Lascar*, sailor, in JAOS 36).

ARAMAIC *LĒHENĀ*, CONCUBINE

In my paper on Heb. *leṣ*, wanton, and *melīṣ*, spokesman (BA 10, part 2) I have shown that Heb. *leṣ* corresponds to Arab. *dā'iṣ*. We find interchange between *d* and *l* also in Arab. *dā'aba*, to play = *lá'aba*, while *dā'aba*, to repudiate, is a transposed doublet (AJSL 32, 65) of *dāfa'a* (with partial assimilation of *p* to *d*. In the same way Aram. *lēhenā*, concubine, stands for *dēhenā* = *dēhemā* = *daḥimat*. The stem appears in Arabic as *dāḥama* = *nākaḥa*. We find also *dāxama* = *jāma'a*. For the partial assimilation of the original *m* to the initial *d* cf. Heb. *dašén*, fat = Arab. *dāsim*, Heb. *dāšn*, offal = Arab. *samād* (ZDMG 58, 631, below; JBL 32, 221, 5).

Wetzstein in Delitzsch's commentary on Canticles and Ecclesiastes (1875) p. 454, n. 1 derived Aram. *lēhenā* from Arab. *lāḥina*, to be concealed; according to Wetzstein a concubine

was called *the concealed one* because she was secluded in the harem, or because she was not recognized as a legitimate wife. Fleischer in Levy's Talmudic dictionary (2, 535) combined Aram. *lēhenā* with Arab. *laxnā'*, malodorous. Our *whore* has undoubtedly been associated with ME *hore*, filth, although it is etymologically connected with *caritas*, love, just as German *Buhlerin*, courtesan, meant originally *beloved*. Arab. *lāxina*, to have a rank smell, is used especially of the armpits and the vulva (contrast BL 75, n. 30; 91, n. 40).

Batten, *Ezra-Neh.* (SBOT) 60, 29 compared Arab. *lahn*, note, tune, song; he thought Aram. *lēhenā* meant originally *singer* and then *concubine*. Oriental female singers are not overprudish (Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 1897, p. 103). Neither Fleischer's nor Batten's etymology was new: the combination of Aram. *lēhenā* with Arab. *lāxana* was suggested long ago (1757) by Simonis; see Ges. *Thes.* 754^a where Gesenius mentions also the derivation of Aram. *lēhenā* from Arab *lāhina*. This is also recorded in Fürst's dictionary. J. D. Michaelis in his translation of *Daniel* (1781) explained *šēglātēh u-lēhenātēh* as *seine Tanzhuren und Sängerinnen*.

The original form of the root (AJSL 23, 252) was *daḥ*, to push (cf. my remarks on *bērāḥ*, Cant. 8:14, in BL 77, n. 41). We find this root in Heb. *daḥāḥ*, *daḥā*, *daḥāf*, *daḥāq* (Ges. *Thes.* 333^a). In Ethiopic, *daḥāla* means *to repudiate* (lit. *to push away, thrust out*) a wife. In Syriac, *dēḥuqā* denotes *repudiation* of a wife. We find the same root also in Ethiop. *madhē*, upper millstone (cf. GB¹⁰ 754^a) and in Eth. *nādha*, to push, impel. In Arabic we have *dāḥḥa*, *dāḥaba*, *dāḥba'a*, *dāḥaja*, *dāḥaza* *dāhama*, *dāḥā-īādhū* = *nākaha*, *jāma'a*. As stated above, we have also *dāxama* = *jāma'a*, but *dāxala*, *'alāḥā* corresponds to Heb. *bā elēhā*. Also Arab. *dāḥdara*, *dāḥraja*, and *dāḥmala*, to roll, mean originally *to push*. The primary connotation of *dāḥara* and *dāḥaqa*, to reject, is *to push away*. Cf. also *dāḥqaba*, to push from behind, and *indāḥaša*, to be put in (originally *pushed in*). Lengerke, *Daniel* (1835) p. 285 stated that the original meaning of *dāḥā-īādhū* was *to push*.

The original form with initial *d* instead of *l* may be preserved in Dan. 6:19 where we find *daḥuān* instead of *lēhenān*, concubines. Marti and Prince, *Daniel* (1899) p. 236 substitute *lēhe-*

nân (cf. also Driver, *Daniel*, in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, 1900, p. 77) but it is sufficient to read *dēhenân*. Bertholdt, *Daniel* (1806) p. 413 derived *dahyân* from Arab. *dāhā-īādḥū*. According to Hitzig, *Daniel* (1850) p. 96 *dāḥyû* corresponds to Arab. *lāḥyah*, i. e. *mulier cum qua luditur*. The translation *concubine* was proposed in Moser's Heb. lexicon (1795). Hävernack, *Daniel* (1832) p. 222 thought that *dahyân* was identical with *lēhenân*; he regarded the *d* as *verhärtete Aussprache* of the *l*. The *d*, however, is more original than the *l*. We need not suppose that Dan. 5 and 6 were written by the same author (Lagarde, *Mitteilungen* 4, 351; Barton in JBL 17, 62-86).

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

HOW LONG?

In several communications at various times I have called attention to the similarity of ritual use of the 'How long' in Babylonian and Hebrew psalms. I desire to add one other instance of what I believe to be similar use of the phrase in the two psalmodies. In Babylonian psalmody the phrase 'How long,' or 'How long thy heart' is sometimes used to indicate psalmody itself, as 'The psalmist speaks no more the 'How long thy heart,' meaning that psalmody is silent. We have, I think, a parallel use in Hebrew in Psalm 74. 9.

אֶתֹתֵינוּ לֹא-רָאִינוּ

אֵין-עוֹד נָבִיא

וְלֹא-אֶתֵנוּ יוֹדַע עַד-רָמָה:

'Our signs we have not seen; there is no more a prophet, nor is there among us a psalmist, i. e. one knowing 'How long'; not, as commonly rendered, one knowing how long this calamity will last.

JOHN P. PETERS.

New York City.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1915

The fifty-first meeting of the Society was held in Room 301 of the Philosophy Building of Columbia University, beginning Monday, December 27th, 1915, at 2.15 P. M., with President Torrey in the Chair. The records of the last meeting were read and approved. The Corresponding Secretary read his annual report, which was accepted and placed on file. The Recording Secretary read his annual report, which was accepted and placed on file. The Chair appointed Professors Schmidt and York a Committee to prepare a minute on members who have died during the year.

In the absence of Treasurer Prince, his report was read by Dr. Vanderburgh. The Recording Secretary then read his financial statement, and these two reports were referred to Professors Clay and Dahl as an Auditing Committee. The Chair appointed Professors Barton, Margolis and Fuller a Committee to nominate officers. Professor Fagnani reported for the Committee of Arrangements certain modifications in the programme due to unavoidable absences. At 2.35, Professor Torrey gave the President's address. Subject: "The Need of a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible." From 3.30 to 5.20 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Prof. Fullerton: "Notes on Isaiah."

By Prof. Haupt: "The Curse on the Serpent," "Astarte's Azure Necklace."

By Prof. Arnold: "On a Troublesome Passage in the Elephantine Temple Papyri."

By Prof. Barton: "Did Noah eat the Apple?"

By Prof. Margolis: "Hexapla and Hexaplaric."

Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 27. The Society met at 8.15 in room 305, Schermerhorn Building. Professor Moulton gave an illustrated address on the Palestinian Pyxes. In the absence of Professor Montgomery, late Director of the School at Jerusalem, Professor Fullerton gave an oral report on that School, and

added a vivid description of the outbreak of the war as it affected Jerusalem.

TUESDAY, A. M., DECEMBER 28. The Society met at 9.40. The Council reported the election of Professor Margolis as Corresponding Secretary, and of Professors Porter and Montgomery as additional members of the Publishing Committee. On nomination of the Council, the following persons were elected active members of the Society.

Prof. James P. Berkeley, Newton Theological Institution.

Joshua Bloch, New York City.

Rev. Wm. Bode, S.T.D., Grundy Centre, Ia.

Rev. Prof. R. Butin, Catholic University.

Prof. Leslie E. Fuller, Ph.D., Garrett Biblical Institute.

Miss Alice M. Holmes, Marquand Hall, E. Northfield, Mass.

Theophilus R. Hyde, Yale University.

Carl S. Knopf, Yale University.

Prof. Alexander Marx, Ph.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City.

Rev. John Albert Maynard, General Theological Seminary, New York City.

Prof. Walter M. Patton, Ph.D., D.D., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.

Miss Louisa P. Smith, Wellesley College, Mass.

Rev. Prof. A. A. Vasehalde, Ph.D., Catholic University.

Rev. Rino Venturini, New York City.

Prof. Benjamin S. Winchester, Yale University.

[The following, elected in 1914, have qualified as members in the past year: Prof. Lynn Harold Hough, D.D., Evanston, Ill.; Prof. Lucy E. Keith, Western College for Women, Oxford, O.; Prof. Harry C. York, Pd.D., Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.]

The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts of the Treasurer and Recording Secretary were correct. The report was adopted.

Professor Barton, from the Committee on Nominations, presented the following list of officers:

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. Warren J. Moulton,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Prof. James A. Montgomery,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Prof. C. C. Torrey,	} <i>Associates</i> <i>in</i> <i>Council.</i>
Prof. B. W. Bacon,	
Prof. Henry T. Fowler,	
Prof. Paul Haupt,	
Prof. J. A. Bewer,	
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt,	} <i>Directors of</i> <i>School at Jerusalem.</i>
Prof. George L. Robinson,	
Prof. Kemper Fullerton,	

These were all unanimously elected. The thanks of the Society were returned to Columbia University for the accommodations furnished for this meeting. The Chair appointed Professors Sanders and Hinke a Committee to prepare a minute on the retiring Recording Secretary. From 9.55 to 11.30 papers were read and discussed, as follows:

By Prof. Haupt: "Was Amos a Sheepman?"

By Prof. Kent: "The Origin of the Tradition of the Twelve Hebrew Tribes."

By Prof. Paton: "The Semitic Originals of Sanchuniathon."

By Prof. Arnold: "The Name Yahwe Sabaoth."

It was voted to accept with hearty thanks the invitation of the New York Branch of the Archaeological Institute of America, through its President, W. K. Warren, Esq., to lunch at 1 p. m. with them and with the Council of the Institute.

Professor Schmidt presented the following report from the Committee on deceased members:

"In the death of Professor Thomas Kelly Cheyne, who for twenty-four years was one of its honorary members, the Society has sustained a great loss. As a scholar and a man Professor Cheyne distinguished himself by his ample learning, his untiring industry, his versatility and resourcefulness, his courage, courtesy and patience. In his fearless devotion to the search for truth and his gentle spirit he was an example and inspiration to his colleagues. Numerous contributions to biblical science published in the JOURNAL of the Society revealed his interest in its work and made him an active as well as an honorary member.

"The death of President Solomon Schechter has removed from our midst a scholar eminent alike for his great erudition, his success as a discoverer, his ability as a teacher, and the nobility of his character. For fourteen years he was one of the honorary members of the Society.

"By the death of Professor Charles Joseph Hardy Ropes the Society has lost one of its active members who by his love of scientific research and his careful scholarship exemplified in a noble manner its aims and purposes."

The report was adopted.

Professor Sanders, from the Committee on the Recording Secretary, reported the following minute, which was adopted:

"The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, in view of the resignation of its Secretary, the Reverend William H. Cobb, D.D., after twenty-five years of continuous service, desires to place on record its deep appreciation of his unswerving devotion to the interests of the Society, and of the conscientious and painstaking way in which he has discharged the

exacting duties of his office; and expresses the hope that he may long continue to be an active participant in the affairs of the Society."

The following papers were read by title only: By Prof. Torrey: "On Certain Difficult Passages in the Synoptic Gospels"; by Prof. Bacon: "The Gospel of Matthew at Rome in 120 A. D."; by Prof. Margolis: "Was there a Margin in the Original Septuagint?"; by Dr. Peters: "Ritual in the Psalms"; by Prof. Montgomery: "A recently Discovered Catacomb Church on the Hill of Evil Counsel." From 12 to 1 the following papers were read and discussed:

By Prof. Bowen: "Synoptic Comments on John the Baptist."

By Prof. Cobern: "Recently Discovered Fragments of Ancient New Testaments."

By Prof. Cadbury: "Christ and War."

By Prof. Jastrow: "A Doubtful Sumerian Paradise."

By Prof. Montgomery: "The High Places of Melek in the Valley of Hinnom."

By Prof. Haupt: "The Ship of the Babylonian Noah."

Adjourned at 1.05 P. M.

WILLIAM H. COBB, *Recording Secretary.*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

The Society now numbers 243 active and 11 honorary members, 254 in all. Ten years ago the number was just 50 less; the growth is a fruit of the system of nominating by mail.

Although our meetings have always been held on the Atlantic slope, many of the members reside in the interior, and a few on the Pacific coast; it may fairly be claimed that American biblical scholarship as a whole is well represented within the ranks of the Society. For example, the first five members to be proposed to-day reside in New York, Iowa, District of Columbia, Massachusetts and Kentucky.

Three members have died during the year, seven have resigned, and eleven active members have been added.

PROFESSOR CHARLES JOSEPH HARDY ROPES was born in Russia, December 7, 1851, in the city which was then called St. Petersburg, where his father, William Hooper Ropes, was U. S. Con-

sul. Partly in Germany, partly in France, he was prepared for college. The quality of his scholarship appears from the fact that on entering Yale as a Freshman in 1869, he was very soon promoted to the Sophomore class. He graduated in 1872, studied one year at Tübingen, three at Andover, and one at Union Seminary. After four years in the pastorate, he became Professor of the New Testament language and literature in Bangor Seminary in 1881. The state of his health obliged him to resign in 1905, but he remained ten years longer as librarian. Besides an inaugural address on the importance and method of Bible study, he published an essay on the morality of the Greeks, and assisted Prof. Egbert Smyth in translating and editing Uhlhorn's *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*. He died January 5, 1915.

PROFESSOR THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE was born in London, September 18, 1841, and died in Oxford, February 16, 1915. Fifty years ago he began his brilliant career as a college lecturer; fifteen years later, he was a recognized leader of biblical criticism in England, a position which he held unquestionably for a score of years until the close of the century; and while most of his fellow-workers refused to follow him in the speculative constructions of the last fifteen years, none could deny him the meed of a courageous pursuit of truth as he conceived it. To recite the full catalogue of his biblical productions would be a long and needless labor; let it suffice to recall first, four great works on Isaiah: the Commentary, in 1880, the Introduction, in 1895, the two volumes in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, in 1898 and 1899; next, two great works on the Psalms: the Commentary, in 1884, the Introduction (Bampton Lectures) in 1891; and finally, the editorship of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, in 1899-1903.

Professor Cheyne joined our Society as an honorary member in October 1891, and sent contributions to the JOURNAL in 1892, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899 and 1911. It is worth noting that the last of these communications begins with the following modest sentence: "Of absolutely certain discoveries in the field of biblical literature and exegesis, there can be but few."

PRESIDENT SOLOMON SCHECHTER was born in Roumania, December 7, 1847, and was educated in the universities of

Vienna and Berlin. In 1890 he was elected Lecturer in Talmud at the University of Cambridge, in 1892 Reader in Rabbisics. After his epoch-making discovery, in 1896, of a portion of the Hebrew Ben-Sira, he was sent by the University to make researches in Egypt and Palestine. In Cairo he procured a vast collection of some 90,000 fragments, consisting of Hebrew books, MSS. and fragments. In 1898 he was chosen an honorary member of this Society. In 1901, he was elected President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, a position which he filled with great distinction until his sudden death, November 20, 1915. Among his best known books are *Studies in Judaism*, 1896-1908; *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, 1899; *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 1909.

The Society remembers gratefully his courteous hospitality at our annual meeting in 1913, and his benediction abides in our hearts.

WILLIAM H. COBB, *Recording Secretary*.

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1915

ASSETS

Carried forward	\$ 464.70
Dues	633.25
Initiations	72.00
Sales, Dr. Cobb	100.00
Total	\$1,269.95

DISBURSEMENTS

Dec. 24, '14, Buskirk Co., 1915 bill heads	\$ 2.75
Dec. 29, M. Margolis, expenses	16.21
Jan. 5, '15, Dr. Cobb, expenses	16.00
April 14, '15, Speyer and Co. for Drugulin M. 804.49 for JBL. xxxiii. iii	170.95
Oct. 9, Speyer & Co., for Drugulin M. 1044.47 J.B.L. xxxiii. iv ..	219.34
Nov. 22, M. Margolis, expenses	25.37
Nov. 26, J. D. Prince, 400 stamped envelopes	8.40
Nov. 28, Buskirk Co., 1916 bill-heads	2.60
Exchange	1.40
Cash on hand	796.93
Total	\$1,269.95

The above account respectfully submitted, Dec. 27, 1915.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer*.

The above account for the year 1915 audited and found correct, Dec. 27, 1915.

ALBERT T. CLAY, }
GEORGE DAHL, } *Auditing Committee.*

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

OF

RECORDING SECRETARY

RECEIPTS

1915

Balance, Dec. 23, 1914	\$203.48
Sales of Journal	71.40
Total	<u>\$274.88</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Jan. 1, Thos. Todd Co., printing postals, programs, &c.	\$ 20.45
Jan. 16, Columbia University, janitor and lantern	2.50
Feb. 6, J. D. Prince, Thomas Porter's membership fee	3.00
May 15, G. E. Stechert & Co., freight in part	4.20
July 2, G. E. Stechert & Co., freight in full	4.20
July 14, Jordan, Lovett & Co., insurance	10.20
Oct. 6, Remittance to J. D. Prince	100.00
Oct. 28, 3 copies Journal of 1895 (scarce)	3.00
Dec. 7, Stamps, envelopes, stationery, type-writing and exchange for the year	14.25
Balance in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston	<u>113.08</u>
Total	<u>\$274.88</u>

Audited and found correct.

ALBERT T. CLAY, {
 GEORGE DAHL, { *Auditing Committee.*

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually

choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution supplementary to the By-Laws with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY¹

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
 Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
 Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle, Germany.
 Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
 Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
 Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
 Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford, England.
 Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
 Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.
 Prof. Bernard Weiss, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
 Prof. Julius Wellhausen, Göttingen, Germany.

ACTIVE MEMBERS²

- (496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N. Y. City.
 (242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 (466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
 (482) '12 Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
 (415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
 (425) '08 Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
 (462) '10 Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, 561 W. 163d St., N. Y. City.
 (305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 7 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 (184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
 (373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.
 (469) '11 Phillips Barry, A.M., 83 Battle St., Cambridge, Mass.
 (210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 (211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., Gen. Theol. Sem., Chelsea Sq., N. Y. City.
 (51) '81 Prof. I. T. Beckwith, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.
 (326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
 (343) '00 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N. Y.
 (318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol Sem., N. Y. City.
 (540) '15 Rev. Wm. Bode, S.T.D., Grundy Centre, Iowa.
 (380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.

¹ This list has been corrected up to Dec. 1, 1916. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change in address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

- (423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
- (130) '84 Rev. C. F. Bradley, D.D., 90 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
- (370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., 281 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.
- (352) '02 Prof. Caroline M. Br  fogle, 16 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.
- (311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 124 Third St., Lakewood, N. J.
- (301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
- (102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, D.D., 44 Cummings Road, Boston, Mass.
- (91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- (22) '80 Pres. H. A. Buttz, D.D., Madison, N. J.
- (471) '11 Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D., Haverford Coll., Haverford, Pa.
- (514) '13 Prof. Hall Laurie Calhoun, Lexington, Ky.
- (472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carr  , Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- (392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Chase, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- (222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Hebron, O.
- (277) '95 Prof. Francis A. Christie, D.D., Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
- (369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
- (414) '07 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn.
- (68) '82 Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D., Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
- (468) '11 Prof. Camden M. Cobern, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
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CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CRITICAL STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT*

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.
University of Pennsylvania

I

The critic has never been a popular figure. At his worst he is an iconoclast, at his best he makes us feel uncomfortable. Whether in the region of politics or science, in religion or art, or even in a realm so innocent on the surface as archæology, the man of independent judgment, who questions conventional standards and accepted views, generally pays the penalty for striking out along new lines by being at first crushed through silence or smothered under contempt, and not infrequently he becomes a martyr to a cause which nevertheless is destined to triumph.

The biblical critic has shared the fate of his fellows of the craft. He fortunately appeared at a time when it was no longer fashionable to burn people at the stake, but he has been alternately denounced as an enemy to the church and as a foe to religion. He has been excommunicated; he has been sent into exile in the hope that he might recover his orthodoxy or at least be out of harm's way, and he has stood trial for heresy. Nevertheless, the progress of critical study of both the Old and the New Testament has proceeded steadily ever since the days of Richard Simon; it cannot be obstructed any more than it is possible to dam up the ocean.

The advance even in the popular recognition of biblical criticism finds an illustration in the division that people are fond of making nowadays between conservative and radical critics; and many persons seem to take comfort in the belief that the "conservative" critic is a less obnoxious individual than his radical colleague. In reality such terms as conservative and radical have no bearings on any critical study, unless they are employed to differentiate between the careful and the rash critic,

* Presidential address at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature at Haverford College, December 26, 1916.

but the careful critic—obviously to be preferred—is not one whit less critical, because he proceeds at a slower pace, and he does not deserve on that account to be a bit more popular. In fact the rash or bold critic is apt to be the more lovable, as he is generally the more genial personality. Let us not lay the flattering unction to our soul that we are more acceptable when we appear to be less subversive. We are all, in popular parlance, “in the same boat,” the moment we adopt a critical method in our study whether of the Bible or of any other subject. The only justifiable distinction between critics is that into good and bad critics, that is, into those who follow a sound method and those who indulge in vagaries; and it is proper to add at once that one may be a very good scholar and yet be a bad critic, or what is worse, no critic at all. The critical method is an outcome of the critical sense; and the critical sense is a mental discipline, independent of scholarship, though it should of course be bound up with it. A scholar tied or pledged to traditional views can never become a critic, even though his learning reaches to the pinnacles of human industry.

Now the popular attitude towards the critic which I have attempted to sketch is both natural and human. The instinct of the average man who is just the reverse of critical, in looking askance upon the critic's activities, is entirely justified, for the critic is the foe of popular views which are generally popular prejudices. To examine these views and to replace them when wrong by the results of methodical investigation is the critic's function. If what is were correct, Othello's occupation would be gone. Moreover, it is wholesome, though not a pleasant position, for the critic to be unpopular, for opposition acts not only as a spur to him, it prompts him to test his conclusions so as to defend them against attacks which are inevitable. Had Darwin not realized the attacks to which his unpopular theory of Evolution—which was also a theory of revolution against current views—would be subjected, he would probably have brought it forward in its rough draft instead of the finished product, which, due to repeated recastings and constant tests with unsparing self-criticism, anticipated most of the objections that were urged against it on its final appearance in 1859. The unpopularity of criticism thus reacts on the critic's disposition. If he is a man of broad vision and

of sympathetic outlook, opposition will not embitter him but stimulate him to his best efforts and, moreover, prompt him so to present his results as to reveal at the same time a proper consideration for accepted views.

In the domain of biblical criticism, more particularly, where the critic deals with matters that are closely entwined with religious doctrines disseminated for many ages through church and synagogue, the reaction of the unpopularity of his task in disturbing these beliefs will be to lead him to a proper regard for the tremendous force of tradition—the chief bulwark of both conventional beliefs and of popular prejudices. It is interesting to note that many of the most eminent biblical scholars, associated with the new and in so many respects revolutionary phase of biblical studies in the nineteenth century, have responded to this reaction. Though denounced as radicals, they have for the most part been men whose instincts and predilections tended towards conservatism in the accepted sense; and, though uncompromising in the application of a strictly scientific method in their investigations, have realized the seriousness of their position in standing forth as advocates of a break with tradition. I have in mind such men as Reuss, Dillmann, Kuenen, Weiss, Renan, the elder Delitzsch, Colenso, Robertson Smith, Cheyne and Driver and in this country Briggs and Brown, to name only such as have passed beyond our vision.

The thought that I wish to suggest is that, in the field of biblical studies, the critic's task is not finished when he has set forth his conclusions in cold scientific fashion, important as this part of his task is. Because of the bearings of both Old and New Testament criticism on some of the fundamental problems of religious thought (for religion has developed throughout the western world on the basis of the teachings embodied in the two sacred collections), the critic should feel the obligation to correlate the bearings of his results on traditional points of view, which in turn are so closely bound up with current doctrines and beliefs. Indeed the critic cannot escape this obligation, even if he would, for all of us are prompted by an irresistible force to clarify our own beliefs, to test them with changes in our attitude towards life, to modify them with the processes of our own mental growth. No man who thinks can live without a creed of his own, and when we are dealing, as in the case of

the Bible, with texts which form an ingredient part of the creed of the western world in all its ramifications, we are inevitably brought face to face at every turn in our studies with widely accepted views which we may be forced to controvert and in many cases do controvert but which, nevertheless, command our respect and sympathetic treatment because of their age and because of the profound influence these views have exerted for so many centuries, aye, for almost two millenniums.

From time to time it is, therefore, desirable for the critic to take stock, as it were, to count up the columns of the profit and loss account and endeavor to strike a fair balance. The task is not an easy one because of the many cross-currents in the modern study of the Old and New Testament, and I bespeak your indulgence while I make the attempt to set forth what I regard as the constructive elements in the present phase of the critical study of the Old Testament. Much of what I shall have to say will be applicable also to the New Testament, but I shall confine my illustrations, because of the limitations of my own studies, to the collection that unfolds the religious thought among the Hebrews from primitive beliefs and practices to the advanced form of a spiritual faith that forms at once the glory and the lasting value of the literary remains of the ancient Hebrews.

II

Thirty-six years ago Abraham Kuenen, taken all in all perhaps the greatest of all critical students of the Old Testament—unless we except Julius Wellhausen—, wrote a notable essay on Critical Method,¹ in which he laid down in masterly fashion the canons of Old Testament criticism. The essay was written a few years after the appearance of Wellhausen's studies on the Pentateuch in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, which through the definite establishment of the thesis, first suggested by K. H. Graf, that the development of the bulk of the Pentateuchal codes—and with this the legalistic spirit—comes *after* the prophets, marks the new epoch of Old Testament criticism

¹ The Modern Review (1880), pp. 461-488 and 685-703. A German translation by Karl Budde will be found in Kuenen's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Freiburg 1894), pp. 3-48.

in which we are still living. Literary criticism—commonly designated by the rather meaningless term “higher criticism” as against textual or “lower criticism”—was at the time the chief problem that critics had to face. This problem included both the analysis of the documents distinguished in the narratives and codes, the component parts in the prophets and in Psalms, Proverbs and Song of Songs, the manner in which the documents and component parts were welded together, the historical credibility or worthlessness of the data in the documents, the manner of composition and date of literary productions presenting more of a unity like Job, Ecclesiastes, Ruth and Esther, and to trace through the entire collection the growth of religious ideas among the Hebrews. Kuenen’s lucid exposition of the method to be followed in accomplishing this task forms the justification of the method itself; and it is not too much to say that his canons of criticism as illustrated in all his writings still hold good to-day. Towards the close of the essay Kuenen touches upon the two chief criticisms urged against the critics at the time, one that their method was destructive and the results negative, the other that the disagreements among scholars rendered the results necessarily uncertain. Kuenen is obliged to admit the latter charge, and shows how inevitable such a division of opinion is because of the entrance of the subjective factor into the critical analysis of ancient documents. In every field of investigation, when a departure along new lines is signalled, various hypotheses are necessarily set up until one is evolved which, because of its ability to account for *most* of the facts in a satisfactory manner, meets with general acceptance. Since Kuenen’s essay, the process of setting up tentative hypotheses may be said to have been practically completed. More particularly in regard to the composition of the Pentateuch—to so large an extent the real test of the critical method—unanimity has been reached as to the order and distribution of the “cabalistic” series J, E, D and P with their various subdivisions. Similarly, in the literary analysis of the documents in the large group of historical compilations, substantial agreement now prevails. The even more complicated problem involved in the collected utterances of the prophets and in such compilations as Psalms and Proverbs has at present reached a stage which justifies the prediction that ere long critical stu-

dents will reach the same measure of agreement here as is the case in the other sections of the Old Testament, thus furnishing the guarantee for the correctness of the results reached. Much, to be sure, remains to be done after the analysis of the documents has been completed and the manner and age of composition determined. On this supplementary task I shall touch presently, but at all events of the two criticisms that were most prominent when Kuenen's essay appeared, the second may now be dismissed.

The other charge that biblical criticism both of the Old and the New Testament was destructive, was not answered by Kuenen in a manner that can be regarded as altogether satisfactory. He scouts the idea that criticism has the power to destroy anything contained in the Bible, and he maintains that it aims its shafts merely at the theories constructed around the data. But is not such a distinction somewhat of a quibble? To be sure, the Bible as a sacred collection remains intact after criticism has done its work, but the traditional views regarding the origin, nature and method of composition of the books are so entwined with beliefs that derive their authority from these views that one cannot question the tradition without loosening the foundations of the beliefs. This does not necessarily mean that the beliefs are doomed to be abandoned, but it does obviously involve that they must submit to decided and serious modifications. Instead of attempting to minimize the destructive phases of criticism and apologetically to struggle to show that the results are altogether positive and not negative, it would seem to be the better part of discretion to recognize what we have lost through the abandonment of traditional views, and to place against this loss what we have gained through the critical method—not indeed as its justification, for critical study requires none, but as its claim to our appreciation. A generation ago, it may be admitted, biblical criticism *did* appear, on the surface at least, to be largely destructive. At least the distinctively negative results appeared to outbalance the positive ones. Kuenen recognized this condition as a necessary phase through which criticism must pass, but what he realized for himself by virtue of his penetration into the study which was dearer to him than life, to wit, that sound criticism always leads to worthier views of the past, he was not yet in a position to

prove to the satisfaction of others. The progress made since Kuenen's days has confirmed that conviction, and I venture to think that we are now in a position to set forth the constructive elements in the critical history of both the Old and New Testament in a manner that is calculated to diminish the still existing popular prejudice against that study, even if that prejudice cannot be wholly overcome. As the most important of these constructive elements I make bold to set up the clearer light in which we may now view the relation of tradition to criticism. Let me endeavor to justify this thesis.

III

It will probably be agreed that if we wish to express the contrast between the older and modern study of the Bible in a single phrase, we may do so by the dictum that criticism has usurped the place once taken by tradition. Not indeed that the critical study takes its rise with the setting aside of tradition—for critical study is older—but that it has been reserved for our days to carry on the critical study of the Bible untrammelled by tradition, that is to say, independently of accepted views and conventional assumptions. Adopting the scientific canons that hold good in other historical fields, an entirely new departure is marked in biblical studies with the endeavor to set forth the course of Hebrew history by means of a sharp separation between folk-lore material and genuine historical data. But in thus throwing off the shackles of a time-honored tradition, biblical criticism for a long time neglected an important feature of its task, to wit, to account for the tradition itself. It was considered sufficient to prove the deficiency or worthlessness of a tradition in order to secure acceptance for the critical point of view. Unless, however, in connection with the critical analysis it is possible to account also for the *origin* of the rejected tradition, criticism remains confronted with the very serious opposition involved in the persistence of that tradition. That opposition cannot be brushed aside by an *ipse dixit*. To offset a perfectly natural presumption in favor of a view that has stood its ground for two millenniums, not only the rise of the tradition must be accounted for historically but also the apparent

reasonableness of the tradition, without which it would not have commended itself to general acceptance, must be recognized and the endeavor made to show *why* it appeared reasonable. We must remember that wisdom was not born with the modern critics nor will it die with the critics. Past ages, too, exercised reason, and even if a traditional view can be shown to be a delusion—as I believe it generally is—yet it must have been a *reasonable* delusion, not an irrational one. I believe that I am not mistaken in the impression that the trend of the most recent biblical criticism is precisely in the direction of taking due account of tradition at every turn in its investigations, not to be sure in the form of a weak compromise between tradition and criticism, but in utilizing the *substantial* basis of a tradition as a means of placing the critical results in a stronger and clearer light.

Let me take as an illustration the relationship between the traditional view which assigns to Moses the authorship of the Pentateuch and the critical view which, separating the narratives in the Pentateuch from the legal codes, has shown the composite character of both divisions and assumes a long-continued process of the combination of several documents with editorial links and expansions. The process, leading finally to the combination of the narratives and codes, covers a stretch of at least four centuries until finally c. 400 B. C. the Pentateuch in its present form was evolved. There is of course no possibility of reconciling the two views, but there is an aspect of the tradition which is of considerable value as a guide in the elucidation of the critical standpoint.

The starting-point of the Mosaic tradition is evidently the close association of Moses with the popular tradition regarding the beginnings of national life among the Hebrews (and possibly other clans), forming the confederacy of the Bene Israel. These traditions agree in picturing Moses primarily as a law-giver. For the specifically priestly functions which in the early period of the life of a group could hardly have been separated from the announcement of decisions in the name of the deity which tradition assigns to Moses, that same tradition places by the side of the law-giver a second figure, Aaron, who in contrast to the sharply outlined personality of the great leader is a shadowy figure, so vague indeed and so manifestly a pale reflection of

Moses himself that one may assign the creation of Aaron to the P document. This distinction between the impression conveyed in the Pentateuch itself of Moses on the one hand and of Aaron on the other is in itself a valuable index of the different way in which the traditions about Moses should be judged, as against those dealing with Aaron. The penetrating and remarkably suggestive investigation of Gressmann² has made it clear that we cannot dispense with the figure of Moses in accounting from the critical point of view for the rise of Israel. To put it paradoxically, if Moses did not exist, the critical study of the Old Testament would be obliged to invent him in order to explain Israel. We need to posit at the threshold of Hebrew history the figure of a leader through whose forceful personality a number of clans were brought together into some kind of a political unit. Moses, as such a leader, naturally comes down in tradition also as a law-giver, that is, as the medium through which oracular decisions needed for the government of the group are announced. Such decisions, in accord with the prevalent views throughout antiquity, are given in the name of the patron deity of the group. All Law in antiquity is looked upon as of divine origin. The Hebrew term for 'law,' *Torah*, has its equivalent in the Babylonian *tērtu* which connotes an "oracle." No matter how simple the organization of the clans led by Moses may have been, *some* laws would be required for the regulation of religious and secular affairs. These laws would necessarily be *Torah*, i. e., communicated as oracles with divine authority. The tradition, accordingly, which portrays Moses primarily as the law-giver, obtaining his decisions direct from the patron deity of the group, can thus be shown to rest on a basis which is reasonable, and I venture to add historical, in its main implications. Such a conclusion does not, of course, carry with it the further assumption that any of the laws in the various codes of the Pentateuch represent the actual decisions in the form in which they were orally announced by Moses, but it justifies us in the case of such enactments as are consistent with the simple conditions prevailing at the beginnings of the national life of the Hebrews and which in other respects bear the earmarks of a high antiquity, in assuming that they date from that period. The provisions of the Decalogue, e. g., in their simplest

² *Mose und seine Zeit* (Göttingen 1913).

form without the subsequent amplifications fall, as Gressmann also admits,³ in this category. They represent just the kind of provisions for the protection of property and of life, for the regulation of family relationships, against an unauthorized invocation of the divine name, against disloyalty towards the patron deity of the group, which go with a simple form of society. This applies also to the warning against making an image of the deity as an innovation in the cult, marking a departure from the primitive Semitic point of view which localized a deity in a stone, tree or wall, that is to say, in a natural object and not in one made with human hands. Among a semi-nomadic confederation even the single ritualistic ordinance in the Decalogue to regard the sabbath as a sanctified day fits into these conditions if we accept the term in its original construction,⁴ as marking the full-moon period when certain *taboos* were to be observed as precautions to ensure the favor of the deity during the remaining half month, when the gradual waning of the moon suggests by a natural association the apparent withdrawal of divine protection. A caution, to be sure, must be added that even in its simplest *written* form the Decalogue may no longer represent the *exact* language in which it was originally couched and for some indefinite period orally handed down. This, however, is a matter of secondary importance.

Now, with this view of the Decalogue as a starting-point, the tradition which makes Moses the author of *all* the laws in the Pentateuchal codes can be accounted for in a reasonable manner, for it is the nature of tradition not to differentiate between what is older and what is more recent, to ignore the gradual extension of enactments, increased and modified with changing conditions, into a Code, entirely to leave out of account the rise of various Codes and thus to throw the burden of the entire legislation in the Pentateuch on the one individual who comes down in tradition as a law-giver. Unless, however, we assume *some* historical justification, however dimmed by later and entirely

³ *Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 471 seq. See, also, Peters, *Religion of the Hebrews*, p. 98 seq., whose exposition of "The Religion of Moses," in chap. IV of his book, is to be highly recommended as an admirable analysis of the subject from the critical point of view.

⁴ See Chapter III in the author's *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* for a full exposition of the original character of the Hebrew sabbath.

unhistorical layers, for the rise of the view which makes Moses primarily a law-giver, we forfeit the possibility of answering a serious objection to the entire critical analysis of the Pentateuchal codes and, I venture to add, we also miss the key to an understanding of Hebrew history.

Now, I am far from dogmatically asserting that my presentation of the particular tradition, which I have chosen as an illustration, is necessarily correct. If it can be replaced by a more satisfactory one all the better, but some *reasonable* basis for the tradition must be brought forward by the critical view, or criticism fails in an important part of its task. It remains incomplete unless it can also construct a reasonable basis for the tradition itself. To reject a tradition without satisfactorily accounting for its rise and growth is to commit an error as fatal from the scientific point of view as to accept it in the face of insuperable difficulties.

Once we have accounted for the tradition which makes Moses the author of *all* the laws, it is a simple matter to explain the further aspects of the tradition which assigns to Moses the authorship of the *entire* Pentateuch—laws and narratives. The Pentateuch in its final form presents the appearance of unity, so skilfully have the codes been combined with the composite documents, which themselves present a mixture of myths, tribal folk-lore, dimmed recollections of tribal movements and quarrels, all elaborated on a semi-historical background. Naturally, therefore, Moses becomes the author of the entire Pentateuch, with the growth of tradition in an age which, on the one hand, was uncritical and, on the other hand, was prompted through the rise of individual authorship to assign to one author the composition of books which in reality are compilations of various sources that passed through many hands before receiving their final shape. Elsewhere,⁵ I have enlarged upon this exceedingly interesting evolution from anonymous and composite to individual authorship. I feel that we cannot too strongly emphasize the fundamental distinction between the early stages of literary production everywhere in which the notion of the individual's claim to composition is conspicuous by its absence, and the later stages in which the individual genius presides over literary productions.

⁵ *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, p. 284 *seq.*

In Egypt, Babylonia and India, as among the ancient Hebrews, literary composition is anonymous because it is the expression of beliefs, views, traditions and knowledge possessed in common. The form is incidental. Even among the Greeks this anonymity was the case up to a certain period, witness the Homeric poems which are composite and essentially anonymous,⁶ though it is also among the Greeks that we first find individual authorship coming to the fore, and becoming the dominant note in their intellectual life. The Greeks may be said to have invented authorship, with all the good and the ills involved in the innovation, and I believe that the disposition among the pious Jews in the three centuries before our era to ascribe the books of the sacred writings to individuals and to issue productions in the name of an individual is a reflection of the influence exerted by the literary methods of the Greeks upon the Semitic Orient. Previous to that, a book in the Orient was always in the literal sense of the word a composition, that is, a compilation of various elements, the work of several and often of many hands and one that grew gradually into the form that it finally assumed. In this process, there prevailed absolute indifference as to the authorship of the component parts. Every one able to do so felt free to add to a literary production that he had before him or that fell into his hands, to superimpose upon an original stock whatever seemed appropriate or to have any bearings on the theme, whether of his own creation or something that had come to his notice. In this way by a process into the details of which it is not necessary to enter, a miscellaneous series of documents with all manner of editorial glosses, comments and amplifications took shape as the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings, and such compilations as Job, Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs arose. Even as late as the days of the Maccabees this form of literary production prevailed, as is shown by the composite character of the Book of Daniel, while the most notable instances of this anonymous method of composition are the several collections of hymns culminating in our present Psalms, and the compilations of the orations of the prophets, with little or no regard to the

⁶ See Sir Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (2d ed.), p. 126 seq., who introduces the composite character and gradual growth of most of biblical books in illustration of the manner in which the Homeric poems as a "Traditional Book" took shape.

question whether what was included in the utterances of a particular prophet really emanated from him or not. If it was in his spirit or if it seemed appropriate to be attached to his utterances, it was done. Thus we have as a result of this totally unhistorical method a collection on a large scale like the Book of Isaiah, in which groups of orations belonging to various pre-exilic, exilic and post-exilic periods have been combined with so little regard to a unity of authorship that the most plausible theory to account for an apparently unsystematic compilation is to assume that the name Isaiah became a symbol for a certain quality of prophetic utterances, as Moses became the type of the law-giver and Abraham the type of the pious Hebrew, the quintessence of obedience to Yahweh's will, and Solomon became the type of the ideal king. This tendency of individuals to lose, as it were, their personal traits and to become symbols of certain activities or of a certain attitude towards life is a by-product of tradition, which ignores the element of personality in converting orally transmitted data, utterances, thoughts, beliefs and aspirations into written records or literary productions. Anonymity in Hebrew literature survived even the rise of the literary spirit. Job and Ecclesiastes, the distinct outcome of this spirit in post-exilic days, furnish no indications of their authorship, although we can picture the type of mind that produced the original stock in both productions to which subsequent writers made substantial additions, particularly in the case of Job. Even the Book of Esther, more of a unity than almost any book in the Old Testament collection unless it be Ruth, comes down to us as an anonymous romance, and we must descend to the middle of the second century B. C. before we encounter an author recognized as such, in the full Greek sense of the term, in the person of Ben Sira.

IV

To come back to our theme, what may be called the utilization of tradition in the critical study of the Old Testament seems to me to be a striking feature of the present phase of that study. It is a feature which makes emphatically for constructive work. It disposes us to study a tradition about data and documents with the same care with which we dissect the data and analyze

the documents, and in our results to take the origin and growth of the tradition into due account. The upshot of this emphasis upon distinctively constructive elements in biblical study is to intensify the historical spirit itself in the critic's reconstruction of the various periods of Hebrew history. This manifests itself whether he deals with historical personages like David and Solomon, or with legendary figures like the patriarchs, or with the attempt to unfold the course of religious thought and the growth of ritual and law. The constructive critic will give us a truer picture of a personage like David, if in addition to utilizing such data of the documents in Samuel and Kings as he has satisfied himself are historical, he also includes in his estimate the substratum of the tradition that has gathered around the popular hero. Instead of rejecting a tradition as utterly worthless because unhistorical, he will extract from it by a sympathetic penetration into his theme some elements that will help to bring the historical picture into stronger relief. From this point of view even so unhistorical a tradition as the one which ascribes the Psalms to David, and gnomic productions like Proverbs and Ecclesiastes to Solomon, yields a constructive element in supplementing the genuine data for the period of these rulers that can endure the critical test. David may not have written a single one of the Psalms in their present form; indeed it is quite certain that he could not have done so. Even so martial a composition as the lament over Saul and Jonathan,⁷ though bearing the earmarks of having been produced at the time of the death of these heroes, has probably not come down to us in its original form. Yet, unless we assume that heroic lyrics of this character were produced in the days of David and that ritualistic psalms revert to the same period, we fail to account for the tradition which makes David a sweet singer in Israel. What I wish to suggest is that there are, indeed there must be, two sides to David, the hero and the organizer of a state on the one hand, based on a firmer union between the clans than had hitherto existed and imparting royal prerogatives to the head of the state, and the faithful follower of Yahweh on the other hand, imbued with both a poetic and a religious spirit, as successful warriors often are. This spirit, we must furthermore assume, must have shown itself in the organization of a ritual,

⁷ II Samuel 1: 19-27.

more elaborate than the simple one that sufficed for earlier conditions. In this ritual, formal hymns to the protecting deity, sung to a certain measure and accompanied by a rhythmic dance, must have played a part. Leaving the further development of the thesis for another occasion, the suggestion is sufficient to illustrate the thesis that the distinctively religious tradition concerning David, marked also by his desire to build a large sanctuary on which tradition lays stress, points to an important advance in the cult, running parallel with the momentous political epoch that is ushered in through the appearance of a personality like David.

In the reign of Solomon this movement is continued and here, indeed, the religious side of Solomon is so clearly emphasized in the data which are genuinely historical, despite the admixture of fictitious elements like Solomon's dedicatory prayer on the completion of the Temple (I Kings 8:22-53), as to remove all doubt of the elaboration of the cult as a marked and characteristic feature of his age. Such cult activity, as already suggested, is inseparable from modifications in religious beliefs, more or less pronounced. The close affiliation everywhere throughout antiquity between political changes and modifications in religious conceptions comes to reinforce this conclusion, just as a striking political advance forms a stimulus also to intellectual activity. The age of Solomon must have been marked by such an activity, or we would not find him coming down in tradition as a literary figure. To put it briefly, David would not have developed into the type of the religious poet, nor Solomon into the type of the 'wisdom' writer, had not the age in which they lived furnished the stimulus which led eventually to productions of the kind represented by Psalms and by Proverbs and even Ecclesiastes⁸ so far as it aims to give expression to a certain philosophy of life—a *Weltanschauung*. Thus criticism, while rejecting as worthless the tradition which assigns the authorship of any religious poetry to David and of gnostic productions that have come down to us to Solomon, yet utilizes the tradition in tracing back to the

⁸ The case is different with the 'Song of Songs,' a collection of love poems of popular origin, in which the misinterpretation of the term 'King', applied to the bridegroom because of the homage paid to the groom and his queen-bride during the week of wedding festivities, is the source of the tradition which identifies the 'King' with Solomon as the Jewish king *par excellence*.

period of these rulers the source and stimulus for such compositions.

It is no small gain, therefore, in the reconstruction of Hebrew history on a critical basis, to secure through the proper appreciation of tradition as a constructive element, through the determination of a *reasonable* relationship between tradition and criticism, links that establish connections between earlier and late phases of that history. The unfolding of religious thoughts and beliefs and the expression of both in the cult and in literary productions thus become a continuous process, through the combination of critical analysis with the study of the rise of the tradition associated with the various periods of Hebrew history.

Such a method helps us also to establish links between the religious ideas proper to the Mosaic period and those of the crucial prophetic movement that takes its rise in the post-Solomonic age. If I read aright the drift of recent criticism of the most sober kind, the need has made itself felt of finding a more gradual transition from a crude Yahwism to the profoundly ethical and highly spiritualized conception of the method of divine government, as revealed in the prophets of the eighth and following centuries, albeit this conception is still bound up with national aspirations and limited to a restricted political horizon. While one may not be disposed to go as far as Sellin⁹ in finding *pronounced* traces of the religious spirit of the prophets of the eighth and succeeding centuries as far back as the age of Moses, nevertheless the trend is in the right direction, and the instinct which prompts it is justified by the *a priori* considerations that such a movement as is represented by the great Hebrew prophets is the culmination of a process that must have taken several generations at least to mature. Indeed Sellin is probably right in the thesis that the conception of Yahweh, impressed upon his followers by Moses, must have contained the germ of the movement. We may perhaps detect this germ in the peculiar circumstances under which Yahweh became the specific protector of the Hebrew groups, through an act of liberation from intolerable conditions. Yahwism among the Hebrews thus starts out with the emphasis on the right of any group to its own freedom. The relation between Yahweh and Israel thus posited at the birth of the nation is of an idealistic

⁹ *Der Alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (Leipzig 1912).

nature—more than a mere ‘give and take’ agreement—though this factor is also involved. The prophets follow a correct instinct in harking back in their utterances to the age of Moses as the one in which the relationship between the people and the national protector was of the purest, comparing it to the love-tide and honeymoon period in human life. The prophets stand forth as the advocates of the simple life, opposed to merely national aspirations for power, to entangling alliances and to innovations of the cult due to advancing political and social conditions with the concomitant growth of class distinctions, of ambition for wealth and for social influence. They could defend themselves against the charge of being revolutionaries by pointing to the simple conditions of life and to the simplicity of the imageless cult without priestly organization and without an elaborate temple service that marked the ‘ideal’ age at the beginnings of Hebrew nationality. Their emphasis on a *direct* relationship between Yahweh and his worshippers, leading logically to obedience and conduct as the test of devotion to Yahweh, would thus find a support and a justification in the past, touched with the glamour that the past always acquires. To be sure, the prophets consciously or unconsciously transcend in their utterances the standards of the past both in religious conception and in ethical ideals, but—and this is the crucial point—they erect their structure on foundations that may be traced back to the beginnings of national life. In this way and in other ways on which it is not possible to enlarge in this discussion, the utilization of tradition enables us to penetrate deeper into the problems involved in the evolution of the religious experiences of the Hebrews than would be possible by the mere analysis of documents. Tradition, provided care is exercised in separating the valuable from the worthless elements, becomes an important adjunct and one of a distinctly constructive order to the critical study of the Old Testament.

V

Another such constructive element of a different order, though not unrelated to the one just set forth, is the utilization of what I would call the sociological factor in supplementing the literary

criticism and analysis of documents. A beginning in this direction was made some decades ago by a little volume on "Early Hebrew Life" (London 1880) by John Fenton, which appears to have been little noticed at the time, though references to it are now encountered more frequently as more attention is being paid to the social evolution of ancient nations.¹⁰ The little work may be described as an attempt to apply the method of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, the subtle investigator of early social institutions, to Hebrew history. The exposition is most suggestive, and shows how the documents in the Pentateuchal codes and how incidents recorded in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch and in the historical books proper may be utilized to illumine the rise of social customs and legal methods, perfected to cope with conditions as they developed when the Hebrews advanced to the agricultural stage through their gradual absorption of the Canaanitish settlements in Palestine. Taking up as the two central themes, the tribal organization in the pastoral period and the organization of the village community in the agricultural stage, Fenton extracts from the careful investigation of a large number of terms, used both in the codes and in the narratives, the material for reconstructing a picture of early Hebrew life, which passes far beyond what one would obtain by a mere analysis of documents. He shows the large part to be assigned in the customs and traditions of the Hebrews to survivals. Much to be sure of what Fenton set forth almost forty years ago has become, through the subsequent investigations of scholars like the late Robertson Smith, commonplace knowledge, but the last chapter in Fenton's book, dealing in a penetrating manner with such problems as the origin of law among the Hebrews, and the relationship of unwritten to written records, and the influence on social institutions exercised by religious customs, may still be regarded as the point of departure for investigations along the lines that I have in mind, and which may be briefly defined as the endeavor to interpret the data, gained from the critical analysis of the documents, in the light of the social evolution of the Hebrews, together with the utiliza-

¹⁰ The work is dedicated to the great German scholar Heinrich Ewald, as whose pupil the author describes himself. Outside of this booklet of 100 pages, I do not know of anything that Fenton wrote. Presumably he died not long after the appearance of his book.

tion of tradition as supplementary to the historical data. The value of this constructive element in the critical study of the Old Testament depends naturally upon the use of the proper method. The critical student must be interested also in the study of customs and of popular institutions; and these customs and institutions need to be studied along the line laid down by such masters as Maine, M'Lennan, Morgan, von Ihering, von Maurer, Bachofen, Fustel de Coulanges, and others.

Leaving aside as well-known the important investigations of Robertson Smith¹¹ and Barton,¹² dealing with the more general aspects of social conditions and institutions among the Semites, I should like to call attention here, in further illustration of the theme, to the more recent studies of a learned judge and Hebraist, Mayer Sulzberger, who, as the fruit of many years of study of the purely legal problems involved in the Pentateuchal codes and in the illustrative material for legal institutions among the Hebrews, scattered throughout the Old Testament, is issuing a number of monographs¹³ in which the sociological factor is strongly emphasized. While I dissent from some of Sulzberger's conclusions as too subtle, and believe that he not infrequently presses the meaning of the legal phraseology in the Old Testament too hard, for all that his investigations are of great value and merit far more attention than has as yet been paid to them. They contain many novel and brilliant suggestions which bring out in a much clearer and more definite fashion than heretofore social conditions presupposed by the laws themselves. The general trend of Sulzberger's investigations is in the direction of assuming more complicated modes of legal procedure in the early days of the national life of the Hebrews than we had a right to expect, though just here perhaps a word of criticism may not be out of place. A defect in Judge Sulzberger's method, if I may venture to point it out, consists in an insufficient differentiation between earlier and

¹¹ More particularly his *Marriage and Kinship in Early Arabia* (Cambridge 1885) and his *Religion of the Semites—Fundamental Institutions* (New York 1889).

¹² *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious* (New York 1902).

¹³ Three have appeared in book form: (1) *The Am Ha-Aretz, the ancient Hebrew Parliament* (Philadelphia 1910), (2) *The Polity of the Ancient Hebrews* (Philadelphia 1912) and (3) "The Biblical Law of Homicide" (Philadelphia 1915).

later enactments now fused together in the various codes, and in a neglect to distinguish the original stock of a particular law from additions, superimposed to adapt the law to later conditions than the ones presupposed in the part representing the original stock.¹⁴ This defect often leads the learned author astray, particularly in carrying back some of the legal phraseology and many of the legal procedures, so illuminatingly discussed by him, to a much earlier age than is warranted. A further result of this method leads Sulzberger to use illustrative material from the narrative portions in the Pentateuch and in the historical compilations proper without sufficient regard to the age in which the narratives assumed their present shape,¹⁵ though, on the other hand, his use of narratives in discussing legal terms and institutions contains some of the most valuable features of his striking investigations.¹⁶ There can be little doubt that on the whole the picture unfolded by Sulzberger of early Hebrew society and of the manner in which a simple tribal organization yielded to one of a military stamp, and passed from this stage of a federal form of government,¹⁷ is a true one, which brings out in clearer relief than mere political histories of the Hebrews—such as have hitherto been furnished by critical students—can possibly do. Sulzberger has pointed the way toward

¹⁴ In illustration of the differentiation that I have in mind, I may perhaps be permitted to refer to my own analysis of the so-called Leprosy Laws (Lev. chap. 13-14) published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (N. S., IV, pp. 357-418) in which I have made the attempt to separate the original law from later accretions, and in which I discuss the conditions that brought about these additions. Similarly in regard to the law of the Nazir (Numbers chap. 6), analyzed by me in an article in this Journal, 33, pp. 266-285. The same method may be applied to most of the laws in the three chief Pentateuchal codes.

¹⁵ So, e. g., he takes (*Am Ha-Aretz*, p. 20 seq., and *Polity of the Ancient Hebrews*, p. 33 seq.) the scene in which Abraham purchases the cave of Machpelah from the sons of Heth (Genesis 25) as a narrative illustrative of conditions in the far-off days of the legendary Abraham, whereas the tale, the purport of which is to furnish a legal sanction for the claim of the Hebrews to the sacred cave at Hebron, can at best reflect the time when the tale was introduced.

¹⁶ So, e. g., his analysis of the functions and scope of the *zikhē ha-'ir* ("elders of the city"), one of the chief themes in his *Polity of the Ancient Hebrews*.

¹⁷ See the summary at the close of his *Polity of the Ancient Hebrews*, pp. 77-81.

the *larger* utilization of Old Testament data for the sociological evolution of the ancient Hebrews, and it will be for others to follow up the avenues which his investigations on the meaning of ancient terms and phrases have opened up, with a sharper insistence than he has done upon the critical analysis of the documents in which the data are embodied.¹⁸

Legislation and the study of laws form, however, only one phase of the task in supplementing the historical and distinctively religious data by penetration into the social conditions, prevailing at the various periods of Hebrew history. I myself made an endeavor in a paper on "Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes"¹⁹ to show how the attitude towards the intoxicating drink made of the wine changes, as we pass from simple social conditions to more advanced and complicated ones; and I followed this up by a study of the social evolution of the *Nazir* institution, based on a critical analysis of Numbers chap. 6, published in this Journal.²⁰ It is my intention as the occasion permits to take up in the same way and by following the same method of separating older strata in the material from later accretions, other aspects of social life and conditions among the ancient Hebrews, and the modifications through which these aspects passed, concomitant with changes in the social, political and religious status.

If I refer with some diffidence to these contributions of my own, it is only because they illustrate the constructive element in the critical study of the Old Testament that I have in mind.²¹ There is some foundation for the charge that the critical study of the Old Testament has overemphasized the analysis of the

¹⁸ It is only proper to add that while Sulzberger accepts the results of critical scholarship, he often *appears* to take the documents at their face value. An analysis of the value of a document must, however, precede any utilization of it.

¹⁹ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 33, pp. 180-192.

²⁰ Vol. 33, pp. 266-285.

²¹ Attention should also be called to the admirable study of *The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites*, by Henry Schaeffer (Yale University Press 1915), with special reference to the Hebrews, and to the *Social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets*, by William Bennett Bizzell (Boston 1916), as illustrating the trend of modern critical studies to emphasize the sociological factor in the reconstruction of Hebrew history, and in tracing the evolution of social and legal institutions.

documents as though such analysis were an end in itself. It is also true that in the analysis itself we have overstressed the linguistic factor, as though the use of certain terms and phrases, even if characteristic of a writer or a school of writers, constituted a sufficient criterion for determining the sources underlying a document, to the neglect of the endeavor to distinguish rather in a composite document *different points of view*. The result has been, on the one hand, a somewhat wooden exegesis, manifesting itself more particularly in the endeavor to fix accurate dates for sections in a collection bearing a prophet's name, and similarly to determine the exact conditions under which a particular psalm was produced. Such an exegetical method defeats its own purpose by carrying the analysis to an extreme. Dr. Peters has shown in an illuminating article in a recent number of this Journal²² on "Ritual in the Psalms" the error involved in such an unbending method, which in seeking for specific conditions that gave rise to a psalm, down to the year and even to the month of its production, loses sight of the main fact that the psalms are after all and indeed, primarily, the outcome of religious emotions experienced by *worshippers*. They are the expression of religious needs of individuals, rather than prompted by political events—though these too may have played their part in this form of religious composition, in so far as such events affected the point of view of a pious soul, seeking to give voice to his emotions and aspirations. The Psalms, if studied in a constructive spirit, will enable us to penetrate into the inner life of the individual and the people alike. The Psalms touch life at many angles and not merely at one point. Similarly, it is not only to the historical background to the utterances of a prophet that we must look for an interpretation of his burning words, but to the play of his own personality. We must seek the man behind the utterances, understand the soul of the earnest preacher who is led by the stirrings of his own nature to speak out, and not necessarily by the impression made by a specific political occurrence upon him. The analysis of documents, be they legal enactments or folk-lore or narratives or orations or religious outpourings, may be carried too far,—so far that in the endeavor to distinguish layers and superlayers through philological criteria, we are in

²² Vol. 35, pp. 143-154.

danger of losing sight of the human element in the documents. This element, closely bound up with the sociological factor involved in the study of ancient documents, should prepare us for all kinds of inconsistencies and contradictions in the points of view revealed by an analysis of the material which forms the object of our study. As Sulzberger well puts it,²³ "Life with its rich and varied aspects has a way of dissipating the most rigid and exact logical processes." To dwell on this point a moment longer, I am inclined to believe that instead of assuming a combination of many documents, one or two mains with a varying number of subdivisions, it is a sounder method to assume in many cases a single document extended by glosses, explanatory comments and other kinds of additions by later editors, who felt free in a period prior to the restrictions imposed by the authority attaching to individual authorship to deal freely with a text which had fallen into their hands.²⁴

Be this as it may, our endeavor in the critical study of the Old Testament needs to be directed, I venture to urge, to a larger extent than heretofore towards determining the conditions underlying a document—if a legal document to the social status and the institutional ideas revealed by it, if a pure narrative to the relationship between the lives of the individuals and the events narrated, if folk-lore to the point of view—tribal or individual—from which the tradition sets out, and if in the domain of religious thought or emotion to the individual thoughts and emotions that called forth the production. The result will be in every case a stronger emphasis on the constructive elements to be extracted from a document or a purely literary production, supplemental to the critical analysis which must, as a matter of course, precede. The outcome of a larger utilization of tradition as an integral part of the study of the Old Testament and of a bolder and more thorough penetration into the

²³ *Polity of the Ancient Hebrews*, p. 3.

²⁴ So, e. g., the narratives in the Book of Joshua are for the greater part evolved in this way from a *single* document with glosses, amplifications of all kinds and large additions in the spirit of the Deuteronomist. See an article by the writer on Joshua 3, 16, in the current number of the JOURNAL. The Book of Job is another illustration of such gradual expansion from a single document, though here to be sure also by the steady addition of entire chapters, apart from glosses, and amplifications within a chapter.

social evolution of Hebrew life will be to give us a deeper insight into the manner in which higher religious thoughts arose among the Hebrews, and how these thoughts found an expression in ritual and in religious customs. This after all is the goal of both Old and New Testament study. The Bible is primarily a record of the religious life of the ancient Hebrews and of their successors, the early Christians. All other aspects of the vicissitudes through which the Hebrews and early Christian communities passed are subsidiary to this all-important and overshadowing phase of their history.

VI

Lest I be misunderstood in thus insisting upon the insufficiency of the mere analysis of documents, let me hasten to add in the concluding portion of my address that I have no sympathy whatsoever with the tendency manifested in certain circles to proclaim the documentary thesis in the study of the Old and New Testament to be a failure, and with this to set up the still more extravagant claim that the entire critical theory has suffered shipwreck. Such pronouncements generally come either from *dilettanti* students, who have neither the equipment nor the patience to penetrate to the core of the critical study, or from those who, whether bound by a rigid adherence to tradition or consciously or unconsciously inimical to criticism of collections regarded as sacred, look askance at the critic because he appears in the light of an iconoclast, or because he makes them feel uncomfortable. Criticism has nothing to fear from writers who chant "the swansong of the Wellhausen school" or talk of "The Higher Critical Quandary." At most such writers merely reveal certain defects in the analysis of the documents—defects due in many cases to the fragmentary form in which the documents have come down to us, and not to any error in the method followed by critical students. The basis upon which the results reached by the critical study of the Old Testament rests is too firm to be upset by outcries against it. Modifications in these results are bound to ensue, but such modifications will merely affect details and will not touch the main contentions of the critical school. Even the scholarly investigations of an Eerd-

mans who opens his series of investigations on the Pentateuch²⁵ by the statement that he has cut loose from the Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis have not succeeded in setting aside that hypothesis. For all that, we owe a debt of gratitude to such a scholar as Eerdmans, whose learning and thorough equipment are of course beyond question, in drawing a sharper distinction than has heretofore been made between the age of a document and the age of the ideas that it embodies. The ideas may be much older than the document, and indeed generally are. The wooden exegesis to which I have referred, resulting from an over-emphasis on the analysis of documents and an exaggerated consideration of the use of characteristic terms and phrases, led to the tendency, manifest particularly during the two decades following upon the general acceptance of the Wellhausen hypothesis of the composition of the Hexateuch,²⁶ to bring down the date of legal institutions and religious practices to *too* late an epoch, to the period in which the document arose or at which an institution or practice is set forth. Such a conclusion failed precisely to take account of the social factor upon which I have insisted in the study of Hebrew history. Because the Priestly Code is the latest of the codes and of post-exilic origin, it does not follow that its enactments are of post-exilic date. It is a feature of law everywhere, as also of ritual, to preserve the old by the side of the new. Law is a continuous process. The underlying principles of law are capable of expression in many ways; and it is of the essence of law in antiquity, because regarded of divine origin, that it is not abrogated but only modified in its application to changed conditions, even though the modification may amount to a virtual abrogation. Eerdmans and others have shown that the Priestly Code contains much that must be pre-exilic, resting on conditions and beliefs that belong in many cases to a very early age. Indeed there are provisions in it that point back to the Mosaic period and that may well have been in force among some of the Hebrew clans at that time, but for that reason to reject the thesis that the Priestly Code was compiled in the time of Ezra is to commit as fatal an error as to maintain that everything in it or even most of it belongs to the end of the fifth century B. C. Recognizing the

²⁵ *Alttestamentliche Studien*, I, p. iii.

²⁶ See above, p. 22.

manner in which old enactments are carried over into an age to which they are no longer applicable, through modifications introduced to adapt them to changed conditions and more advanced beliefs, the task of separating what is old in an enactment from later accretions is not a difficult one, though it must be carried out with care. To use the example above referred to,²⁷ the study of Leviticus, chapters 13 and 14, comprising a little code for the investigation and treatment of *Zara'ath* and a variety of other skin diseases, has resulted in the recovery of an original stock of legal enactments, resting on very primitive conceptions of the cause of disease and its treatment by means of magic, accompanied by exorcising formulae. This stock is clearly of very ancient origin, and was evolved independently of the elaborate ritualistic observations which are now embodied in the two chapters in question. Incidentally, the social conditions under which the original section was evolved are revealed. In this original section the priest is merely the exorciser. There is no sanctuary. The exorciser goes to the patient and performs rites intended to drive the demon, as the cause of the disease, out of the body of the sufferer. That is the meaning of the rite of sending off a bird into which the demon has been transferred. The exorcising ritual with its adaptation to later conditions is transformed into a purification rite at the termination of the disease. For all that, the old magical treatment is preserved, though combined with elaborate regulations of animal sacrifice performed at a shrine with the priest as mediator. The magical treatment is clearly very old. It is inconceivable that it could have been evolved in the post-exilic age but the old is retained by the side of the new—in this case the sacrificial regulations—and given a new interpretation that is consistent with the totally changed point of view involved in the post-exilic portions of the two chapters.²⁸

Again, in the chapter providing for the purification of the people,²⁹ which becomes the model for the atonement rites on the most sacred day of the later Jewish calendar, it is evident that a rite which prescribes the sending off of a goat into the

²⁷ See above, p. 20.

²⁸ These portions include the extensions of the observation of *Zara'ath* to signs on garments and on walls of houses.

²⁹ Lev. 16.

wilderness, laden with the sins of the people, must belong to the same early period when impurity of any kind was regarded as due to a demon that had to be exorcised. And yet this primitive rite was retained as part of a solemn festival that acquired the greatest possible significance in post-exilic Judaism. The day on which this festival was observed is itself of very ancient origin, although its character was entirely changed from what it originally must have been. So throughout the Priestly Code, as in the Deuteronomic Code originating at the close of the seventh century, we find very old practices combined with sacrificial and other regulations that belong to a much later period. The task of the critical student thus consists in separating the older from the later elements in the case of the enactments in the codes—in the earlier and the later ones; and it is clear that the application of this method will yield criteria to distinguish the social and religious conditions of one age from those prevailing at a later period. It will also lead, I venture to think, to a greater confidence in the reliability of many data furnished by the documents, which an extreme skepticism, founded too exclusively on the mere analysis of documents—and to a too minute analysis at that—led critics to reject as worthless.

There are, to be sure, legal fictions embodied in the codes, purely hypothetical cases and "academic" extensions of certain legal principles, as, e. g., in the two lists of prohibited animals (Dent., chap. 14 and Lev., chap. 11) where many animals are enumerated according to the indications derived from those which represent old established taboos like the swine and the camel, and added merely to swell the list. To include various kinds of vultures in such lists is a purely "academic" exercise, since it is obvious that such animals cannot be caught, and certainly never constituted a staple article of diet among the Hebrews or the other peoples of Palestine. Portions of the purification ritual (Lev., chap. 15) strike one similarly as theoretical extensions of certain principles. One may question whether all of the 'incest' enactments (Lev., chap. 20) rest on actual occurrences. The "Jubilee" regulation (Lev. 25:8-17), occurring in a chapter which is clearly a supplement to a little code that ended with Chap. 24, has always been regarded, even by the rabbinical tradition, as an "ideal" and not as an institution that was ever carried out. The great bulk, however, of

the legislation in the codes, when cleared of glosses, comments, editorial expansions, and decisions in regard to specific cases and answers to queries connected with the law,³⁰ is unmistakably the outcome of actual conditions and arose in connection with prevailing practice, and not as an attempt to substantiate a theoretical reconstruction of Hebrew history. On the contrary, this reconstruction which becomes the traditional view of Hebrew history was evolved from the codes, built up around them, but the codes themselves reflect practices many of which are old and all of which are adapted to later conditions. My point is that the codes properly studied can be used as a means of following the course of the social growth of the Hebrews from early days to a very late period, and not merely for the period in which the codes assumed the form in which they lie before us. Just because the codes contain by the side of more recent legislation, old elements, at times so old as, e. g., the "Red Heifer" ritual (Numbers, chap. 19) that its exact significance has become obscured because of its antiquity, we can utilize the codes for the sociological reconstruction of Hebrew life and customs with all the greater assurance. Once we recognize the necessary continuance of the old by the side of the new, our confidence in the value of the data furnished by critical study is greatly increased, and we are less prone to become the victims of an unwarranted because exaggerated skepticism. And the historical material in the Pentateuch and in the historical books may be treated in the same judicious manner. To be sure, textual criticism and the analysis of the sources must precede any use of the data, not, however, so much with a view of finding as large a number as possible of chief documents and subsidiary documents, pieced together, but rather as suggested, while distinguishing main documents where such can be proved to exist, to clear the text of additions by glossators, commentators and amplifiers, which I am led to believe by my own studies occupy a far larger place than has as yet been assigned to them. The Biblical texts—even the latest of them—bear evidence of having been freely used by editors, because of the indifference to the claims of individual authorship on which I have dwelt. When we have thus suc-

³⁰ See further on this my article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (above referred to), N. S., IV, p. 391 seq.

ceeded in obtaining at least a close approach to the original form of any particular narrative, an enactment, an utterance of a prophet or a religious production, we may extract from it data of value, even though already compounded in this original form with purely traditional lore. The tradition itself in the hands of the student who enters with sympathetic understanding into the endeavor to account for it becomes of value in the constructive part of the critic's task.

Time will not permit me to develop my thesis further, but enough, I believe, has been brought forth to warrant the prediction that the next stage in the critical study of the Old Testament will be marked by a stronger insistence upon the constructive elements, to some of which I have thought it proper on this occasion to direct attention. Will it be said that under the guise of criticism, I am sounding a retreat towards what is conventionally known as the "conservative" position? I trust not, for, as I have strongly emphasized, the main results of the critical study of the Old Testament as recognized by scholars in all lands are so definitely assured as to be beyond all reasonable doubt. Modifications in detail will not affect the main features of the views now held as to the origin and manner of composition of the books of both the Old and New Testament. The dividing line between tradition and criticism has been definitely drawn for all times. What I am looking forward to is merely the larger utilization of tradition by criticism, not in the form of any weak compromise between the two, but with a view of making the critical study more constructive by penetrating deeper into the significance of the tradition entwined around the documents, and by extracting from the tradition, data and points of view supplementary to the critical analysis of the documents; and in the second place, the larger use of the sociological factor—the study of the evolution of popular customs, and the tracing of the course of social development—in the endeavor to follow the course taken by the unfolding of religious thought and beliefs among the Hebrews from primitive aspects to advanced forms. The result of such a method will be a realization that our material for such a study is richer than an exaggerated skepticism, due to a too wooden or a too subtle exegesis, confined to a mere analysis of the documents or a too eager insistence on word studies, might lead us to believe.

The critical study of the Old Testament, I firmly believe, is destined to pass on from externals to a deeper and more sympathetic penetration into the core of the problems presented by the two great collections that have so largely contributed to the thoughts and aspirations of the eastern and the western world for the past two millenniums.

A NEW SOLUTION OF THE PENTATEUCHAL PROBLEM

M. G. KYLE

Xenia Theological Seminary

During the course of some studies in Biblical Theology and Archæology through which I lead my classes in Xenia Theological Seminary, some novel, and exceedingly interesting, things appeared which I purpose now to present to biblical scholars for their consideration and criticism. The studies were strictly inductive and the final results entirely unexpected—quite as surprising, indeed, to myself, as they will be to most others. I will present these studies in the same manner and order as they were originally pursued, and allow the results to appear in their own place and speak for themselves.

In this final preparation of the studies I have had the invaluable advice, on questions of law and legal nomenclature, of Samuel Scoville, Jr., Esq., of Philadelphia, to whose patience in passing upon the legal aspects of so great a mass of evidence a great debt of gratitude is due.

In the original studies in the Theological Seminary, under the general caption "Materials of the Law," the investigations were pursued as follows:

I. First investigation:

The legal terms, noted and listed from the text itself.

(1) First among these legal terms may be noted some Descriptive words—general terms. There are a number of such general, descriptive words used in reference to the Law in the Pentateuch, some of which have also, at times, a more technical use. Of these general terms in very common use are the following:

A: LAW.

The most common and general of these legal terms is the word "Law" (Heb. תּוֹרָה from יָרָה "to cast"). The use of this word to denote the Law comes probably from the secondary sense "to throw out the hand," hence "to give directions," therefore "a law." It is used for a particular kind of law, as

the law of the Passover: Ex. 12:49; cf. also Num. 15:16, and Deut. 17:18-19. It is used for any kind of a law or laws: Ex. 18:16; 18:20; for a statute of the ceremonial law, as the law of the meat offering: Lev. 6:9 and 14 (Heb. 6:2 and 7), cf. 6:18 and 22 (Heb. 6:11 and 15) and Num. 19:14, cf. 21; and for the whole Law or a large portion of it, as in the addresses of Moses in Deuteronomy: Deut. 1:5, 4:44.

B: WORDS.

"Words" (Heb. דְּבָרִים) is another general term for laws. It is used in its most important sense of "utterances," hence "oracles," and is applied especially to the Ten Commandments, as in Ex. 24:3, 34, 1, 27 and especially 28; Deut. 5:22 and 10:4 ("The ten words"). The word is also used more generally of many laws: Ex. 24:4 ("all the words").

C: COVENANT.

The word "Covenant" (Heb. בְּרִית) is a summarizing word which is applied originally, in reference to the law, to the ten commandments: Ex. 34:28—"And he wrote upon the tables the words of the Covenant, the ten commandments"; also Deut. 4:13. Cf. Deut. 6:2, 9:9, 11, 15, where the tables of the Law are called the "Tables of the Covenant." The word "Covenant" is also used to denote the whole body of laws at any time existing under the Covenant, as in Ex. 24:7, 8; where the Covenant at Sinai is made to include all the laws made under it at that time. Cf. also Ex. 34:4-10, Lev. 26:25. In primitive times the courts were weak and needed the moral influence of a Covenant to enable them to enforce their judgment concerning rights and wrongs. In the expression "Ark of the Covenant" the word "Covenant" refers to all the laws enacted under the Covenant at Sinai: Num. 10:33 and many places.

D: . TESTIMONY.

The word "testimony" (Heb. עֵדָה or עֲדוּת) is applied first to the Ten Commandments, Ex. 31:18, "Two tables of Testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God." Cf. Ex. 25:16; 21; 40:20, 32:15, 34:29. It occurs, also, in the same sense in the expression "Ark of the Testimony," Ex. 25:22, and many places. So, also, in the expression "Tabernacle of the testimony," Num. 1:50, 53. Finally this word "Testimony" is used in a more general way, sometimes in the plural, to denote a part of the laws, Deut. 4:45, 6:17, 6:20.

(2) Besides these general, descriptive terms, which are used to denote the Law or various parts of it, there are also certain technical terms which are used to denote various kinds of laws. They are used, as the examination of all the instances shows, in a very technical way, with great exactness to denote certain groups of laws. Sometimes the technical title of a group of laws is placed at the beginning, sometimes at the end, sometimes within the group, and in some instances groups are found which have no title immediately connected with them, but which are easily classified by comparison with the many groups that have titles. Still, again, a comprehensive title is sometimes found attached to a long passage made up of several smaller groups. But wherever these titles may be placed, they are found to be used with scrupulous accuracy.

(A) JUDGMENTS:

The word "Judgments" (Heb. מִשְׁפָּטִים plu. מִשְׁפָּטִים) is literally "judgings" and was used, as the technical application of the word almost invariably shows, to denote those decisions of early judges which were afterwards followed as precedents like the cases in the Year Books under English law, or the unwritten Common Law of England. They were usually decisions of moral questions, or, as the Hebrews expressed it, questions "one with another"; literally "A man with his brother or with a stranger," Deut. 1: 16.

The word "Judgment" (Heb. מִשְׁפָּט) has a wide and varied use throughout the Old Testament from which its technical use in the Pentateuch is entirely distinct. Even in the Pentateuch, alongside of the technical use of "judgment," the word has also various non-technical uses. Notwithstanding this, the technical use of the word is perfectly distinct as the following citations will show.

Ex. 21-23, 19 is a group of laws which have this title. Ex. 21: 1: "Now these are the judgments which thou shalt set before them." The character of the laws entitled "Judgments" becomes perfectly clear as we examine this group in detail. They are all laws of "One with another":

Ex. 21: 2-6 Refers to the Manumission of men-servants and their families.

Ex. 21: 7-11 Redemption of a maid-servant.

Ex. 21: 12-14 Homicide in different degrees.

- Ex. 21: 15 Assault on a parent.
- Ex. 21: 16 Kidnapping.
- Ex. 21: 17 Cursing of Father or Mother.
- Ex. 21: 18-19 Assault.
- Ex. 21: 20-21 Homicide of a servant.
- Ex. 21: 22-25 Injury to a Pregnant Woman received during a quarrel between other persons.
- Ex. 21: 26-27 Mayhem.
- Ex. 21: 28-32 The Law of Deodands and Damages, accruing from injuries caused by domestic animals.
- Ex. 21: 33-34 Law of Negligence.
- Ex. 21: 35-36 Injury of one Domestic Animal by another.
- Ex. 22: 1 Larceny.
- Ex. 22: 2-3 Killing of a Burglar caught in the act.
- Ex. 22: 2-4 Burglary.
- Ex. 22: 5 Trespass by Domestic Animals.
- Ex. 22: 6 Negligence in regard to fire.
- Ex. 22: 7-8 Bailments.
- Ex. 22: 9 Trespass and Recovery.
- Ex. 22: 10-13 Bailments.
- Ex. 22: 14-15 Bailment of domestic animals.
- Ex. 22: 16-17 Seduction.
- Ex. 22: 18 Witchcraft.
- Ex. 22: 19 Bestiality.
- Ex. 22: 20 Impiety and the penalty.
- Ex. 22: 21 Rights of Aliens.
- Ex. 22: 22-24 Wrongs to Widows and Orphans.
- Ex. 22: 25-27 Loans and Pledges.
- Ex. 22: 28 Contempt.
- Ex. 22: 29-30 Tax Laws ("One with another," when the other is the community, the state).
- Ex. 22: 31 Personal Conduct and Food Laws.
- Ex. 23: 1 Slander and Perjury.
- Ex. 23: 2 Riot and Perversion of Justice.
- Ex. 23: 3 Perversion of Justice in behalf of the poor.
- Ex. 23: 4-5 Restoration of Lost Property.
- Ex. 23: 6-9 Perversion of Justice.
- Ex. 23: 10-11 Law as to Civil Holidays (Sabbatic Year), "One with another," when the other is the state.

Ex. 23:12	Law as to Civil Holidays (Sabbath).
Ex. 23:13	Blasphemy.
Ex. 23:14-17	Law as to Civil Holidays (Feasts).
Ex. 23:18	Blasphemy.
Ex. 23:19	Perversion.

This completes this group of laws called "Judgments." In Ex. 24:3 reference is made again to the same group as "Judgments." I have given this list in full because it so clearly shows the character of laws technically denominated "Judgments." They are uniformly laws concerning matters "One with another," either one individual with another individual or an individual with the Congregation, the Community, or the State, and always such matters "One with another" as were passed upon by the various courts. In Deut. 17:8-13 provision is made for an appellate court for the consideration of difficult cases. This technical use of the word "Judgments" to denote this peculiar class of laws is uniform throughout the books of the Law. It is impossible to cite, at this time, all the groups of Judgments, much less the separate laws in those groups, but later under the caption "Peculiar use of words" some extraordinary laws designated by technical terms will be examined. Still later the sum of all the groups will be exhibited in a diagram. The consideration of all the groups in detail together with much of the other voluminous evidence must await a larger publication of these researches. The groups will be apparent to anyone who reads through the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy with the purpose of discovering them.

(B) STATUTES:

Another of these technical terms in the Pentateuch is the word "Statutes" (Heb. **חֻק** or **חֻקִּים** and especially the plural **חֻקִּים**). These were "regulations" established by law, referring to acts not inherently wrong (*mala in se*), but made wrong by statute (*mala prohibita*). This word is used as a technical term in the Pentateuch to denote all kinds of "Regulations," but especially is used of laws of procedure, more particularly religious procedure, as the ceremonial laws, directions for the Tabernacle and its furniture and the vestments and investiture of the Priests. Generally, also, the Ceremonial Laws throughout Leviticus. The distinctive character of these Statutes is so

familiar that there is little need that I should take time to present any of them. A single brief passage will suffice:

Lev. 1:3-17 The Law of the Burnt Offering.

Lev. 2:1-3 Meat offering.

Lev. 2:4-16 Oblations.

Lev. 3:1-17 Oblation of the Sacrifice of a Peace Offering.

The sum of all the groups of these statutes will be exhibited in the diagram. The peculiar character of the "Statutes" as directions concerning things not familiar or not to be known as duty except by the "Statutes," as distinguished from the "Judgments" which were familiar as common decisions of judges, or recognized on principles of justice and equity, is recognized in Lev. 10:11 where the priests were to teach to the children of Israel "all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses." Again, still more clearly, the distinction between "Statutes" and "Judgments" is brought out in Deut. 4:5-6: "Behold I have taught you statutes and judgments . . . Keep therefore and do them: for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people." The "Nations" of the land would not wonder at the "Judgments," for they were common law and largely familiar, and recognizable upon principles of justice, but the "Statutes," being unfamiliar regulations and directions, would excite their wonder. It is true that they were to teach judgments, also, especially to the rising generation, but the distinction here observed can hardly be accidental and is exactly in accord with the technical character of the "Statutes" as an examination of all of them shows.

(C) COMMANDMENTS:

The word "Commandments" (Heb. **מִצְוָה** plu. **מִצְוֹת**) is used in a technical way of fundamental law, involving moral principles, and so was applied especially to the Ten Commandments: Ex. 24:12 "And I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written: that thou mayest teach them." Also Deut. 5:31 (Heb. 5:28) and 6:1. This word is not used with quite the exactness and technical uniformity as the other technical terms of the Pentateuch. It is occasionally used as a descriptive, general term, while "Judg-

ments" and "Statutes," when referring to groups of laws in the Pentateuch, are used always in the technical sense and never as general, descriptive terms. The word "Commandments" is used in a descriptive way in Lev. 27:34: "These are the commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai," that is, all the laws given at Sinai.

Occasionally also, other words, as דְּבָרִים "words," and בְּרִית "Covenant" are used in place of the technical term מִצְוֹת "Commandments." Deut. 4:10, cf. Ex. 34:28. "Laws" is also sometimes used in place of the technical term "Commandments" as in Lev. 26:46: "These are the statutes and judgments and laws, which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses."

With the exception of these few variations in the use of the word "Commandments," מִצְוֹת, and the occasional use of דְּבָרִים, "Words," בְּרִית, "Covenant," and תּוֹרָה, "Law," to denote the Ten Commandments, there is the most exactly technical and exclusive use of these three technical law words "Commandments," "Judgments," and "Statutes" in all the law-books of the Pentateuch. Wherever at the beginning, at the end, or anywhere throughout a section of laws, reference is made to them only as "Judgments," then only "Judgments," precedents arising from early decisions of judges, making a body of laws resembling the Common Law of England, matters "One with another," usually right or wrong in themselves (*mala in se*), and always such as are administered by the courts, are found in such sections.

If the reference to a given section speaks only of "Statutes," then only statutory directions, not matters "One with another" (*mala in se*), but only so because of the statute (*mala prohibita*), being special directions of the lawgiver which were not to be anticipated by any ordinary principles of justice and equity, are to be found in those sections.

So, if only "Commandments" are mentioned in a summary of laws, then when the word is used in a technical way, The Commandments, Laws of the Decalogue, are to be found in such section.

If, on the other hand, two or more of these technical terms are used in summarizing groups of laws, then always the various

different kinds of laws indicated by the technical terms will be found in such lists of laws and no other kind of laws will be found there. Other words are sometimes used to describe "Judgments" and "Statutes," but these technical terms are never used to denote any other kind of laws than is indicated by the technical sense of these words. The few groups of laws which are not given a title are easily classified with those that have titles, because of the distinctive character of these various technical kinds of laws.

A few instances of peculiar use of these technical terms deserve special notice. The law made concerning the sweetening of the waters at Marah (Ex. 15: 23-26) is called both "Statute" and "Judgment" (A. V. "Ordinance"), and correctly so, for the directions given were not matters "One with another," but arbitrary regulations of the lawgiver, yet, in this instance, a penalty was attached to the law with promise of blessing also for obedience which gives it the character of a judgment. There are a few other instances similar to this. In some of these instances the law is called a "Statute of judgment." An examination of one instance will make it clear that this use of terms is correct. The law of the Cities of Refuge is called a "Statute of judgment" (Num. 35: 29). This law was an arbitrary statute of the lawgiver for the purpose of mitigating the harshness of the common judgment concerning homicide and so was a "Statute," but it was literally a "Statute of judgment," because it had to do altogether with a matter "One with another," a matter right or wrong in itself.

A few instances of peculiar use of these technical terms present such difficulties that they may seem to some to be exceptions to the technical use of these terms. Only two are really important; these two I will note. In Deut. 7: 11-13 it is said "Thou shalt therefore keep the commandments, and the statutes and the judgments, which I command thee this day, to do them. Wherefore it shall come to pass, if ye harken to these judgments, and keep, and do them, that the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and the mercy which he swore unto thy fathers, &c." Here the expression, "Harken to these judgments" might be thought to include in the word "judgments" the "commandments" and the "statutes" previously mentioned. If any one wishes to consider this an exception to the

uniformity of the use of these technical terms, I do not object. It does not seem to me to be so, for the covenant of works rested upon the "doing of righteousness," the keeping of the moral law, of which the "judgments" were the practical application, and not upon the observance of ritual of which the "statutes" gave expression. So the writer, with nice discrimination says: "If ye harken unto these judgments, that the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant."

The other important apparent exception is in Deut. 4: 5-6: "Behold I have taught you statutes and judgments . . . Keep therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people." In this passage, the word "statutes" seems at first glance to refer to both the "statutes" and the "judgments" previously mentioned. Upon closer examination, I think it will be found that here, also, there is merely a discriminating use of words. The "judgments" of Israel, being common law and well known and recognizable as in accord with principles of justice and equity, would not excite wonder among the Canaanites, but the "Statutes"—the wonderful embodiment of the revelation in the wilderness—would excite just such wonderment as that which is here mentioned.

The other apparent exceptions to the technical use of these law words are of minor importance. It will be sufficient to say now that while I do not find any real exceptions whatever, the existence of such would not affect the result of the investigation, for the prevailing technical use of these words suffices to mark with striking characteristics the divisions of the law which they afford, in such a way as to be unaffected by a few exceptions. Such exceptions would not be unreasonable, if found, as writers in all languages occasionally use technical terms in a not very technical way without affecting in any way the technical character of such terms.

The result of this part of the examination may be summed up thus. The lists of laws in the Pentateuch are not always denominated at all, but are usually so, and, wherever they are denominated, the titles, "Judgments," "Statutes" and "Commandments" are used with the greatest accuracy; "Judgments" and "Statutes" with unvarying technicality. As the

word "Commandments" has also a descriptive use, its technical use is not so immediately manifest, but clearly appears upon examination.

II. Second investigation:

A second subject for investigation is the literary form of these various portions of the laws found in the Pentateuch. For the pointing out of the fundamental facts in this part of the study, and in part, for the nomenclature, I am indebted to suggestions by Harold M. Wiener, Esq., in an article in the *Princeton Review*, April 1907, and also in his book entitled "Studies in Biblical Law"; but the investigations have been followed out anew and the facts upon which the results depend all verified. For the conclusions which I make, I am alone responsible.

In their literary form, the various portions of the Pentateuchal laws may be classified as follows:

(A) MNEMONIC:

The name mnemonic describes certain groups and kinds of laws which, from their literary form, as well as from the character of the laws and the use necessarily made of them, were suited for easy memorizing. They are brief and terse, with words suited to the most succinct announcement of laws. They have also a poetic tendency in the balancing of statements, with something of a rhythmic character which is easily noticeable even in a translation. These mnemonic laws include the Ten Commandments and the Judgments, Ex.: 21:12-14, Lev. 24:17-20, and many others. The terseness of the Ten Commandments is well known.

These are manifestly such laws as were most commonly used by the courts in rendering and executing judgments, which being "Judgments," decisions of judges, undoubtedly existed, for the most part, as common law, passing from mouth to mouth, before they were written down in the Pentateuch. These laws the judges needed to know, as judges and magistrates to-day need to have in mind the most common laws. In addition to these judgments, among the mnemonic laws were, of course, the Ten Commandments, which every one needed to know.

(B) DESCRIPTIVE:

A descriptive literary style is found in laws concerning new matters of legislation and laws concerning otherwise unfamiliar

things which naturally required a descriptive statement that they might be intelligible. These are almost wholly procedural laws, such as the directions concerning the Tabernacle and its furniture and the apparel of the priests, as well as the whole body of laws given for the ceremonial of the Tabernacle. The style here is as plainly apparent in a translation as is the mnemonic character of the Commandments and the Judgments (Ex. 25:31-36; 28:6-12; 30:11-16; Lev. 13:29-37; 16:15-19).

(C) HORTATORY:

A third distinct literary form of expression, found in various groups of laws in the Pentateuch, is the Hortatory, used in the utterance of laws in public address, where there was usually something of hortatory intent. This literary form of expression of laws is found in their adaptation to the demands of public speech in the various addresses of Moses recorded in Deuteronomy. This style is just as distinct as either of the two already mentioned and is quite as apparent in an English translation as it is in the Hebrew (Deut. 4:7-10—Eloquent appeal for obedience; 20:1-4—Inspiration to patriotism; 28:15-68—Fearful description of consequences of disobedience, especially 37-44).

Here, again, in this discussion of style, it is not necessary to the argument that the Mnemonic, the Descriptive and the Hortatory should be absolutely unvarying in their distinction. It is, again, not upon absolute uniformity, but upon the degree of uniformity that the argument rests. These different styles do indisputably prevail in these various portions of the Pentateuchal Laws.

III. Third Investigation:

A third subject of investigation is the effect of these technical law words and these literary forms of expression upon the vocabulary and the divisions of the Law.

(A) These various distinct kinds of laws denoted by the technical law words "Commandments," "Judgments," and "Statutes," with their sharply different uses, naturally require somewhat different vocabularies in the statement of them exactly as they require different technical terms to denominate them. These distinct technical terms denominated different law subjects, and different *subjects* require different vocabularies quite as much as do different *authors*. Judgments, laws concerning

common rights and wrongs, require quite different words for expression than do civil and ecclesiastical enactments about things only right or wrong because of a Statute. These latter naturally require descriptive language in order to make them clearly intelligible. Judgments require common words for crimes and misdemeanors, and the terms needed to express appropriate penalties. Such words will occur frequently in these portions of the law, and less frequently, or never at all, in other portions of the law. It is found to be so.

On the other hand, directions about things civil or religious will not need words expressing rights and wrongs and penalties, but will need descriptive language which will vary according to the differing nature of the particular enactments. Thus not only a different, but a much larger, vocabulary will be needed for descriptive laws, and many words denoting civil affairs and religious rites and privileges will be introduced and occur with frequency which will not occur at all in Judgments because of the absence from Judgments about rights and wrongs of these civil and religious ideas.

The Commandments also, because of the fundamental character of the principles expressed and the subjects of piety and morality presented, require vocabularies somewhat peculiar to them, but more akin to the vocabulary of the Judgment which concern morals and piety also, than to the vocabulary of the Statutes concerning things civil and religious.

(B) These various uses for which the various portions of the laws were intended, which give occasion for some being Mnemonic, some Descriptive and some Hortatory, naturally result in quite different literary styles as well as different vocabularies. Different *purposes* require different styles quite as really as do different *authors*. Thus the laws that were intended for memorizing by the judges, and those intended to give instruction concerning unknown proceedings, and those for the impassioned utterance of public address may be expected to differ greatly from each other. The Mnemonic Judgments and the Commandments, with their brevity and terseness and rhythm, present a style that is quite marked, as we have already seen. Such a style in utterance cannot but have a marked effect upon the use of words, since style is produced by choice of words as well as by arrangement of words. The Descriptive portions

of the law necessarily become more verbose and flowing even sometimes to floridness of expression, as was manifest from the passages already cited.

Last of all, the Hortatory portions of the law, with all the impassioned utterances of instruction, exhortation and moral purpose, call for just as distinct literary style in Deuteronomy as anywhere else in the literature of oratory.

(C) These sources of variations, the kinds of laws and the uses of laws, satisfactorily account for manifest differences of style and vocabulary which have oftentimes and plausibly been attributed to different authors. That different authors would account for these differences of style and vocabulary is indisputable. These different *subjects* of law which so clearly appear, and the different *purposes* in expression, which are not less distinct from each other, equally well account for such differences of style and vocabulary as have oftentimes been pointed out. Thus the facts themselves of the giving and use of these laws, when carefully examined, furnish the solution of the literary problems which they present.

IV. Fourth Investigation:

A fourth investigation is a comparison of the divisions, afforded by these various kinds and uses of laws, with the principal divisions of the current Documentary Hypothesis, the Graf-Wellhausen theory of the composition of the Pentateuch.

According to this Documentary Hypothesis, there are certain main documents. There is the J Document, whose author is known as the Jahvist, from his use of the Divine name Jahveh: An E Document, whose author is called the Elohist, from his prevailing use of the Hebrew word Elohim for God: these two documents later combined for the most part and appearing, according to the hypothesis, as one document in the Bible as we have it, and called the J-E Document. Then there were the P Document, a Priestly writing, and a D Document, whose author is called the Deuteronomist. In addition, there are some much smaller Documents pointed out by some, and the element, not document, R supplied by the redactor or redactors.

It is not necessary in this general comparison to take account of the minor documents because of their brevity, nor of the element supplied by R whose function was almost wholly to join

together the real documents of the Pentateuch. There remain, therefore, for the comparison which we wish to make, the J-E Document coupled with the small portions of J and E still pointed out, the P Document, together with H, The Holiness Code, and the D Document. While, naturally, all critics do not wholly agree in the assignment of passages, there is, in general, agreement concerning the main portions of the Pentateuch. In this comparison, I follow the divisions given by Kautzsch in his *Literature of the Old Testament* (p. 226) and shown to the eye in the Polychrome Bible edited by Professor Haupt.

To the J-E Document, including those portions attributed to J and to E, is assigned generally the book of Exodus (except chapters 25-40, assigned to the P Document), together with portions, amounting to about one-half, of the book of Numbers. To the P Document is assigned almost the whole of the book of Leviticus, except portions of the Holiness Code, the chapters of Exodus (25-40) already noted, and most of the Book of Numbers not assigned to J-E and to J and E. The D Document is the Book of Deuteronomy almost in its entirety.

When, now, comparison is made between these divisions according to the Documentary Hypothesis and the divisions afforded by the kinds and uses of laws which we have observed in this investigation, the divisions from both processes are found to be almost exactly identical. There is no more disagreement than the margin of uncertainty in the assignment of difficult passages by either method would lead us reasonably to expect. The following diagram will exhibit to the eye the divisions of the books of the Law according to the Documentary theory and underneath upon the diagram is shown, also, the divisions according to kinds and uses of laws. The extent of agreement is indicated by the chromatic scheme: agreement by red and disagreement by blue, divided agreement by both red and blue. Black dots underneath assignments indicate that scattered verses or fragments of verses are assigned by the Documentary Hypothesis to other authors. (See Diagram.)

From this diagram it appears very clearly that the J-E Document together with the scattered fragments assigned to J and E is made up very exactly of the Commandments and the Judgments found in Exodus, Numbers and Leviticus, almost wholly

Mnemonic laws, together with such narrative portions as naturally belong with these laws and are often necessary to explain the giving of the laws. The P document in these law-books is, with the utmost precision, the Statutes of Leviticus and the statutory portions of Exodus and Numbers, also, almost without exception Descriptive laws, together with the narrative portions which naturally belong with these laws and help to explain them. And, last, the D Document is with perfect exactness the Hortatory expression of all the laws, the Commandments, the Judgments and the Statutes of the Book of Deuteronomy, together with the binding thread of narrative. To the agreement there is but a single real exception, the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy.

It is not necessary to institute a comparison of the peculiarities of vocabulary between the documents of the Documentary Theory and the divisions indicated by those kinds and uses of laws, because, as the divisions and the documents are substantially the same, the peculiarities of vocabulary must be substantially the same also.

These studies and this comparison do not directly disprove the Documentary Theory, are not, indeed, directed immediately to that end, but they do show that it is not the only theory that satisfactorily meets the requirements of the phenomena; the studies are in accord with the known facts and they afford an equally good and complete explanation of the phenomena. But it is to be observed that the divisions made by the kinds and uses of laws not only satisfy the demands of the phenomena, but they afford precisely the same general divisions as those made by the Documentary theory, and more especially, the divisions are furnished by the facts themselves, without the necessity of calling in the aid of any suppositional element, as unknown authors and unmentioned documents. On the principle that suppositional elements are never to be introduced for the explanation of evidence when the facts, as known, afford a complete explanation of themselves, this study and its results not only afford an explanation of the facts that is probable, but indirectly renders any other theory that calls in to its aid any suppositional element exceedingly improbable. It is admitted that no theory in life or literature is proved simply by the fact

J-ED Document (+J and E) P Document (+H) D Document.

Exodus		Deuteronomy	
1.....	20.....	1.....	32
2.....	21.....		
3.....	22.....		
4.....	23.....		
5.....	24.....		
6.....	25.....		
7.....	26.....		
8.....	27.....		
9.....	28.....		
10.....	29.....		
11.....	30.....		
12.....	31.....		
13.....	32.....		
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108.....	127.....		
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111.....	130.....		
112.....	131.....		
113.....	132.....		
114.....	133.....		
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that it works, but a theory that works without calling in the aid of any suppositional element, is more probable than one than invokes such aid.

No doubt many objections will be raised concerning the facts prescribed in this study, and, especially, against the use made of those facts. I will content myself, however, with the presentation of the results of these investigations and not anticipate here the objections that may be raised.

NUMBERS 4: 15-20

JAMES KENNEDY

New College, Edinburgh

This passage in the Book of the Law has suffered considerably at the hands of transcribers, and now presents several impossible readings. Careful examination of the difficulties, however, leads to their solution.

The proper stand-point from which the whole passage is to be viewed is the distinction laid down between Aaron and his sons on the one hand, as the most highly privileged servants of the Lord, who were permitted, as priests, to enter into the Sanctuary, there to view and handle the sacred furniture and vessels; and the children of Kohath on the other hand, who, though more honored than the rest of the Israelites, were nevertheless denied that near approach which was reserved for the priests (see verses 5-16). The duties assigned to the latter may accordingly be described as superior or primary, while those of the Kohathites were subordinate or secondary, for these are to be regarded as assistants to the Aaronic family.

The directions given regarding the respective duties of these two classes of ministrants are plain and clear; and to make sure that the Kohathites should not see or handle the sacred utensils, these were covered up by the priests and then placed on cars by means of which they might be carried, so as to prevent the Kohathites from even *feeling* the vessels thus concealed.

A clear perception of these restrictions of service laid down for the Kohathites enables us to read aright the verses now singled out, and gives a clue to the correction of the Massoretic Text. The first correction is to be made at the middle of verse 15, where we read that after Aaron and his sons had finished covering up the Sanctuary and its articles of furniture, the Kohathites were to come and carry their appointed burdens; then follows a perplexing clause, which, simply rendered on the basis of the Received Hebrew, might be translated, 'but they shall not touch the Sanctuary and die,' while the form in our Authorized Version is, 'but they shall not touch [any] holy

thing, lest they die,' and the Revised Version, 'but they shall not touch the Sanctuary [*marg.* 'holy things'] lest they die.'¹ In the light of what has now been stated, however, exception may reasonably be taken to the form of the second verb, viz. וַיָּמָתוּ, which, though strictly meaning 'and they shall die,' has been constrained here to mean 'lest they die'; but as the normal construction in Hebrew for such an expression would rather be פֶּן-יָמָתוּ (see Gen. 3:3; 11:4; 19:15, 19:26:9; 32:12; 38:11, 23; 45:11; Ex. 5:3; 19:21, 22, etc.), or, less frequently, וְלֹא-יָמָתוּ (see Lev. 10:6, 9; Deut. 24:15; 25:3 etc.), the probability is that וַיָּמָתוּ has been substituted for the resemblant verb וַיָּמָשׁוּ (from מָוֶשׁ), or וַיָּמָשׁוּ (from the more commonly occurrent verb מָשַׁשׁ) by a transcriber who mistook what was dictated to him by a person who read from an older copy.² If either of these suggested forms be now substituted for what is presented in the Massoretic Text, the meaning of the middle portion of verse 15 becomes, 'afterwards, the sons of Kohath shall enter in, to carry away [the vessels of the Tabernacle], but they shall not touch the Sanctuary, and handle'³ [the furniture].

Verse 22 calls for no remark, except that in the expression 'Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest,' there appears the Note Line before 'the son of Aaron,' probably to indicate that these words need not be deemed a necessary explanation.

The greatest difficulties, however, meet us in the succeeding section. After the brief introductory verse (17), 'And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,' there follows an ordinance which must be regarded, in its Massoretic form, or in any fair translation of the same, as most remarkable: 'Do not cut off the tribe of the families of the Kohathites from the midst of the Levites; but this do ye to them, that they may live and not die when they approach the holy of holies: Aaron and his sons shall go in and appoint them, each one to his work and to his burden, but they shall not go in to see, when enveloping the

¹ The Septuagint rendering is οὐχ ἄψονται τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωσι, and that of the Vulgate *et non tangerent vasa sanctuarii, ne moriantur*.

² Even at the present day, many Jews pronounce ט as a slight sibilant: thus בַּת is not pronounced *bath*, but *bas*.

³ See the use of מָוֶשׁ in Gen. 27:2, and of מָשַׁשׁ in 27:12, 22; 31:34, 37; Deut. 28:29 etc.

Sanctuary, and die.' It will be most convenient to consider, separately, the extraordinary terms or constructions here, and endeavor to substitute, in each case, something more reasonable.

'Do not cut off the . . . Kohathites . . . ' Certainly, **אַל-תִּכְרִיתוּ** signifies 'Do not cut off,' (i. e. exterminate, or annihilate; see Deut. 12: 29; 19: 1; Josh. 11: 21; I Sam. 2: 33; 24: 22; II Sam. 7: 9 etc.); but why should such a prohibition find a place here, when the Kohathites had been assigned a most honorable position in the community, with relative duties to perform, and had done nothing to incur extermination? The fact seems to be, however, that a transcriber misunderstood an assistant who read to him from a previous copy, and wrote the astounding term **תִּכְרִיתוּ** instead of its sonal resemblant **תִּקְרִיבוּ**; when this form is restored astonishment is dispelled, for the meaning now becomes, 'Do not bring near,' or 'Do not permit to approach.'

Next we are confronted with a complex impression presenting several strange features, viz. **אֶת-שִׁבְט מִשְׁפַּחַת הַקֹּהֲתִי**, 'the tribe of the families of the Kohathites.' First, it is obvious that the Kohathites did not form a 'tribe,' but merely *part* of a tribe, that of Levi (see verse 2); a tribe was the greater whole, composed of a number of families. Second, the closing term in the expression now quoted is in the singular, whereas it should rather be in the plural form, viz. **הַקֹּהֲתִים** (see Num. 10: 21; 2 Chr. 20: 19; 34: 12, also Num. 3: 27; 10: 21 in some editions), from which the final **ם** has disappeared here before the same letter at the head of the word immediately following. The whole expression, however, is not reduced to acceptable form until **אֶת-שִׁבְט** is changed to its resemblant **אֶל-שֶׁרֶת**, and followed perhaps by **אֵת** before 'the families of the Kohathites,' which is thus distinctly marked as a direct and definite accusative. Clear light is now thrown on the verse through the restoration of the rare noun **שֶׁרֶת** (now found elsewhere only in verse 12, and in II Chr. 24: 14), which distinctively indicates *service of the highest character, involving close personal relation to the superior*,⁴

⁴ Contrast with this term the noun **עֲבָדָה**, which signifies subordinate or sometimes even menial service, and is thus appropriately employed in the following verse where mention is made of the position and duties assigned to the Kohathites in the Tabernacle.

especially religious service performed by the priests, who are thus designated **מִשְׁרְתֵי יְהוָה** in Joel 1:9; 2:17 (see also Jer. 33:21, 22; Ezek. 44:11; 45:4, 5 etc.).⁵

At the beginning of verse 19, the Note Line doubtless calls attention to the haplographic omission of **ת** (after the same letter ending the form **וְזאת**) from the beginning of the imperative **עֲשׂוּ**; restoration of this letter will change the somewhat unusual command, 'But this do ye,' into a milder form (**תַּעֲשׂוּ**), which gives the meaning 'But this shall ye do' (see Num. 8:7, 26; 15:12; 29:39; Deut. 7:5; Jud. 7:17 etc.). In the middle of the verse, **אַתָּה** may safely be regarded as a mistranscription of **אַל־**; the substitution of which will change an abnormal into a normal construction in the expression 'When they draw near to the holy of holies.'

Verse 20, though short, presents in the latter half two difficulties which reveal themselves in the different translations which have been offered. Our Authorized Version runs thus: 'But they [the Kohathites] shall not go in to see where the holy things are covered, lest they die'; while the rendering of the Revisers is, 'But they shall not go in to see the Sanctuary [*marg.* 'holy things'], even for a moment, lest they die.' The chief trouble consists in determining the meaning and the construction of the middle form in the expression **לִרְאוֹת כְּבִלַע אֶת-הַקֹּדֶשׁ**, which the Septuagint translators, as shown in their rendering *ιδεῖν ἐξάπναι τὰ ἁγία* ('to look suddenly on the holy things') obviously associated, adverbially, with the preceding infinitive; and this view has been taken by our Revisers. The ancient and the modern interpreters alike—the latter probably following the lead of the former—have evidently given undue prominence to what is

⁵ The idea of close personal service ever attached to the root **שרת** is further apparent when mention is made of other than priestly service performed by honored and trusted attendants, who had constant intercourse with their masters. Thus, Joshua is called the 'minister' (**מִשְׁרֵת**) of Moses (Ex. 24:13, 33:11; Josh. 1:1); Joseph became the confidential servant of Potiphar, to whom he 'ministered' (Gen. 39:4), and even in prison was entrusted with the custody of Pharaoh's chief butler and baker, thus becoming their constant personal attendant or superior servant (Gen. 40:4); the wicked Amnon has such a 'minister' (II Sam. 13:17, 18); Solomon had such a plurality of 'ministers' (I Kings 10:5); and similar ministration was that of Elisha in relation to Elijah (I Kings 19:21).

merely a subordinate element in the meaning of the root בלע ('to swallow' or 'engulf'), viz. *suddenness* of disappearance from view, and have attached the form, syntactically, as an adverb, to the preceding verb. On the other hand, the Older English translators, as shown by their rendering, 'to see where the holy things are covered,' had regard, more reasonably, to the main idea of *complete envelopment*,⁶ and more naturally and grammatically construed the verb-form כִּבֵּלַע with the accusative following; for the complete expression of thought, however, it is necessary mentally to supply the subject הַכֹּהֲנִים as the name of the agents in covering the sanctuary and its furniture.

At the close of the verse, וְכִתִּי must be corrected into its resemblant וְכִשִּׁי, as already shown in verse 15.

After effecting the emendations indicated, verses 18, 19, 20 may be freely rendered thus:—

18. Do not bring near the families of the Kohathites, from among the Levites, to intimate ministrations.
19. But this shall ye do to them, that they may live and not die when they approach the holy of holies: Aaron and his sons shall go in and shall appoint them, each one, to his service and to his burden;
20. But they shall not go in to see when [the priests] envelop the Sanctuary, nor handle [the sacred vessels].

⁶ A similar view, expressed somewhat paraphrastically, however, is indicated in the Latin Vulgate: *Alii nulla curiositate videant quae sunt in sanctuario priusquam involvantur.*

JOSHUA 3:16

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

University of Pennsylvania

The text of this verse is so manifestly confused that only by a somewhat radical method can one unravel the tangle. We must take as our point of departure the circumstance that the chapter, as others in the Book of Joshua, is full of explanatory glosses and comments, superimposed on an original text. A few illustrations will suffice.

(1) In v. 1 the words **הוא וְכָל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** omitted in the Greek codices except F¹ are evidently a gloss.

(2) v. 3 **וְהַלְוִיִּם** without the conjunction is an addition, made with the same intent as in the Deuteronomic Code, e. g., Deut. 17:9; 18:1 to identify the Jerusalemite priesthood with the Levites—as the older generic designation for servitors at any sanctuary. In v. 6 we have correctly **הַכֹּהֲנִים** without the addition.

(3) For the designation of the 'Ark,' the text as it stands vacillates between **אָרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה** (v. 3) **אָרוֹן הַבְּרִית** (v. 6, 8) and **הָאָרוֹן** (v. 15). Variations in the Greek codices show attempts to make the usage more uniform, as, e. g., v. 6 where **יהוה** is added. Traces of such an endeavor are to be seen also in the Hebrew text in the addition of **הַבְּרִית** after **הָאָרוֹן** (v. 14) which grammatically is impossible, and even of **בְּרִית יְהוָה** (v. 17) after **הָאָרוֹן** which is still worse. In both cases the reading must be simply **הָאָרוֹן** as in v. 15. The Greek codices again vary in the attempt to make the usage uniform, but the Hebrew text shows that the compilers sanctioned, as is natural, the use of **הָאָרוֹן** as the abbreviation for 'Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh.' In v. 13, we must evidently also read **נִשְׂאֵי הָאָרוֹן**, the following **יהוה** being superinduced through the insertion of **אָרוֹן בְּרִית אֱלֹהֵינוּ** taken over from v. 11. The Greek codices confirm this in reading **אָרוֹן בְּרִית אֱלֹהֵינוּ** i. e., without **יהוה** but inserting **בְּרִית** for the sake of consistency.

¹ I use the nomenclature of Swete's ed.

(4) The words אָרוֹן יְהוָה (or אָרוֹן הַבְּרִית) in v. 11 are an addition, made with intent to remove the anthropomorphic conception of the original text which read: "when the Lord of all the earth passes (before you)² in the Jordan." The 'Ark' is the symbol and therefore the substitute for Yahweh.³ The present reading "The ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth" is so redundant and so awkward—for the ark can hardly be said to "pass"—that there can be little doubt of the words "Ark of the Covenant" being an addition.⁴ Similarly, in v. 11. The suspicion is therefore justified that in v. 13 (as in v. 11) the anthropomorphic figure stood in the original text, which therefore conveyed the announcement that when Yahweh himself entered the Jordan, the waters would be cut off, but the text has now been so overlaid with the later view of the priests' carrying the ark in advance of the people that of the original conception only the words "Lord of all the earth" remain as a torso, which is distinctly out of place and more than superfluous.

(5) The words in verse 15 "for the Jordan was full over all its banks during all the days of the harvest"⁵ are clearly an explanatory gloss, while the first part of the verse betrays evidence of being a combination of two sources^{5a}:

(a) וַיִּכְבּוּ [הַכְּהֲנִים] נִשְׂאֵי הָאָרוֹן עַרְ-הַיַּרְדֵּן

(b) וַרְגְּלֵי הַכְּהֲנִים נִשְׂאֵי הָאָרוֹן נִטְבְּלוּ בַקֶּצֶה הַכִּיָּם

Coming now to v. 16, it is evident that the first part of the verse must be considered in connection with the second part

² Probably also an addition—omitted in the Greek codices except F.

³ It is tempting to assume that אָרוֹן יְהוָה in Josh. 4: 11 is an intentional change for אָרוֹן i. e., again "the Lord of all the earth." In fact the similarity between אָרוֹן and אָרֶץ is a factor in leading to a confusion between the two terms.

⁴ Bennett's view in the 'Rainbow' Bible (p. 3) in dividing the verse between D² and J² misses the point—the avoidance of the anthropomorphic figure.

⁵ The wheat harvest in the spring. I Chron. 12, 15, adds specifically "in the first month." Cf. Josh. 4, 19 (10th day of the 1st month). The Greek text has "as in the days of the wheat harvest" which points to a misconception of the gloss.

^{5a} So also Holzinger, *Das Buch Josua*, p. 8.

⁶ So the Greek text.

of v. 13. The two stand in the relation to one another of announcement and fulfilment. The announcement is made that when (according to one and probably the older version) Yahweh as the "Lord of all the earth" passes through the Jordan, or, according to the other, when the priests carrying the Ark enter the Jordan, "the down-flowing waters shall be cut off," i. e., they will be miraculously dammed at a certain point, and since with the downward grade of the river-bed the water in the Jordan from the point in question will flow off, the people will be able to pass through the dry river-bed. To make this more explicit two explanatory glosses are added in v. 13 (1) מִלְמַעְלָה and (2) וַיַּעֲמְדוּ נָר אֶחָד. Neither of these glosses is represented in the Greek text, which follows an independent path in describing the situation. It reads

"The water of the Jordan will flow out (*ἐκλείψει*),^{6a} the down-flowing water will stand still." The picture, however, in the Hebrew and Greek texts is the same, the chief difference being that the latter adds the explanatory gloss *before* the phrase יַכְרִיתוֹן הַמַּיִם הַיֹּרְדִּים, while the former places the two glosses after the phrase. Of the two glosses in the Hebrew text, the first (מִלְמַעְלָה) is of little moment and may have been taken over from v. 16 where it is more in place, but the second indicating that the waters will rise and "stand up as a column" at the point where they are dammed up, adds an important touch. The down-flowing waters suddenly checked and driven back naturally rise like a large wave. The gloss, therefore, adds to the miracle of the damming of the waters, the almost equally striking phenomenon of the driven-back waters standing up like a column and *remaining* in that position. In v. 16 the fulfilment of the announcement is described in even greater detail and the attempt is made to localize the point up to which the waters are driven back. The waters are not "cut off" but "stand still," i. e., cease to flow. To the phrase וַיַּעֲמְדוּ הַמַּיִם הַיֹּרְדִּים "and the down-flowing waters stood still" the words מִלְמַעְלָה . . . הָרָחֶק "from above, . . . far off" are added,

^{6a} Based on a reading יָמְדוּ מִי־הַיֹּרְדִּין corresponding to יָמְדוּ in v. 16.

⁷ Further on in the verse, however, we find נִכְרְתוּ which I take as a misplaced gloss to וַיַּעֲמְדוּ, harking back to יַכְרִיתוֹן in v. 13 and suggesting the identity of the waters 'standing still' with their being "cut off."

to specify the point to the north of the point of the ultimate crossing at which the waters stopped flowing. Just as in v. 13, the gloss מְלִמְעָלָה is superinduced through the occurrence of the word in v. 16, so, on the other hand, the phrase קָמוּ נְר־אַחֵר in v. 16 is suggested by the gloss וַיַּעֲמֵרוּ נְר־אַחֵר in v. 13. It is not in place in v. 16 for it interrupts the construction. We must read

וַיַּעֲמֵרוּ הַמַּיִם הַיֹּרְדִים מְלִמְעָלָה הַרְחֵק

"And the down-flowing waters stood still from above (i. e. above the crossing place), far off." There follows an endeavor to localize the exact point of "far off." The text as it stands is entirely unintelligible. What does or rather what can בְּאֶרֶם הָעִיר⁸ mean? Some region is no doubt intended, further described as אֲשֶׁר מִצַּד צִרְתָּן "which is at the side of Sarethan." The corruption is old as is shown by the Greek version, which, reading σφόδρα σφόδρως, evidently assumed a text מֵאֵד מֵאֵד for מֵאֶדֶם and thus eliminates a place Adam for which the passage in Joshua is the *sole* witness. But that does not help us. A more radical operation is required.

A possible connection between the phrase מֵאֵדֶם הָעִיר in Joshua and I Kings 7:46 (= II Chron. 4:17), reading as follows: בְּמַעְבַּה הָאֲדָמָה (var: בְּעֵבִי) has been suggested by scholars. So, e. g., Moore¹⁰ proposes to read בְּמַעְבַּר הָאֲדָמָה (or plural במעברות) "at the ford of Adam," thus finding a second mention of the place Adam. Independently of Moore, Clermont-Ganneau made the same suggestion,¹¹ and the reading בְּמַעְבַּר is adopted by Benzinger¹² and noted in Kittel's text.¹³ The passage in Kings, for which we have the parallel in

⁸ Kere מֵאֶדֶם.

⁹ According to the Kere. The Greek version B, corresponding to הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר מִצַּד צִרְתָּן (see below note 17), further shows the uncertainty of the text. See the other Greek versions given by Stevenson in *PEF.*, Quarterly Statement, 1895, p. 335, some of which clearly represent attempts to reconcile the Greek text with the present Hebrew one.

¹⁰ *JBL*. 13 (1894), 78. Cf. also Moore's commentary on Judges, p. 213. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEF.*, Quarterly Statement, 1896, p. 80) proposed the same conjecture independently. Moore (*JBL.*, 13, 79) refers to an earlier conjecture to read בְּעֵיר אֶדֶם.

¹¹ Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1896, p. 80.

¹² *Hand-Kommentar zu den Büchern der Könige*, p. 54.

¹³ *Biblia Hebraica*, p. 471.

Chronicles, describes the casting of the temple utensils in the valley of the Jordan. The objection to the proposed conjecture is that after so general a mention as the "Jordan Valley" for the casting, we would hardly expect a *precise* localization at a particular spot. The interest of the writer being to inform us that the utensils were made in the Jordan Valley, it would be more natural for him to rest content with a general indication "between Succoth and Sarethán"; and if he did add "at the ford of Adam" would not that be sufficient? In the two parallels "the ford of Yabbok" (Gen. 32:23) and "the ford of Michmas" (I Sam. 13, 23) no further specifications are added, and elsewhere only the "fords of the Jordan" in general are mentioned (Josh. 2:7; Jud. 12:5, 6. Cf., also, I Sam. 14:4). Certainly "at Adam," as in Joshua, would be sufficient if the writer wished to specify a locality. Why should he add "at the ford?" And if he did so, why a further localization of a place that must have been well known?

The variant **בְּעֵבִי** in II Chron. 4:17 shows that the Jewish editors took the phrase to mean in a thick or heavy soil, as the Greek translators and the Targum also understood it. This view, accepted by all commentators till the question as to its correctness was raised by Klostermann, represents, I venture to think, a more plausible view than the one which seeks a proper name in this part of the passage. Even Moore who objects to the phrase **בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאֲרָמָה** or **בְּעֵבִי הָאֲרָמָה** as awkward, admits that for the casting of columns, a spot would naturally be selected where there was considerable depth of earth and that "the deep alluvium of the Jordan Valley meets this requirement." I cannot find that the phrase in question is a particularly awkward one to express a "heavy soil," though this to be sure is a question of feeling rather than grammar. George Adam Smith¹⁴ calls attention to the great number of mounds in the Jordan Valley north of Jericho which consisting of sun-dried bricks "are probably the remains not of cities but of old brick fields." It would be natural, therefore, in the passage in Kings and Chronicles to add as a reason for the casting of the utensils in "the Valley of Jordan" a reference to the section of the Valley marked by its "thick soil," and that this section was included between "Succoth and Sarethán."

¹⁴ *Historical Geography of Palestine* (7th ed.), p. 488.

My suggestion, therefore, is to take the three words in Joshua 3:16 **מֵאֵר מַאֲרָם הָעֵיר** as a scribal "pie" for **בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאֲרָמָה** or in other words to turn the thing around, and take the passage in Kings as furnishing the reading for the one in Joshua. The picture conveyed, therefore, by the proposed reading **בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאֲרָמָה אֲשֶׁר מֵצֵד צָרְתָּן** is of the waters standing still at a point near Sarethan in the region marked by its "thick soil."

The word **עֵיר** (or **הָעֵיר**) would be either a gloss to Sarethan or due to an erroneous interpretation of **בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאֲרָמָה** as the name of a place. Cutting off the word, we have **מֵאֵר בְּאֲרָמָה**. If we assume a misplacement of the first letter of the second word and place the **ב** before **מֵאֵר**, we would have two of the letters of **בְּמַעֲבֵה**. To further assume an exchange of **א** for **ע** and **ד** for **ב** and the omission of an **ה** involves, to be sure, a most violent treatment of the text, which but for the two passages in Kings and Chronicles would be entirely unwarranted. That there is a close connection between these two passages and the one in Josh. 3:16 is evident on the surface. In deciding, therefore, between correcting Kings and Chronicles according to Joshua, as has hitherto been done, or *vice versa*, we must weigh the objections and give the preference to the procedure which involves fewer difficulties. I venture to think that to assume in both cases an indefinite region at which the waters were dammed, and in which the casting of the temple utensils was done, is the more satisfactory conjecture. A place name of so vague and general a character as Adam or Adamah is most unlikely and the connection between such a place and ed-Damieh¹⁵, is not so close as to make the equation of the two an absolute necessity. The fact that the Greek version does not introduce a *place name at all* and that this passage in Joshua, according to the traditional interpretation of the Massoretic text, would be the only mention, together with the fact that even according to this text there is a vacillation between **בְּאֲרָם** and **מֵאֲרָם**, quite apart from the difficulties of finding a place Adamah to answer the requirements of being at the side of

¹⁵ Moreover, if Sarethan is to be identified with Tell es-Sarim (see below, p. 62), about 40 miles to the north of ed-Damieh, it would not be likely that a writer should speak of the latter as "at the side of Sarethan."

Šarethan¹⁶—all this speaks in favor of removing a place Adam or Adamah from our Biblical geography, and accepting a meaning that a region of thick, rich soil is meant—suitable for casting and appropriately described as included between two places, or with equal indefiniteness as ‘about’ or ‘in the region’ of Šarethan, which seems to be intended by the use of the particle **מֵצֵר**.¹⁷

The variant **בְּעֵבִי** in Chronicles for **בַּמַּעֲבָה** in Kings, while of doubtful value because of the general state of the text in Chronicles, nevertheless attests the antiquity of the tradition which saw in the phrase the description of a region rather than a proper name; and since the Jordan has many fords,¹⁸ none of which are distinguished (so far as the evidence goes) by any name with the word “ford” attached, there would be no special reason why Adam or Adamah should be so distinguished. There is, therefore, much in favor of the traditional explanation of **בַּמַּעֲבָה הָאֲדָמָה** or **בְּעֵבִי הָאֲדָמָה** as denoting “thick soil.”

It is, to be sure, not necessary to take the phrase as having the force of “forms of clay” as, e. g., Kamphausen¹⁹ and Kittel²⁰ propose. This, indeed, is most unlikely. By translating the phrase literally “in the thick (part) of the soil,” we obtain a description of the *character* of the soil in the Jordan Valley above Jericho for which there is sufficient evidence—

¹⁶ See on these difficulties, Moore as above, and also *JAOS.*, 26, pp. 331-333.

¹⁷ The specification Kiriath-jearim in the Greek codices is due to a manifest tinkering with the difficult passage and has no more value than a modern conjecture. Stevenson (*Quarterly Statement*, 1896, p. 82) proposes to associate Kiriath-jearim with a place Karawa, mentioned in Nuwairi's narrative (see below, p. 60) as near ed-Damieh. He further assumes a distortion of the Hebrew text **מֵצֵר צִרְתָּן** into the reading underlying the Greek version. The Greek, however, as we have seen, eliminates a place Adam (identified with ed-Damieh) altogether. That the Greek version rests on an attempt to localize the stoppage of the Jordan at Karawa, a town on the Jordan mentioned by the Arabic geographer Yakut, is possible, though it is unlikely that the translators should have been so familiar with the nomenclature of the Jordan Valley. In any case, the further distortion into Kiriath-jearim appears to be due to awkward manipulation of an unintelligible text.

¹⁸ Above, p. 57.

¹⁹ In Kautzsch's German translation of the Bible.

²⁰ *Bücher der Könige* (*Handkommentar* etc.), p. 46.

suitable for making both bricks and clay moulds for casting. The 'thick soil' would also be a natural place at which the waters of the Jordan might be choked up during the dry season, so that the miraculous intervention would consist in this stoppage of the flow so as to permit a crossing on a dry bed in the spring when, as the text in Joshua states, the Jordan ordinarily was at its highest and overflowed its banks.

As for the occurrence itself, it is plausible to assume that the tradition of the miraculous crossing rests upon the recollection of a temporary stoppage of the flow of the river, similar to that recorded by Nuwairi for the year 1266, when at the time that workmen were repairing a bridge at ed-Damieh, constructed by Sultan Beybars across the Jordan, a mound of soft marl fell into the river and checked the flow for several hours, enabling the workmen to make the repairs without difficulty.²¹ If this happened once, it might have happened frequently, especially in view of the marl deposits in which the river has gradually hollowed out its narrow bed in the remarkable land depression, which begins south of the Sea of Galilee. There is no reason to question the reliability of Nuwairi's narrative, and certainly no reason to assume that the story in Joshua inspired the account.

In the details of the biblical story two accounts have been fused, or perhaps it is more correct to say confused. According to one, the priests carrying the Ark stood on stones in the midst of the Jordan (Joshua 4:3 and 10) while the people crossed, and these stones remained there in the Jordan. According to the other, Joshua took twelve stones from the Jordan and had them carried across (Joshua 4:8) to the encampment of the people (הַמַּלְיֹן) and eventually set up as a memorial at Gilgal (4:20).²² The former strikes one as the more natural, and taken in connection with the main incident in Nuwairi's narrative, i. e., the falling of a mound of marl into the river, it will not seem too farfetched to conjecture that the stones in

²¹ See the text and translation of the passage in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1895, pp. 256-258, and also in Quatremère's *Histoire des Sultans Mamluks*, etc., II, p. 26.

²² On the assumption of two versions, we may account for the duplication of the explanation of the memorial (4: 6-7 = 4: 21-22), the latter further amplified with details in verses 23-24 in the style of the Deuteronomist.

the Jordan on which the priests stood represent the mound, which in falling would break into pieces and form stepping-stones on which to cross the river-bed, thus temporarily choked by the fallen mass. When the tradition of the natural occurrence became associated with the tales of the fortunes of the Hebrew clans, all kinds of more or less embellishing details would be added and these would grow in number with the repetition of the tale. So the *motif* of the twelve tribes would be introduced and the stepping-stones would become twelve stones. A version would arise in which the twelve stones would be taken out of the river by the order of Joshua and carried to the camp on the other side, and this version would be further embellished by having the stones set up as a memorial at Gilgal. In the combination of older and later versions, the thought of a "memorial" of the miraculous crossing would become so prominent as to lead to the view that the stepping-stones would also become twelve stones "set up" (v. 9 **הָקִים**=**הָקִים** v. 20) by Joshua "in the Jordan" where "they remain to this day," without a recognition of the absurdity of a monument in a place where it would be covered by the waters. What the text originally said was that the stepping-stones on which the priests stood while the people crossed are still in the Jordan "to this day," which is at least reasonable. Furthermore, the miraculous touch was added that the crossing on the dry river-bed took place in the season when the Jordan was at its height in the spring, through the melting of the snows on the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon range, and it is interesting to note that the same detail is added in the Arabic account, though there the season of the swelling of the Jordan is in December at the time of the winter rains. To be sure, the more rapid flow in both cases would probably be the factor that caused the breaking of a mound of marl and its fall into the river. Finally, by virtue of a natural comparison of the crossing of the Jordan with the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea, expressly dwelt upon in the Deuteronomic addition at the end of the account (4:23),²³ the waters are represented as standing up into a column (3:13 and 16—glosses in both cases) reminiscent of the "wall" (Ex. 14:22) formed

²³ Note the introduction of the "strong hand," reminiscent of Exodus 6: 1; 13: 3, 9 etc.

by the waters of the Dead Sea through the blowing of the strong east wind.

We can thus trace the gradual growth of the story by a perfectly natural process, until it is overladen with more or less miraculous touches and finally becomes a somewhat confused tale when through the literary process the attempt is made to weld various versions of the popular folk-tale into a semblance of unity.²⁴ This process leads eventually to such an absurdity as a "memorial" of the occurrence set up in the Jordan, by the side of the one set up at Gilgal. Either the existence of some heap of stones at the latter place, or possibly merely the play upon the name as though a repetition of *gal* "heap," formed the starting-point for the tradition about a memorial of the crossing at Gilgal.

If the identification of Šarethan with Tell es-Sarim²⁵ is correct, then the stoppage of the flow of the Jordan through some natural occurrence which underlies the tale in chapters 3 and 4 occurred some 40 miles to the north of Jericho and the entire distance from this point to Jericho and beyond up to the Dead Sea would become a dry bed across which the people might pass. This supposition would fit in with the description of the damming of the waters as "far off" (3:16),²⁶ i. e., at a considerable distance from "opposite Jericho" (3:16) where the crossing took place.

²⁴ In the Book of Joshua, as no doubt elsewhere, the theory of the combination of *written* documents (J and E, etc.) must not be pressed too hard. The confusion in such incidents as the crossing of the Jordan (chapters 3 and 4) and the fall of Jericho (chap. 6) can be more satisfactorily explained by the attempt on the part of one editor, working with only one document, to combine various versions that were *popularly* current into a single tale to which subsequently glosses and comments and editorial amplifications were added.

²⁵ Near the modern Beisan=Beth Shean. Cf. I Kings 4, 12 where the words "which is beside Šarethan" are a late gloss to Beth-Shean. However corrupt the text may be, the conclusion, at all events, appears to be justified to seek Šarethan near Beth-Shean or Beisan. Moore's objection to this location of Šarethan (*JBL.*, 13, 79 and Comment. on Judges, p. 212 seq.) rest largely on the reading Adam as a proper name in our passage and its identification with ed-Damieh. There is so much in favor of placing Šarethan near Beth-Shean, that one is disposed to advance the difficulty of locating Šarethan near ed-Damieh as another argument in favor of the Greek text which eliminates Adam from our passage altogether.

²⁶ See above, p. 56.

ON THE TEXT OF HOSEA 4-14

WM. H. COBB

Congregational Library, Boston

Professor Toy's contention (*JBL.*, 1913, pp. 75-79), that the first three chapters are by another hand, may or may not prove sound; at all events, the other eleven chapters, which fill seven pages in the Baer-Delitzsch text, present abundant difficulties of their own. I am far from claiming acquaintance with all the literature on the subject, or even with all the emendations which reputable scholars have proposed for these eleven chapters. I have, however, encountered and inspected about five hundred such proposals; and if life were not so short, I might put them into four groups, beginning with the smallest: highly probable, fairly probable, improbable, and wildly improbable. Thus I do not go to the extreme of worshipping the received text; but the other extreme, of too little regard for tradition, seems more dangerous; and so I desire to call attention from the trees to the forest, and to point out some general principles which may perhaps aid the investigation.

A. NEGATIVE TESTS.

1. *Transpositions are always questionable.* A single offense of that sort by a given critic might be venial, but our modern editors sin with a high hand. Even President Harper's text has ten or a dozen of these replacements, and other critics go still further. It is an easy matter theoretically to find more appropriate places for this or that element in Hosea, but we should consider practically what is involved in the belief that the reverse process ever really happened. Look now upon this picture and on this. On the one hand, a professor in his study, surrounded with a critical apparatus, and having before him a text of seven pages, which he can glance through, compare with kindred literature, and manipulate at will; the result is a harmonious composition, which he supposes, and we will suppose, for the sake of argument, to represent the author's original utterances. On

the other hand, an ancient scribe, in whose hands a faithful copy of the original is placed, a clumsy bit of roll, which it is his business to reproduce, slowly and faithfully, together with other manuscripts, at a stated price. Now he is not infallible, either in brain or morals; we might anticipate sundry errors from his haste to be rich. He will drop letters and words, and substitute the familiar for the strange; but what earthly motive would induce him to pause long enough to twist his copy back and forth a dozen times, thus making a Chinese puzzle to mystify posterity? The fault, it will be answered, lay not with the copyist, but with one or more editors. But by hypothesis, the modern editor's text equals the original and is all right; what possessed the ancient editors to turn aside unto such crooked ways and make it all wrong? That this ever occurred on a large scale, I stubbornly doubt. All things are possible to him that believeth; but in this case, incredulity seems a duty.

2. *The presumption is against the Septuagint, when it differs from the Massoretic text.* Of course, what we call the LXX has been often conformed to MT; but still, many variations remain. Now even if this presumption is granted, I must admit, on the other hand, that it is sometimes overcome; for instance, in 6:5, where the Hebrew text puts into the mouth of Jehovah this absurdity: "thy judgments light goes forth." By simply dividing the words differently, the Septuagint reads: "my judgment goes forth like light." So again, the very awkward sentence in 8:10; "and they begin to be diminished by reason of the burden of the king of princes" is cleared up in the Greek; "and they cease a little while from anointing a king and princes" (מִשָּׁח not מִשָּׂא), which is better, though perhaps not quite right. In spite of such exceptions, I claim that the first presumption is against a Septuagint variant. When we come upon a difficult word in the Hebrew (I do not mean a nonsensical word) and find that the Septuagint represents a common word resembling it which makes good sense, it is not the likeliest thing that this last is the original, for if it had been it is not likely that either editors or copyists would have substituted the hard word.

At this point I may perhaps be permitted a word of personal testimony. More than forty years ago, before I had any theories to establish, and with the single aim to know the Bible better,

I used to read the Hebrew and the Greek alternately, verse by verse, until in a few years I had gone through the whole Old Testament. The conviction grew upon me that in the vast majority of variations, the Hebrew text underlying the Greek probably agreed with our own.

In the case of Hosea, we have much more important testimony. In *Hebraica*, vol. 7, 1891, there was published a very thorough comparison of the Septuagint of Hosea with the Hebrew, by an American student, Gaylord H. Patterson. Carrying the investigation a stage beyond where Vollers had left it, he classified all the variations, set aside those due to mistakes of translation, and those due to a reasonably free translation; there remained (in our eleven chapters) only a baker's dozen that pointed clearly to a difference of text. Editors and commentators since 1891 quote Patterson in their apparatus criticus; but alas! they neither accept his conclusions nor attempt to refute them. The typical sinner here is Paul Ruben, a full half of whose volume of Critical Remarks is devoted to Hosea. He prefaces his notes with a reference to the literature, ending with Patterson's study, and he adds this commendably modest remark; "I shall quote these treatises only in those passages wherein I am especially indebted to them for a correction of a wrong conjecture of my own." On that basis, he might well have cited Patterson on every page, for his own book, based chiefly on the Septuagint, is a jumble of the most arbitrary combinations; he actually cites him not once. Study Ruben to learn how not to emend, and Patterson to learn the habits of the Greek translator of Hosea.

3. *To arrange the whole book in strophes is unwarranted.* You cannot prove a theory by simply assuming it. I take the liberty to doubt that these eleven chapters were originally written in regular strophes; whoever asserts that they were so written must bear the burden of proof. The strophe-maker himself, however intent on the end to be gained, usually shows himself aware of the fact that he must find some plausible grounds for his conjectures; but usually also it is plain that these grounds are subordinate to a foregone conclusion. A warning example in this connection is Marti; if the facts get in the way of his quatrains, so much the worse for the facts. He not only transposes ad libitum but excides with a ruthless

knife. By actual count, forty-two verses out of the seven pages have perished in the onslaught. Duhm is more radical than Marti in spots, and Haupt out-Herods both, as far as he has published his analysis. For instance, in 11:1-4, he cuts out two-thirds of the material and leaves only four short lines. It may be instructive to give the skeleton of his results in chapter 7. Of the sixteen verses, two whole ones and eight halves, i. e., the equivalent of six verses, are considered genuine. They make four strophes. Notice the order of the verses; 8, 9, 5^a, 6^b, 7^a, 11^a, 12^a, 2^b, 13^a, 16^a. The rest consists of secondary and tertiary glosses. Secondary glosses, read in Haupt's order, are 4^a, 10, 3, 5^b, 6^c, 7^b, 12^b, 1^a, 2^a, 13^b, 14, 15. Tertiary glosses are 11^b, 6^a, 4^b, 1^b, 16^b. Besides all this, there are a few fragments of verses in each of these three divisions. Evidently the final cause of the Massoretic text is the intellectual amusement of modern critics.

It cannot be denied, however, that the result is often charming. Read Marti's reconstructed text from beginning to end, and hardly a difficulty is left; smoothness reigns and mostly squareness. Hosea's work of genius takes the form of a checkerboard; or, if you prefer a biblical image, it is like Mark's picture of the 5,000 in garden plots, *πρασαὶ πρασιαί*.

So much for the negative tests of the text.

B. POSITIVE TESTS.

1. *Hosea's originality is one aid in determining his text.* It is the temptation of critics, as well as of other people, to subsume each new fact under some familiar rubric. Thus in 11:3 most modern authorities agree with the American Revision, and make the Lord say; "I taught Ephraim to walk; I took them on my arms," apparently supposing that this item in the duties of a nurse, in Numbers and Deuteronomy, must explain the allusion in Hosea. On the contrary, the Authorized Version seems more reasonable; "taking them by *their* arms"; for you'll never teach a child to walk by taking him in *your* arms. Now comes the Journal of Biblical Literature for 1915, with Prof. Haupt's interesting study of the next verse, 11⁴, showing that we should read not אָרַם but אָרַם; not "I led them with cords of a man," but "I led them with leading-strings." This favors the old idea, independently of his contention that 11^a is a gloss. To those of us who retain 11:3 it might be objected

that Hosea, even when dealing with a collective notion, would hardly pass from plural to singular and back again in the same breath: "I took *them* by *his* arms and healed *them*." But what if this final ו of זרועתי instead of being superfluous (*my* arms) should be taken with the previous ' as a remnant of ם? Thus all is in order; reading, with the LXX and nearly all critics, אֶקְחֶם, we have three coördinate suffixes of the third person plural.

In 5:8 the received text reads; "behind thee, Benjamin" אַחֲרַיִךְ בְּנִימִן. In the commentaries on that passage, a great pyramid has been built on its point; a phrase in the Song of Deborah has been exalted into the regular Hebrew war-cry of centuries later. Some, following Ewald, go so far as to make it disclose a whole section of the prophet's biography; the turn of expression shows, they say, that he was a resident of Judah when this was written. But no one succeeds in making good sense of the quotation. Why not let it be an original remark of Hosea? Benjamin trembles (יִחַר־רַב instead of אַחֲרַיִךְ). So many moderns.

One of the most original pictures in Hosea, and at the same time so puzzling a one as to be the despair of commentators, is that of the baker and his oven in 7:4-7. Wellhausen's humor is always with him, and we need not take too seriously his remark that it would be no great loss if some good way could be found to throw Hosea's esteemed baker out of his text. There is certainly corruption here, and if we insist on making the entire passage plain, one conjecture may be no better than another; but why not keep the main figure, which is strong and vivid, and confess our ignorance with respect to a few doubtful words? Verse 7^a is plain enough; "they are all hot like an oven"; that shows that *this* image was used; let each one make what he can of the previous verses, as Prof. Haupt has done in the same number of JBL, and as Hoonacker has done more successfully, I think. Nearly all translations, from the most recent ones back to the Septuagint, are too benevolently disposed towards their readers. Even when they can be sure of nothing, they feel in duty bound to give something, instead of honestly indicating a doubt. A notable exception is Guthe's Hosea, in Kautzsch's Bible; he prints many lacunae.

2. *Hosea is above all things a preacher and this fact has an important bearing on his text.* He has a message to deliver and he will not always stop to polish it or to harmonize it with anybody's preconceptions. For example, the fact that some passages of the received text are metrical, others unmetrical, gives us no right to alter the text; we should shape our theories by the evidence, not impose the former on the latter. A good example of an unmetrical sentence is 12:8: "A trader! deceitful balances are in his hand; he takes delight in oppressing" **כָּנַעַן בִּידוֹ מֵאֹנִי מְרָמָה לַעֲשֹׂק אָהֵב**.

If this occurred in a prose writer, every one would accept it as prose; but how different the previous verse, with its three 3's: "But do thóu retúrn to thy Gód; kíndness and jústice obsérve; then hópe in thy Gód foréver" **וְאַתָּה בְּאֱלֹהֶיךָ תָּשׁוּב חָסֵד וּמִשְׁפָּט שָׁמֵר וְקוֹה אֶל-אֱלֹהֶיךָ תָּמִיד**. This contrast does not stand alone; for more than a score of verses in the eleven chapters are unmetrical, in the midst of others that are plainly metrical.

Again, it is a common critical device to strike out as a doublet a phrase found elsewhere in the prophecy. But preachers do not hesitate to repeat their warnings. It is quite in character for Hosea the preacher to say in 8:13: "He will remember their iniquity and visit their sins" and then to say the same in 9:9, where it is equally appropriate. So in 5:5 and again in 10:7: "The pride of Israel testifies to his face"—that has the genuine homiletical tone.

A repetition of a different kind meets us in 8:11, which most recent scholars refer to a copyist's carelessness. The Revised Version renders it by this curious bit of logic: "Because Ephraim hath multiplied altars for sinning, altars have been unto him for sinning." The repetition, I believe, is a preacher's home thrust. "What is an altar for? Is it not to *expiate* sin? Ephraim has multiplied altars *for* sinning; *altars* are to *him* for *sinning*" **הָיוּ לוֹ מִזְבְּחוֹת לַחֲטָא**, one of Hosea's frequent rhymes. Compare the familiar phrase, "peace is to me a war."

Some preachers eschew politics; but Hosea is alive to the rapid changes in the government of his country. It is a fair question whether the references to Judah are original or interpolated. Here, as before, are two extremes to be avoided. The

one accepts all these references as we have them. But this cannot be; e. g. in 12:2, "Jehovah has a controversy with Judah, even to visit upon Jacob according to his ways"; the tell-tale י with the infinitive shows that one or the other proper name is an error; and it is not Jacob, for the prophet goes on to speak of him alone. Still, this reasoning cannot be applied to some of the references to the southern kingdom; and when editors would throw them all out, we may well ask with Nowack whether Hosea would have been likely to express no interest in the religious politics of Judah.

Once more, it is a favorite modern notion that the denunciatory passages are inconsistent with hopes and predictions of a bright future; these latter then must go by the board. But not all critics are preachers, or they would apply here that word of the Lord: "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder." We need not go all lengths with George Adam Smith, and insist on retaining the entire fourteenth chapter, minus its closing sentence; it is my experience, at least, that most of that chapter seems to lack the ever-present being of Hosea; for example, the triple repetition of "Lebanon" and the jejune "say unto him" in verse 3. On the other hand, it is like a preacher to close with exhortation rather than denunciation. I shall return to chapter 14, but on the main point it gives me pleasure to say of Hosea and Israel what Cheyne said of Isaiah and Judah in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (in 1898, which was in Cheyne's pre-Arabian period). "I am not prepared," he said, "to make a holocaust of passages in which Isaiah takes a bright view of the prospects of Judah."

3. *Hosea's euphonies often help determine his text.* I refer not only to rhythm and metre, but to what Lanier happily calls the *colors* of verse; such as alliteration, assonance, phonetic harmony, and rhyme. I know of no prophet who, within an equal compass of seven pages, so abounds in these varied euphonies. Sometimes a single letter stands out; the most familiar instance is the triple *k* in the proverb: "Like people, like priest: כָּעָם כִּכֹּהֵן. A much better example is the triple *m* in 9:11 with its tremendous compression, twelve words in English, three in Hebrew: "there shall be no birth and none with child and no conception": מִלְדָּה וּמִבֶּטֶן וּמִהָרִיוֹן. In 12:2 Ephraim feeds on wind and chases the east wind, to the

tune of three r's, which are clearly onomatopoeic: רעה רוח. The consonant may be medial instead of initial, as in ורדף. The consonant may be medial instead of initial, as in ורדף. The consonant may be medial instead of initial, as in ורדף. The consonant may be medial instead of initial, as in ורדף. Most critics strike out the last of these, but the euphony indicates that it was meant to be there.

Then there are various permutations; what is it that gives us pleasure in the phrase that modern editors strike out at the end of 4:14: וועם לא יבין ילבת? It is phonetic harmony, caused by the sequence of the sounds l, y, v, with y, l, v (lo ya vin; yil-la-vet). We have the same thing in 13:2: m, s, k, followed immediately by m, k, s, מכסה מכספם. Elsewhere note the echo-like effects: אוי להם... שר להם; אפרים... מצרים; מעלליהם... אל-אלהיהם; מזבחותם... מזבחותם.

When we come to rhymes, we find an embarrassment of riches. Time would fail to illustrate this at length; but that you may appreciate their variety, elaborateness, and evenness of distribution, I give one sample from a verse in each of the eleven chapters in order and then several samples from a single chapter.

(4:7) יחינו... בנרו... ילרו (5:7) כרבם... כבודם
(9:6) צמח... קמח (8:7) נדרו... פשעו (7:13) יקמנו
(11:8) מתבחות... מצבות (10:1) תקבצם... תקברם
(14:4) מכספם כתבונם (13:2) חרפתו ישיב-לו (12:15) אמגנה
ידינו... אלהינו.

Calling that a longitudinal section, chapter 9 will furnish a cross section to match it. Here are *its* rhymes in order, besides the one already given.

(7) לחםם לנפשם (4) יסכו... יערבו (4) אתנן... דגן
(9) עונם... חטאתם (9) דרכיו... אלהיו (8) עונה... משטמה
(10) נדרים בגוים (17) כבכורה בתאנה (10)

The bearing of Hosea's rhyming habit on the question of his text is plain. When critics assert, for example, that תקברם and תקבצם are merely variants of the same word, they are manufacturing evidence instead of following the light of analogy. Some will have it that a profusion of rhymes is likely to occur by accident in any highly inflected language, but that is a decided mistake. The slightest acquaintance with medieval

Latin hymns as contrasted with classical Latin shows that the material for rhymes was always present but was long unused.

Not to dwell upon single unrhymed assonances like . . . יַעֲקֹב or יַעֲבֹד or לְמִצְפָּה . . . הַמִּשְׁפָּט which seems to have given a hint to Isaiah, or the one that he actually copies: שִׁרְיָהֶם סָרְרִים. I will quote a few euphonic clauses, to show how beautifully they illustrate the principle of balance. In 8:3 observe the succession of vowels: יִזְכֹּר עֲוֹנָם וַיִּפְקֹד חַטָּאתָם (*i-ō ō-â i-ō ō-â*). Note the double rhyme in the last clause of 12:15:

וְדָמְיוֹ עָלָיו . . . וַחֲרָפְתּוֹ יִשִּׁיב-לוֹ:

In 4:9 the liquid sounds are as interesting as the rhymes. Now and then we encounter a perfect balance of rhythms and rhymes, a fine example being the Silluk clause of 10:1:

כָּרֵב לְפָרְיוֹ הִרְבָּה לוֹ מִזִּבְחֹת כָּטוֹב לְאָרְצוֹ הֵטִיבוֹ מִצְבוֹת:
Another as good or better was discovered by Duhm, who made the easy correction of ך for ך in the Silluk clause of 8:7 and produced the following, which he calls the only rhymed song in the Old Testament:

בָּלִי יַעֲשֶׂה-קָמַח	קָמַח אֵין-לוֹ צֶמַח
רִים יִבְלַעְהוּ:	אוֹלֵי יַעֲשֶׂהוּ

Professor Duff puts that into English thus:

“A corn-stalk all yellow
Brings no meal to a fellow:
But if grains should bend it,
The wild-ox would end it.”

The quality of verse which I have called balance goes much beyond what is technically called parallelism, and sometimes enables us to eliminate a superfluous word. Thus Hosea wrote in 9:10: “Like grápes in the wilderness fóund I Ísrael; like the first ripe of the fig I sáw your fáthers.” Some prosaic scribe had to explain this image and write in the margin: “in its beginning” בְּרֵאשִׁיתָהּ, which throws the line out of balance. We see the same thing at 8:5: “And the pride of Israel witnesses to his fáce, and Éphraim stúmbles in the mídst of his sín.” The correction “and Israel” for “and Ephraim” has found a

place beside the other in the text, making it limp badly. On the other hand in 4:2 a true feeling for balance *preserves* the received text against the monstrosity which most recent critics have foisted upon it. They read **פָּרְצוּ וּפְרִין** for **פָּרְצוּ** but this changes the fine poetry to deadly prose; a mere list of items, thus: "swearing and perjury and killing and stealing and adultery and outbreak." What the prophet wrote, according to the evidence, was a balanced line, whose second member reads: "they break out, and blood touches blood."

Finally, let me illustrate by a long consecutive passage, my belief that Hosea writes in varied metre when he pleases, and in prose when he pleases. Let us turn to 13:7. From this point on, as I will try to show, there are (first) two great climaxes of three lines each, in metrical double 3's, and between the two is a broken line which shows at once its imperfect character. Then come four lines in 5's, the so-called *kināh* rhythm. Then a magnificent Alexandrine, three 3's. A long prose verse follows, closing the chapter, while chapter 14 begins with four 6's, namely, three 2's plus two 3's, and again three 2's plus two 3's. Apart from the torso, not a word of MT needs to be altered in these twelve and a half verses (13:7-14:3^a), except, if you choose, **כָּעַת** for **כִּי-עַת** in verse 13 and **אָחוּ** for **אֲחִים** in verse 15, with the addition, following the ancient versions, of **אֱלֹהֵיכֶם** at the end of the section. Marti, in order to preserve his 4's, has to make a new start before reaching the first climax. That climax may be imitated in English as follows:

I will be unto them as a lion;
As a panther in ambush will I lurk;
I will meet them as a frenzied bear
And will rend the enclosure of their heart.
I'll devour them there like a lioness:—
Wild beasts of the field will mangle them.

כָּנָמַר עַל-דֶּרֶךְ אֲשׁוּר:	וַאֲהִי לָהֶם כְּמוֹ-שֹׁחַל
וַאֲקָרַע סָגוֹר לָבָם	אֶפְגָּשֶׁם כְּדָב שִׁכּוֹל
חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה תִּבְקָעֵם:	וַאֲכָלֶם שֵׁם כָּל־בְּיָא

Then comes the torso:

שְׁחָתֶךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־בִי בְעֵזְרֶךָ

“thy destruction, Israel, for in me, in thy help”—what else, we ask? This is sadly misinterpreted in A. V. which is faithfully followed by both revisions. “It is thy destruction, O Israel, that thou art against me, against thy help.” The main statement, “thou art,” is not there. The fragment needs, of course, to be completed, but I will not attempt to complete it now. Three more double 3’s immediately succeed:

And pray, now, where is thy king?
And thy deliverers in all thy cities?
And thy judges, for whom thou prayedst:
Give me a king and princes!
I give thee a king—in my wrath,
And remove him in hot displeasure.

וְיִוְשִׁיעָה בְּכָל־עָרֶיךָ	אֱהִי מַלְכְּךָ אֶפְרַיִם
תִּנְהַלֵּי מֶלֶךְ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל:	וְשֹׁפְטֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר אֶמְרָת
וְאַקַּח בְּעֶבְרָתִי:	אֶת־לֶךְ מֶלֶךְ בְּאַפִּי

Next we have the *kinâh* rhythm, 3’s and 2’s.

Bound fast is Ephraim’s guilt; stored up his sin.
Upon him come travail pangs; a foolish son;
He meeteth not at its time the delivery of sons.
From Sheol shall I redeem them? from Death set them free?

צָפוּנָה חַטָּאתוֹ:	צָרוּר עֵוֹן אֶפְרַיִם
הוּא־בֶן לֹא חָכֵם	חֲבֹלִי יוֹלְדָה יָבֹאוּ לוֹ
בְּמִשְׁבֵּר בָּנִים:	בָּעֵת לֹא־יַעֲמֹד
מִמּוֹת אֲנֹאֵלֶם	מִיָּד שְׂאוּל אֶפְרַם

Now the tremendous Alexandrine, the outburst of Jehovah’s vengeance: אֱהִי רִבְרִיךָ מוֹת אֱהִי קִטְבְּךָ שְׂאוּל נַחֵם יִסְתֵּר מַעֲיֵנִי: “Ho, thy terrors, Death! Ho, thy destruction, Sheol! Relentless is hid from my eyes.”

It is altogether futile to constrain verse 15 into the bounds of metre; it is good prose as it stands, with the single change

indicated; and it is rendered fairly in the American Revision. But chapter 14, verses 1 and 2 with a part of 3, are metrical in form: Guilty is Samaria, a rebel 'gainst her God; by the sword she shall fall: תִּאֲשָׁם שְׁמִרוֹן כִּי מָרְתָה בְּאֱלֹהֶיהָ בַּחֶרֶב יָפֹלוּ
Her sucklings dashed in pieces; her pregnant ones cloven with the sword: עַל־לֵיהֶם יִרְטָשׁוּ וְהָרִיתֶיּוֹ יִבְקָעוּ:

Over against this thunder cloud is the rainbow:

Return, Israel, to Jehovah thy God, for thou staggerest in thy guilt:

שׁוֹבָה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיהָ כִּי כָשַׁלְתָּ בְּעֹנֶךָ:

Provide yourselves with words, and turn to Jehovah your God:

קָחוּ עִמָּכֶם דְּבָרִים וְשׁוּבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם

come before him, that is, not with victims, but with penitent prayers.

I know not where Hosea closed his book; but if it was here, he stopped in a good place.

ALCOHOL IN THE BIBLE

PAUL HAUPT

Johns Hopkins University

The attempt has often been made to prove that the wine referred to in the Bible was non-alcoholic (DB 2, 34^a; EB 5306, n. 1; 5321, § 32).¹ The story of Noah's first experience with the wine he had made shows that it was intoxicating: the patriarch lay in a drunken stupor (Gen. 9:21). Böhmer pointed out long ago that the statement after the name of Noah

¹ AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*.—AkF = Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (Leipzig, 1915).—AL = Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*.—ASKT = Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*.—AV = Authorized Version.—BA = Delitzsch-Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*.—BAL = Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883).—BB = Haupt, *The Burning Bush and The Origin of Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1909) = PAPS 48, No. 193.—BL = Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907).—BT = Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*.—CD = Century Dictionary.—CoE = Haupt, *An Ancient Protest against the Curse on Eve* (Philadelphia, 1911) = PAPS 50, No. 201.—DB = Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.—EB = Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*.—EB¹¹ = *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition.—GB¹⁶ = Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*, sixteenth edition.—GGAO = Hommel, *Grundriss der Geschichte und Geographie des Alten Orients* (München, 1904).—GK = Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, twenty-eighth edition.—HW = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*.—IN = E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906).—JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.—JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.—JHUC = Johns Hopkins University Circulars.—JSOR = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*.—KAT = Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*.—MuS = Haupt, *Midian und Sinai* (1909) = ZDMG 63, 506-530.—NBSS = Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910).—NT = New Testament.—OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.—OT = Old Testament.—PAPS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.—PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.—RE³ = Hauck, *Realencyklopädie*, third edition.—REJ = *Revue des Études Juives*.—RV = Revised Version.—SBOT = Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament in Hebrew*.—SGI = Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar* (Leipzig, 1914).—TOCR = *Transactions of the Third*

in Gen. 5:29, *This will make us forget our work,*² and the toil of our hands, and the ground which Jahveh has cursed, was a misplaced subsequent addition to the passage *Noah, the husbandman, began to plant a vineyard* (Gen. 9:20; cf. *Pur.* 2, 42). If a man wants to drown his cares he cannot do it in plain water or unfermented grape-juice. At the reunion of the gods, which is the primordial prototype of the Babylonian New Year's festival, all were full of food and liquor, so that they were crazed and stupefied. New Year is still observed in this ancient Babylonian fashion, and Rabbinical authorities say that in celebrating Purim, which is an adaptation of the Persian New Year's festival, you must drink till you cannot tell the cursing of Haman from the blessing of Mordecai.³

Prohibitionists often emphasize the fact that the wine made by Jesus at the wedding at Cana was made of water. The

International Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908).—VHOK = *Verhandlungen des Hamburger Orientalisten-Kongresses* (Leiden, 1904).—WF = *Wellhausen-Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914).—ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.—ZAT = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.—ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.—ZR = Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1901).—Mic. = Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) = AJSL 27, 1-63; 26, 201-252.—Nah. = Haupt, *The Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) = JBL 26, 1-53.—Pur. = Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = BA 6, 2.—G = Greek Bible.—J = Jerome (Vulgate).—S = Syriac Bible.—T = Targum.—Cf. JBL 34, 41; AJSL 32, 64; ZA 30, 60.

² Lit. *cause us to stop sighing from our work* (see *Pur.* n. 22; cf. WF 223, l. 6; AJSL 32, 65, l. 2). Also Arab. *sālā, iāslā*, to be comforted over a thing and forget it (AJSL 33, 48), is construed either with the accusative or with the preposition 'an, from. Similarly Arab. 'āzzā, to comfort, is construed with 'an.

³ Cf. *Pur.* 3; Rogers, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) p. 120; *McGill.* 7b (BT 3, 557): אמר רבא מיחייב איניש לבסומי בפוריא; ער דלא ידע בין ארור הכן לברוך מררכי; see also Lagarde, *Purim* (Göttingen, 1887) p. 56. For לבסומי (cf. Syr. *ḫbassām*, he refreshed himself) see Margolis' grammar, p. 95*, and for *ēnēs = inās*: Levias' grammar, § 69, and BA 1, 7. Also Assy. *nišu*, people (HW 483) is not a biconsonantal noun, but stands for *nēšu = inēšu = ināšu*. Nor is there a biconsonantal noun *nišu*, being; spirit, person (AL³ 171b): this *nišu* stands for *nīš'u*; see GB¹⁶ 507 s.v. *nēs*. Assy. *nīš šarrišunu iekurā* (ASKT 67; JBL 19, 68, n. 40) is equivalent to Arab. *rāfa'ū 'sma mālikihim* (cf. Ps. 16:4^b) while Assy. *nīšē āli*, the people of the city, corresponds to Syr. (ē)*nāšēh da-mēdittā*. For Assy. *nēšu*, people (written *ni-c-šu*), see Delitzsch, *Sumerisch-akkadisch-hettitische Vokabularfragmente* (Berlin, 1914) p. 12.

strongest drinks may be made of water. But the miracle at Cana must be interpreted allegorically: Jesus turned the water of the old dispensation into wine, the blood of the new covenant (*cf.* JBL 35, 206, n. 67). Similarly the raising of Lazarus symbolizes the revivification of the defunct church (EB¹¹ 15, 454^b).

I have shown in my paper on *Beer and Brandy in Babylonia* (JHUC, No. 287, p. 33) that the wines of the ancients were stronger than our modern wines, and this may be the reason why they were mixed with water. In the Odyssey (9, 209) we read that the Maronean wine, three cups of which made the cyclops Polyphemus so drunk that Odysseus could blind him by plunging a burning stake into his single eye, was, as a rule, diluted with twenty parts of water. Some of the ancient wines seem to have been more like brandy: Pliny (14, 63) says that the Falernian district produced a wine which could be ignited. Brandy is inflammable, but wine will refuse to deflagrate.

The strongly alcoholic character of the wines of the ancient Hebrews is evident in a number of Biblical passages, but several of them have been misinterpreted. In Prov. 23:20/1 *e. g.* AV renders:

- 20 Be not among winebibbers,
among riotous eaters of flesh;
21 For the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty;
and drowsiness shall clothe a man in rags.

20 אל-תהי בקבאי יין בָּלְלִי בִשָּׁר לְמוֹ:
21 כִּי-סָבָא וְזוּלָל יִרְשׁוּ וּקְרָעִים תִּלְבִּישׁ נֹמֶה:

This couplet should be translated:

- 20 Be not among winebibbers,
among those who indulge in meat;
21 For bibber and gormand may be robbed,
and stupor clothes in tatters.

Heb. *nûmâ* does not refer to sleepiness on the day following the revelry, but denotes the profound slumber of alcoholic coma (EB¹¹ 8, 602^b). Excessive indulgence in alcohol may terminate in stupor with partial paralysis of the muscles. Umbreit (1826) said: *Nûmâ drückt den taumligen Zustand des Be-*

rauschten aus. The verb *nûm* is used of the *sleep of death* in Nah. 3:18; Ps. 76:6 (*Nah.* 12. 36; ZDMG 61, 281, 15; 286, 20; 287, 13; cf. also 2 Macc. 4:25, 5:11). Thieves who rob dead-drunk persons are called in German *Leichenfledderer*.⁴ A university student overcome with beer is a *Bierleiche*. A man in the state of dead-drunkenness may be robbed; his clothes may be torn either by a fall or in a brawl. Prov. 20:1 says: *Leç-hai-îâin, hômê haš-šekâr*, Wine is wanton, brandy is brawling (see my paper on Heb. *leç*, wanton, and *melîç*, spokesman, in BA 10, 2; contrast JBL 29, 106, n. 81). Many a tippler comes home with his clothing torn and tattered. A rich drunkard may occasionally look like a raggamuffin or tatterdemalion, and he may be robbed, but he is not impoverished. There is not a single passage in OT where *iyyarêš* means *he is impoverished*.

In my *Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 79 (cf. GB¹⁶ 321^a) I have shown that Heb. *îarâš*, from which the noun *tirôš*, must, is derived, means originally *to press*, squeeze, extort, rob, bereave. The primary connotation of Heb. *îîrâš*, he inherits, is *he is bereft*. German *Erbe*, heir, is connected with Lat. *orbis*, bereft, orphan. I have discussed this question more fully in my paper on Assyr. *ablu*, mourner, heir (BA 10, 2).

For *gormands* the Hebrew has *those who indulge in meat for themselves*, who gorge themselves with meat.⁵ Meat was regarded as a luxury; as a rule, it was served only in honor of a guest or at a festival.

Horton, *Proverbs* (p. 285) in *The Expositor's Bible* (1891) refers to the torn clothes and the empty pockets of the wine-bibber in the comments on the four couplets in Prov. 23:29-35 describing the danger of wine bibbing. AV renders this passage:

- 29 Who hath woe? who hath sorrow?
 Who hath contentions? who hath babbling?
 Who hath wounds without cause?
 Who hath redness of eyes?
 30 They that tarry long at the wine;
 They that go to seek mixed wine.
 31 Look not thou upon the wine when it is red,

⁴ See Rabben, *Gaunersprache* (Hamm, 1906) p. 82; cf. *Pur.* n. 150.

⁵ Cf. Syr. *izdallâl*, to be luxurious, extravagant, unrestrained; also modern Arab. *zâla'*, to bolt one's food. **TS** render: *asôfâ* (= *ασωτος*).

- When it giveth his color in the cup,
 When it moveth itself aright.
- 32 At the last it biteth like a serpent,
 And stingeth like an adder.
- 33 Thine eyes shall behold strange women,
 And thine heart shall utter perverse things.
- 34 Yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst
 Or as he that lieth upon the top of a mast. [of the sea,
- 35 They have stricken me, *shalt thou say*, and I was not
 They have beaten me, and I felt it not: [sick;
 When shall I awake?
 I will seek it yet again.

Some of these lines are preposterous, especially the statement, *Yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea, or as he that lieth upon the top of the mast*. If *lying down in the midst of the sea* means lying down in your bunk when the ship is on the high seas, this is not so uncomfortable; but *lying upon the top of the mast* is a more difficult proposition which a wine-bibber in the final stage of dead-drunkenness could hardly negotiate. *Top of the mast*, of course, can only refer to the highest or uppermost part of the mast, not to a sort of platform surrounding the head of the lower mast on all sides.

According to Grotius (1644) *Et erit sicut dormiens in medio maris* signifies *in insula fluctibus undique concussa*; but *thou wilt be like one riding in the midst of the sea* means simply: *Thou wilt suffer from nausea and vomiting due to the irritation of the gastric mucous membrane*. Vomiting (Jer. 25:27, 48:26; Is. 19:14, 28:8) is preceded by a feeling of nausea. To *sicut jacens in summo mali* Grotius adds: *id est, ut nunc loquuntur, in galea navis, ubi maxima est agitatio*. J. D. Michaelis (1778) rendered: *wie ein Steuermann, der beim Sturm einschläft*, following Ⲭ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲣ ⲕⲱⲃⲉⲣⲛⲉⲓⲧⲉⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲕⲗⲓⲔⲱⲛⲓ (Ⲥ *ak* mallâhâ ḥē-maḥšôlâ rābbâ; but Ⲥ *hēk* mallâhâ ḏē-damēk bē-'ūlfâ, and Ⲥ *quasi sopitus gubernator amisso clavo*). Ⲭ did not read *ra's*, instead of *rôš*, but took *rôš-hôbêl* in the sense of *top* (aeme) of destruction (ruin). ⲕⲗⲓⲔⲱⲛ often denotes *disaster*, just as *κατακλυσμός*, cataclysm, may signify *destruction*, annihilation (cf. AJSL 23, 228, n. 17, and p. 163 of my paper on *Jonah's Whale* in PAPS 46). In the same way Ⲥ *maḥšôlâ* may mean *peril*;

cf. Assy. *xašālu*, to smash, crush, destroy (ZDMG 64, 709, 10). Also *Graec. Ven.* (ὡς καθεύδων ἐν κρατὶ νεώς) read *rôš*, head, top.

The generally accepted rendering of this passage is almost as absurd as the translation of Ps. 76:11 which I discussed in my paper on an OT liturgy for Nicanor's Day (ZDMG 61, 286, 24): *Thou girdest Thyself with the residue of the gall* (see also ZAT 35, 105). I often reassure some of my candidates for the degree of Ph.D. who feel a little nervous before the final examination in the presence of the Faculty, by pointing out to them that, even if they give the most ridiculous answers, there are generally some distinguished OT scholars who have led the way.

Everything is perfectly clear if we correct the traditional misunderstanding of *rôš hōbēl* and the erroneous repetition of the term *lying down* due to scribal carelessness which we find in a great many passages (*cf.* JBL 34, 65, l. 7; 35, 288). Heb. *hōbēl* at the end of the line, which is supposed to mean *mast*, is the part. Qal of *hibbēl*, to corrupt, to ruin; it corresponds to Arab. *xābil*, noxious, disastrous. Arab. *xābala* means especially *to craze* and *to paralyze*.⁶ In Assyrian we have *xablu* and *xabbīlu*, pernicious (*Proverbs*, SBOT, 57, 53). The addition of the epithet *hōbēl*, noxious, was necessary in order to show that *rôš*, head, in this connection referred to the head of the opium-poppo. Similar combinations are common in Chinese; a great many Chinese words would not be clear unless they were combined with another word (EB¹¹ 6, 217^b).

A *šōkēb bē-rôš hōbēl* is *one who lies* in a stupor produced by the *noxious poppy-juice*. I have shown in my paper on *Opium in the Bible*, which I presented at the General Meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia on April 24, 1915,⁷ that the *gall* (i. e. *bitter fluid*) with wine (not *vinegar*) in the account of Christ's crucifixion (Matt. 27:34) and the *myrrh* in Mark 15:23 denote *opium* (ZA 30, 64; GB¹⁰ xix^b, l. 5 and 418^b: *mē-rôš*, poppy-juice; *cf.* also DB 3, 408^a, l. 6; 2,

⁶ *Cf.* the special meanings of *haut mal*, or *grand mal*, and *petit mal*. In certain parts of Germany *Schaden* is used for *hernia*, rupture, and *Ubelkeit* for *nausea*, qualm, just as our *sick* has the special meaning *affected with nausea*, qualmish. Note also the special meaning of Heb. *dayā*.

⁷ An abstract was published in the programme of the General Meeting and in a great many daily papers, *e. g.* in the *Philadelphia Ledger* of April 25, 1915; *cf.* also p. 2 of Dr. Macht's paper *The History of Opium* = *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Feb. 6, 1915, p. 478.

104^b). It was entirely different from the Roman *potio myrrhina* or *murrata*, which was a sweet wine and a favorite beverage of the Roman ladies (EB 5320, below; RE³ 21, 61, 53). Jesus refused to drink the wine with gall or myrrh, *i. e.* opium, just as a soldier who is to be shot may decline to be blindfolded. The Talmud states that a cup of wine with *lēḥônâ* was given to criminals before their execution. *Lēḥônâ* means *incense*, but in this case it is used for a bitter aromatic drug, *i. e.* opium. Frankincense and myrrh are used for *opium* because all three are bitter and aromatic. The primary connotation of both *mērôrâ*, gall, and *môr*, myrrh, is *bitterness*. In the OT *rôš*, the bitter poison of the poppy-head, is repeatedly mentioned in connection with *la'nâ*, wormwood, absinthe. Poppy was no doubt cultivated from remote antiquity for the sake of the juice of the heads, or capsules, which is generally conceded to be the most important of all medicines. In the cuneiform texts it is called *irrû*, *i. e.* intestinal medicine (ZA 30, 64). I explained *rôš ḥôḇél* as *noxious poison* sixteen years ago in *Proverbs* (SBOT) 57, 52. Tomyris (Herod. 1, 212) calls wine *poison* (φάρμακον).

The answer to the question in the first couplet of Prov. 23: 29-35, *Who has wounds without cause, who has dimness of eyes, which we find in the following verse, Those who linger long o'er the wine, who come to try the mixture*, is evidently a gloss. The hemistich *kî-ittén bak-kôs 'ênô* in the second couplet cannot mean *when it sparkles in the cup*; the ancient Hebrews had no sparkling wines; the phrase must be rendered: *when it gives its gleam in the cup, i. e. reflects the light*. We may say *when it glances in the cup*, just as Whittier says in *The Norsemen: The waters of my native stream are glancing in the sun's warm beams*. The *kî* in the first hemistich of v. 31 should be omitted; it is dittography of the *kî* in the second hemistich; *it'addám* is a relative clause, as is also *iafrîš* at the end of the next verse (GK § 155, g). On the other hand, *hikkûnî* and *hālamûnî* in v. 35 are conditional clauses (GK § 159, e). The verb *iafrîš* must be connected with Aram. *pērāšâ*, ox-goat; cf. Syr. *afrîš libbâ*, to cause compunction, lit. to *prick the heart*, and Assyr. *paruššu usaxxilānnî*, the p. pierced me (HW 546^a). Umbreit (1826) compared Syr. *afrîš*; contrast Delitzsch's commentary, p. 378, n. 2.

The *î* appended to *çif'ôn* before *iafriš* may be due to dittography, and the final *î* in Is. 11:8, 59:5 may be derived from the present passage. In post-Biblical Hebrew we have *çif'ôn* without the final *î*. The ἀπαξ λεγόμενον *ābôî* (for *ibâî*) is not an interjection, but a noun connected with *ebîôn* = *ibîân*, woeful, afflicted, wretched, miserable (AJSL 32, 141). The Syriac interjection אַוּכִי, compared in Brown's lexicon is, according to Duval, the Greek ὠβία (cf. König's *Lehrgeb.* 2, 339). The primary connotation of *ših* is *attention* (WF 216). Then it means *care*, concern, trouble, grief, complaint.⁸ It may also signify *contemplation*, religious meditation, devotion. In 2 K 9:11 it denotes *occupation*, profession, vocation, trade, calling (French *métier*, German *Beruf*). ὁ ἀδολεσχία, ἡ ḥō'îṭā, ἡ ṣāṭîṭā are guesswork. Klostermann's emendation *šōlēhō*, his sender, is gratuitous. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Münster, 1912) 2, 94 says: *Am besten passt Geschäft wie 1, 18, 27; but Gewerbe or Handwerk would be a more suitable rendering.*

The beginning of the fourth couplet must not be translated *Thine eyes shall behold strange women*, but *Thine eyes will see strange things*: objects will appear double; he will also be troubled with visual hallucinations in the form of disagreeable animals or insects; he will see snakes or mice; these visions may appear also in the form of flames, goblins, or fairies (EB¹¹ 12, 859^b, 1. 6; 14, 609^b). For *haklîlût*, dimness (not *redness*) see OLZ 16, 492. *Al-kuhl*, kohl, from which the term *alcohol* is derived, is a transposition of this stem.

The last couplet is not the addition of an antiprohibitionist, but describes, in dramatic style, the irresistible hold alcohol has on its victims. A man may have been hit and hurt in a drunken brawl, he may have lain in a drunken stupor for half a day, but he will drink again as soon as he has slept off his drunkenness. He may cry Oh! and feel miserable for some time, yet he will sin again.

In the last hemistich but one we must insert after *aqîç*, I awake: *mi-îaiñî*, from my wine, as in Gen. 9:24. This, it may be supposed, was afterwards regarded as an unseemly allusion to the patriarch Noah, and therefore it was suppressed; cf. BL 47, 1. 7, and my remarks on suppressed passages in the OT on

⁸ Cf. Syr. *anîā* which means originally *attention*, *heed*, then *meditation*, *anxiety*, *care*; also Syr. *jaççifûṭā*, *attention*, *care*, *anxiety*, and ἡ ἰχçéf, to be troubled, grieved.

p. 75 of the *Actes du Seizième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Athens, 1912; see also *Mic.* 31, n. 6.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

למי מדונים למי-שִׁיחַ	למי-אוי למי אבוי	29
למי חבלות עינים: ^a	למי פצעים חנם	
כי-יתן בקום עינו:	אל-הרא כִּין ^β יתאדם	31
ואחריתו כצפֿעון יפרֿשׁ:	יתהלך במי־שרים	32
ולבך ידבר תהפֿכות:	עיניך יראו זרות	33
וכשֿכב בראש חבל:	והיית כרכב־ בלכ־ים	34
הלמוני כל ידעתי	הכוני כל חליתי	35
אוסֿף אבקֿשנו עוד:	מתי אקֿיין מִיני	

(a) 30 למאחרים עלי היין לבאים לחקר ממסך: (β) 31 כי (γ) 32 כנחש ישך ו

This may be translated as follows:

- 29 Who has woe? and who has misery?
 who has brawls? and who has grief?
 Who has wounds without any cause?
 and who has dimness of eyes?^a
- 31 Look not on the wine ^βthat is red,
 when it gives its gleam in the cup;
- 32 It glides down smoothly, but at last
 it is ^γlike a viper that stings.
- 34 Thine eyes will see strange things,
 thy heart will blab queer things;
- 34 Thou'lt feel as one sailing the high seas
 or as one put to sleep by poppy.
- 35 If they hit me, I was not sore;
 if they struck me, I did not feel it.
 As soon as I wake from my wine,
 I shall surely try it again.

(a) 30 Those who linger long o'er the wine, who come to try the mixture.

(β) 31 when

(γ) 32 like a snake that bites and

^a This reading was suggested by Budde; see *Proverbs* (SBOT) 57, 50.

CRYSTAL-GAZING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

PAUL HAUPT

Johns Hopkins University

In my paper *Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual* (JBL 19, 56; cf. JHUC, No. 163, p. 48^a).¹ I discussed the passage in Ezek. 21:26, *The king of Babylon stands at the fork of the road to practice divination; he shakes the arrows, consults the teraphim,*² *inspects the liver.* The Polychrome Bible says (Ezekiel, p. 137, l. 35): Arrows variously inscribed were thrown into a vessel, shaken, and one drawn out, the inscription on which decided the question. This *belomancy*, or divination by means of variously marked pointless arrows, was also practiced by the pre-Mohammedan Arabs and by certain tribes of the North American Indians.

Grotius *ad loc.* (1644) quoted St. Jerome's remarks on this passage: *Ritu gentis suae oraculum consulat, ut mittat sagittas suas in pharetram et commisceat eas inscriptas sive signatas nominibus singulorum, ut videat, cujus sagitta exeat, et quam prius civitatem debeat oppugnare. Hanc autem Graeci βελομαντίαν sive ῥαβδομαντίαν nominant* (cf. also Gesenius' *Thes.* 1224^a). The divinatory shafts (Arab. *azlâm*) used by the ancient Arabs were without pointed heads and without feathers;³ so we can hardly call them *arrows*: we might just as well describe drumsticks or Chinese chop-sticks as pointless arrows. German *Pfeil* is the English *pile*, i. e. the pointed head of an arrow. The gambling game of the North American Indians, played with sticks bearing different marks, is called *stick-dice* (cf. CD s. v. and EB¹¹ 14, 473^b). At the great Prænestine sanctuary of Fortune the oracular replies (*sortes Prae-*

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75, n. 1.

² For *tēraphīm*, more correctly *tārafīm*, see JBL 33, 166, n. 12; cf. AJSL 33, 48; RE⁹ 6, 9, 11.

³ Cf. E. H. Palmer's translation of the Koran (Oxford, 1880) vol. 1, p. 110, n. 4; Anton Huber's dissertation *Über das Meisir genannte Spiel der heidnischen Araber* (Leipzig, 1883) pp. 9.13-15.27.30-32; Geo. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897) p. 110.

nestinae) were transmitted by means of lettered blocks; see *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XXVI, Nos. 9-10, p. 45 (Baltimore, 1908).

Herodotus (4, 67) says that the Scythian diviners used large bundles of willow-wands (*μαντεύονται ῥάβδοισι ἱετέρησι πολλῇσι*). Greek *ἱερά* is the German *Weide*, English *withy*, *with*. German *Buchstabe*, a letter of the alphabet, denoted originally a stick of beechwood inscribed with runes for the purpose of divination; these wands were scattered on a white garment and then picked up and combined.⁴ To *read* is in German: *lesen*, i. e. *to pick up*, to pick out. Also Lat. *legere* means both *to collect* and *to read*. According to Tacitus (*Germania*, 10) the runes were engraved on pieces of the branches of a fruit-bearing tree (*cf.* also Num. 17:24). Beechnuts are edible, and Lat. *fagus*, beech, Greek *φηγός*, Doric *φαγός*, is connected with *φαγᾶν*, to eat. The nuts of the beech-tree are called *beech-mast* or *buck-mast*,⁵ and *mast* means in German: *fattening*. Tacitus says: *Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt*.

Surculi (or *sorticulae*) would be a more appropriate translation for Arab. *azlām* than *sagittae*. Heb. *ḥiṣṣîm* in Ezek. 21:26, on the other hand, denotes real arrows with pointed metal heads. But Heb. *qilqāl bah-ḥiṣṣîm* does not mean *he shook the arrows*, although *Q* has τοῦ ἀναβράσαι ῥάβδον, *Q* *commiscens sagittas*. *Q* *qēšēt bē-ḡirraḥîā*, he shot arrows (*Ššēdā ḡērâ*), may have thought of a symbolical act like the one described in 2 K 13:14-19 where Elisha on his deathbed bids Jehu's grandson, King Joash of Israel (798-783 B. C.), shoot an arrow through an open window eastward, calling it *an arrow of Jahveh's victory*, *an arrow of victory over the Arameans*. Oefeles' explanation (ZAT 20, 314, l. 7) that the King of Babylon shot an arrow at the liver of the sacrificial animal is untenable.

RV renders *qilqāl bah-ḥiṣṣîm* in Ezek. 21:26: *he shook the arrows to and fro*, but AV has *he made the arrows bright*. This is more correct. In Eccles. 10:10, which is regarded by several exegetes as the most difficult passage of the Book, *qilqāl* certainly

⁴ See Weigand's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, fifth edition (Giessen, 1909) 1, 299.301; 2, 56.

⁵ The name *Buckingham* was derived by the historian William Camden (c. 1585) from the beeches predominant in the woods of Buckinghamshire.

means, not *to shake*, but *to grind*, polish, whet. The old pessimist (c. 100 B. C.) says:

- 9 He who quarries stones, may be hurt by them;
 he who splits wood, may cut himself.^a
 10 If^β he has not ground the face,
 the hewer must exert great force.⁶

(α) 9 by them

(β) 10 he has dulled the iron, that is,

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

מסיע אבנים יעצב בהם 9 בוקע עצים יסכן^a;
 אם-β לא פנים קלקל וחילים יגבר החוצב:

(β) 10 קהה הכרזל והוא

(α) 9 כם

Bahem after *ie' aḡēh* is enclitic; it should be read *bahm* = *bām* (cf. gloss α) and German *lahm*, lame, or Ethiop. *lāhm*, bull, Amhar. *lām*; Dillmann², p. 80; JBL 34, 49, l. 3). *Issakén* is derived from *sakkîn*, knife (BA 3, 580, l. 26). I published this explanation twenty-six years ago, but I have just noticed that Moses Mendelssohn suggested the same derivation; see *Der Prediger Salomo von dem Verfasser des Phädon* (Anspach, 1771) p. 127. Also Hahn (cf. AJSL 32, 141) said that *sakân* meant *to cut*, wound, hurt; it was connected with *śakāk* from which *śakkîn*, knife (Prov. 23:2) was derived. But *śakkîn* (or *śākîn*) in Prov. 23:2 means *muzzle* (JBL 33, 290). There is, of course, a post-Biblical word *sakkîn*, knife, Aram. *sakkînâ*, which has passed into Arabic as *sikkîn*.—At the end of the second line we must supply *haḥ-hôḡēh* which means both *stone-cutter* and *wood-cutter*.—The Piel *qehâ* is not intransitive, but

*Ludwig Levy, *Das Buch Qoheleth* (Leipzig, 1912) renders: *so muss man die Kräfte sehr anstrengen*; E. Pöschard, *L'Ecclesiaste* (Paris, 1912) translates: *Alors on doit redoubler de force*. The second half of v. 10 must be combined with the second half of v. 19; both are misplaced glosses to the secondary (Stoic) passage 7:12; see Haupt, *Koheleth* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 18; *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 25. We need not read *hak-kašîr*, but *hakšêr* should stand at the end of this hemistich: *itron hoḡmâ hakšêr* means: *The advantage of experience is efficiency*; he who has acquired adequate knowledge and skill is efficient. Syr. *âš-lâ kâšêrâ* means *inefficient*, ineffectual; cf. also Assy. *kušêru* = *kušâru*, fitness (AJSL 32, 66).

means *he blunted*, dulled (so, correctly, Hahn and Graetz).—The *uě-hû* after *qehâ hab-barzél* means *that is*. This was inserted by a tertiary glossator who regarded *im-lô fanîm qilqál* as an explanation of *im-qehâ hab-barzél*; cf. the second *uě-hû* in Kimhî's comments on Ezek. 21:26, cited below, n. 7, and the translation of Matt. 27:46 in Delitzsch's NT in Hebrew. In Shirwâni's *Agrôn* (a Hebrew-Persian dictionary compiled by Moses of Shirwân in 1459) the Hebrew explanations added to Persians words are always preceded by *šê-hû* (Bacher's *uě-hû*, ZAT 16, 231, l. 2 is due to an oversight).

If *lô-fanîm qilqál* were not preceded by *im*, the *lô* before *fanîm* would be strange (2 S 3:34; Num. 16:29 are different). Hahn's explanation that *lô-fanîm* means *non-face = back* is, of course, impossible. Scholz (1901) renders: *Er, der Nicht-Erste schüttelt (die Loose) und ermutigt die Scharen* (cf. JBL 32, 111, n. 13). In my translation of *Ecclesiastes*, published (1891) in JHUC, No. 90, I regarded *uě-hû lô-fanîm qilqál* as an explanation of *im-qehâ hab-barzél*, but I am now convinced that *im-lô fanîm qilqál* is the original reading. *Panîm* is a double plural derived from *pâni*, an old plural of *pû*, mouth (AJSL 22, 258). Also Syr. *pâtâ*, face, and *pûmâ*, mouth, are used of the edge of a sword (Heb. *pî-hārḇ*, but *pēnē-hārḇ* in Ezek. 21:21). The *face* of the ax-head is the front part in contradistinction to the back. The *face* of a hammer is the striking surface of the head, and the same term is used of the edge of a cutting-tool. To *grind* means to *smooth* or *sharpen* by friction, give a smooth surface or edge to a thing. The intransitive adjective *qalál* means *smooth* and *glossy*, polished, burnished. We find *nēḥōšṭ qalál*, burnished bronze, in Ezek. 1:7 and Dan. 10:6. After the edges of tools have been ground on a revolving grind-stone a whetstone may be used for sharpening and polishing them. In Arabic we have the causative *ṣāqala*, to grind, polish, with partial assimilation of the causative *s* to the *q* (see *Mic.* 98). In 1 S 13:21 *qillšôn* seems to be a corruption of *qalqél šinnōṭ*, sharpening of the teeth (of a saw).

Qilqál certainly means *he ground, he polished*. Also *heç barûr* (Is. 49:2; cf. Jer. 51:11) is not a *smooth arrow*, or a *sharpened arrow*, but a *polished shaft* (so Cheyne in the Polychrome Bible). The king of Babylon did not shake the arrows, but he polished them for the purpose of scrying. You can induce pic-

torial hallucinations by gazing into a glass or crystal sphere or some equivalent medium such as a sword-blade, or a polished arrow-head, or a polished finger-nail. Crystal-gazing is practiced all over the world; it has been used for the purpose of divination from times immemorial (EB¹¹ 7, 567). In his article on Ink-, Oil- and Mirror-gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt (JAOS 36, 40) Worrell cites David Kimḥi's (c. 1200) remarks on Ezek. 21:26. Kimḥi says of the acts performed by the king of Babylon: *All this belongs to acts of divination, and the interpretation of qilqāl is as in uḥ-hû lô-fanîm qilqāl, that is, they grind and polish the surface of the iron of the arrow until it is very bright; then the diviners gaze on it, just as they gaze on the thumb of the hand, on the nail, because of the brightness of the nail; so they gaze on a sword, and so also on a mirror, and so they gaze on the liver because it has brightness (possesses gloss or a reflecting surface).*⁷ Kimḥi's explanation is quoted by Worrell from Daiches' interesting monograph on *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the later Jewish Literature*, printed in the publications of the Jews' College, London, 1913.

The liver could be used for this purpose just as well as a hand painted with black soot and oil, as described in the Hebrew magical texts Nos. 2-4 and 6, published by Daiches. EB¹¹ 7, 567^a states that the tribes of the Northwest-Indian frontier use the liver of an animal for serying. Gazing on the smooth shiny surface of a liver is no doubt a more primitive form of divination than the elaborate system of hepatoscopy which we find in the cuneiform omen-tablets (contrast EB¹¹ 20, 103; JBL 35, 46). The primary connotation of Heb. *rô'ê*, the older name (1 S 9:9) for *naḥî*, prophet (TOCR 1, 271) may have been *gazer*, crystal-seer (contrast JBL 28, 53; 35, 56. 126/7. 223). Grotius (1644) concluded his remarks on *ra'â bak-kabêd* with the statement: *Nec dubitandum puto quin artes illae a Chaldaeis ad Lydos, a Lydis ad Hetruscos venerint* (cf. JBL 19, 57). Marcus v. Niebuhr remarked at the end of the preface to his *Geschichte Assurs und Babels* (Berlin, 1857) with reference to

⁷ Kimḥi says: וכל זה ממעשי הקסם ופירוש קלקל כמו והוא לא פנים קלקל והוא שמחורין ומלטשין פני ברזל החץ עד שיהיה בהיר מאד ורואין בו בעלי הקסם כמו שרואים כבוחן היר בצפרן לבהירות הציפורן וכן רואים בסוף וכן במראה וכן רואים בככר שיש לו בהירות.

the *Turanian* population between the Euphrates and the Indus: *Das nächste ist eine gründliche Erforschung des Baskischen. Schwieriger, aber wichtiger, ist der Versuch, ob dieser Schlüssel das Rätsel des Etruskischen löst* (cf. *op. cit.* pp. 144. 423).

Just as *rô'ê*, seer, is connected with *mar'â*, mirror (Ex. 38:8; Arab. *mir'ât*) so we have from the stem of *hôzê*, seer (Arab. *hâzî*) in Syriac the noun *maḥzîṭâ*, mirror (cf. ZAT 34, 144) = Ethiop. *maḥçêṭ* (with partial assimilation of the *z*). The ancient mirrors were of polished metal, so there was no essential difference between a polished arrow-head and a speculum. We have small looking-glasses with long handles (*e. g.* laryngeal mirrors and dentists' mirrors). Also Heb. *mē'ônén*, diviner, may be a synonym of *rô'ê* and *hôzê*, gazer, seryer, crystal-gazer; it is a Pi'lel from the stem of *'âin*, eye (*Mic.* 48, l. 5). In Text 2 published by Daiches *šē'ajjén* is used for *serying*.⁸ In Text 1 the nail of the right thumb of a boy is polished and rubbed with pure olive oil, and the boy gazes on this polished nail (cf. PSBA 20, 85). The spirits conjured by this crystal-gazing are called *šârê bóhn*, the princes (or *angels*; cf. Dan. 10:13. 20) of the thumb, or *šârê çippórñ*, princes of the nail. In the cuneiform ritual texts (ZR 216, 44; 218, 2) the *barû* = seer (JBL 19, 57) is called *bêl çupur ubâni annî*, the master of the nail of this finger (Daiches, *op. cit.* p. 29). The explanation of Ezek. 21:26 given by Kimḥi and preserved in AV is undoubtedly correct; so there is no reference to belomaney in OT.

Nor is there any allusion to rhabdomaney, *i. e.* divination by a rod or wand, especially a dousing- or divining-rod. It is true, AV renders Hos. 4:12^a (cf. JBL 35, 185/6, also 180): *My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them*, but the meaning of this line, at the end of which we must supply *qâsm*, oracle, is:

My people consult their tree,
its branches give answers to them.

עמי בעצו יישאל ומקלו יגיד-לו קסם:

The oracular answer was given by the rustling of the branches of the tree (cf. JBL 35, 24. 45. 67; contrast *ibid.* 47). At the

^a *Thereupon the boy shall gaze steadily at the palm* (lit. *inside*) *of the hand* (וְאֵין עֵינָיו הַנֶּעֱרָר תָּמִיד תֹּךְ יָדוֹ). Also Syr. *'aijñ* means *to eye*, to look.

ancient sanctuary of Dodona in Epirus the interpreters of the oracles listened to the rustling of an old oak tree. Also the Borussians had oracular oaks. Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* says (l. 2584): *Hätt' es nie in deinen Zweigen, heil'ge Eiche, mir gerauscht*; cf. l. 1065: *Und eine heilige Eiche steht daneben, durch vieler Wunder Segenskraft berühmt*; l. 407: *Er sprach zu mir aus dieses Baumes Zweigen*; l. 100: *Seltsamer Stimmen wundersamen Klang vernimmt man oft aus seinen düstren Zweigen*.

In Gen. 12:6 and Deut. 11:30 an oracular tree is called *elôn môrê*, tree of an oracle-giver, and in Jud. 9:37 we find *elôn mē'ônēnim*, tree of the seers (cf. above, p. 89). *Môrê* appears in Ethiopic as *mârî*, diviner (ZAT 29, 283, n. 2; contrast NBSS 38, n. 2). Certain Jews in Arabia say *mêrî* instead of *môrê*, just as Russian Jews pronounce *ô* as *ê*, e. g. *Mêšê* for *Môšê*, Yiddish *rêt* for German *rot* (AJSL 19, 234). In Ethiopic we find *â* for *ê* in several foreign words, especially before a following *r*, e. g. *Uâlârîôs* = Valerius (or Valerianus).

Heb. *maqqêl* (from *qalâl*) means a switch or twig. Heb. *qalâ'*, to sling, and *saqâl*, to stone, are derived from the same root (JBL 34, 184; 35, 323). We use *to sling* also in the sense of *suspending loosely* (cf. Arab. *istaqâlla bi-l-hâmli* and Assyr. *šûqallulu*, JBL 35, 322). The original meaning of *maqqêl*, twig, is *hanging loosely*; cf. the German *schwanken*, *schwenken*, *schwingen* = to swing; also *Schwuppe*, switch (contrast ZAT 11, 170). For forms of the *verba mediae geminatae* conformed to the stems *primae n* cf. my remarks on Syr. *mâršâ*, pestle (for *marrêšâ*, from *rašâš*) in VHOK 232, n. 4.

In 2 S 5:22-25 we read that when David enquired of JHVH, he was told, *When thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the baca^o trees, then thou shalt bestir thyself; for then Jahveh has gone out before thee to smite the host of the Philistines* (cf. EB 3353, § 2, *ad fin.*). The rustling of the trees was regarded as the sound of the march of JHVH and His host; cf. Josh. 5:14; 1 K 22:19; 2 Macc. 2:25, 10:29; Matt. 26:53, and the quotation from Doughty in EB 166: *The melaika are seen in the air like horsemen tilting to and fro*. We find similar ideas in connection with the Germanic *raging host* which is called in Sweden

* The translations *mulberries*, *balsam-trees*, *poplars*, *asps* (EB¹¹ 2, 766^a) are unwarranted.

Odens Jagt. The Wild Huntsman is a reflex of Odin or Woden, the chief god of the Northern pantheon. In Lebrecht Dreves' poem *Waldandacht* (set to music by Franz Abt) the conclusion of the first stanza *Früh morgens, wenn die Hähne krähen* is *Der liebe Gott geht durch den Wald*. This is also the refrain of the third stanza (cf. Gunkel, *Genesis*³, p. 19; BL 74, n. 24). Pope says that the poor Indian *saw God in clouds or heard Him in the winds*.

The two triplets in Hos. 4 should be rendered as follows:

- 4, 16 Like a recalcitrant heifer {} is Israel,
 like a {refractory} ram in the pasture;
 17 Wedded to idols is Ephraim,
 resting in a company of tipplers.
 18 They are wanton, [departing from me,]
 preferring [] disgrace to their glory.
- 14^b They go aside with the harlots,
 they lie with the hierodules;¹⁰
 13^a On the tops of the mountains they sacrifice,
 on the hills they bring fragrant offerings.¹¹
 12^a My people consult their tree,
 its branches give answers to them.

I have published a translation of the following two triplets in AJSL 32, 72, and the Hebrew text is given there on p. 69. The two secondary pentastichs in Hos. 4:1-5, which should be prefixed to the genuine triplet in 4:16-18, are translated in AJSL 32, 73 (Hebrew text on p. 72). Also 6:4^a (*What shall I do to thee, O Ephraim? What shall I do to thee, O Israel?*) is a gloss to 4:16. The Hebrew text of Hos. 4:16-18+14^b. 13^b. 12^a, apart from the secondary and tertiary additions, should be read as follows:

¹⁰ Cf. Am. 2:7; Herod. 1, 199 (ἐξα τοῦ ἱεροῦ) and Strabo 272; Martin Hartman, *Der islamische Orient* (Berlin, 1909) 2, 7.203.211.

¹¹ Cf. Driver's notes on the translation of *Leviticus* in the Polychrome Bible, p. 63, l. 10; see also JBL 35, 205.214. Heb. *qēṭōrt*, sweet vapor of sacrifice (German *Opferduft*; cf. Ps. 66:15) corresponds to the Greek κνῖσα, Lat. *nidor* (= *cnidos*). The meaning of the verbs *qittēr* and *hiqtēr* is not to burn incense, but κνισᾶν.

4, 16	כפרה סדרה } ישראל	כבש } מרה } במרעה :
17	חבור עצבים אפרים	הנח-לו ו בסוד סבאם :
18	הזנה הזנו [מאחר]	אהבו □ קלון מנאונם :
14 ^b	כי-הם עם-הזנות יפררו	ועם הקרשות ישכבו :
13 ^a	על-ראשי ההרים יזבחו	ועלי הגבעות יקטרו :
12 ^a	עמי בעצו ישראל	ומקלו יגיד-לו קסם :

The OT contains some allusions to divinations by means of listening to the rustling of trees or serying and crystal-gazing, but no reference to rhabdomancy and belomancy (contrast DB 3, 152^b; 4, 598^b; EB 1117; JBL 35, 225, below).

KIR = UR OF THE CHALDEES

PAUL HAUPT

Johns Hopkins University

For the past thirty years I have advocated excavations in the traditional home of Abraham, Ur of the Chaldees. I was delighted to find in Dr. Peters' *Nippur* (2, 300) the statement: *I have seen no mound which seemed easier and safer to excavate, or promised richer results than Mugheir* (BB, n. 43; MuS 527, 40).¹ *Mugheir* or, more accurately, *al-Muqáḥḥār*, the Arabic name of this ancient city, means *asphalted*, built with asphalt. Arab. *qîr*, pitch, as well as Greek *κηρός*, wax, and Heb. *gîr*, lime, are all derived from the Sumer. *gir* which denotes an *asphalt-furnace* or *pitch-pot*. Heb. *kîrâim*, chafing-dish, represents the same word (AkF 32, below). The primary meaning of Sumer. *gir* is *reducer*, Heb. *kibšân* (JSOR 1, 8, below; BL 129-132).

We need not discuss the question whether or not Abraham was a historical person.² We may safely assume that the ancestors of the Israelites (*Mic.* 19, n. 18) were Arameans (*cf.* JBL 35, 167) who emigrated from the Euphrates to Ephraim, whereas the ancestors of the Jews, who invaded Palestine from the south, after they had sojourned in Egypt, were Edomites (MuS 516, 7). This southern settlement was about 400 years later than the Israelitish invasion from the northeast.³ The Israelites, it may be supposed, came to Palestine through Raqqah on the Euphrates, Palmyra, and Damaseus, and they settled first in the northern region of the country east of the Jordan, *i. e.* Bashan and Gilead.⁴ The ancestors of the Israelites are connected with the two centers of the Assyro-Babylonian worship of the Moon, Ur of the Chaldees and Haran (MuS 527, 23; JBL 35, 75. 267). The religion of the Jews, on the other hand, is derived from the solar monotheism developed at Heliopolis

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75, n. 1.

² See OLZ 18, 72; *Mic.* 19, n. 17; JBL 32, 20, below; EB¹¹ 1, 71a; 11, 581a; 15, 374a; *cf.* also PSBA 39, 9. 14.

³ See WF 199, n. 15, *ad finem*; 211, n. 8; 214, l. 10; CoE, n. 23.

⁴ See BB 366; WF 195, n. 1, *ad fin.*

near the western end of Goshen, on the road from Goshen to Memphis.⁵ Moses may have been the son-in-law of a priest of Heliopolis, the city of the sun-god (MuS 522, 19). Moses' Egyptian wife is contemptuously referred to as a *negress* (MuS 522, 40). Laban, the father of Leah and Rachel, is called an Aramean in Gen. 25:20 (P) and in 31:20. 24 (E) and in Deut. 26:5 Israel's ancestor is called a *stray Aramean*, Heb. *Ārammî ôbēd* (contrast *Mic.* 44). According to the gloss in Gen. 31:47 Laban used the Aramaic name *īḡgār šāhḏūtā* for the Heb. *gal'ēd*. Both Israelites and Judahites adopted the language of Palestine, which we call Hebrew.⁶

In the last poem of Amos, which was composed after Tiglath-pileser had deported the Galileans (*Mic.* 48, below) in 738, the Israelitish poet predicts the fall of Damascus, Ammōn, Moab, and Israel. Damascus succumbed to the Assyrians in 732; Ammon and Moab were made tributary in 734; Samaria fell in 722 (JBL 35, 287). Amos says of Damascus, which he calls the *Rich Valley*⁷ and a terrestrial paradise:⁸

- 1, 3 For the threefold crime of Damascus,
aye, fourfold! I'll requite her,⁹
Since with threshing-sledges of iron
they crushed to powder Gilead.
- 4 To Hazael's house I'll set fire
devouring Ben-hadad's mansions.¹⁰
- 5{I'll cut off the Rich Valley's settlers,
the scepter-bearer of Paradise;
{I'll break the bars of Damascus,
to Kir will Aram be exiled.

⁵ MuS 513, 5; 523, 11; BB 356-359.

⁶ WF 200, n. 17, *ad fin.* and ZAT 34, 229.

⁷ Lit. *Valley of Abundance*, Heb. *biq'at-ōn*; cf. the German name *Wonnegau* for the fertile plain in which Worms is situated (EB¹¹ 28, 832^b).

⁸ Heb. *bēt-'eḏn*, lit. *House of Delight*, *3 domus voluptatis* (CoE, n. 8).

⁹ Cf. TOCR 1, 327 and the translation of the second stanza of this poem in AJSL 32, 71.

¹⁰ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 9, 4, 6, *ad fin.* Hazael of Damascus oppressed Israel for half a century (cf. 2 K 8:12). He devastated Gilead (2 K 10:32). He had smothered his master Ben-hadad c. 843 B. C. (2 K 8:15). Ben-hadad had tried to starve Samaria into surrender (2 K 6:24). Also Hazael's son was called Ben-hadad (2 K 13:3). According to AJSL 27, 284 the king murdered by Hazael was not Ben-hadad, but Hadad-ezer.

ועל-ארבעה	לא אשיכנו	1, 3
ישום כעפר הגלעד:	על-דושם בחרצות הברזל	
ואכלה ארמנות בן-הדר:	ושלחתי-אש בבית חזאל	4
ותומך שבט מבית-ערן	והכרתי יושב מבקעת-און	5
והגלו עם-ארם קירה:	ושברתי בריח דמשק	

In the final chapter of the Book we find the last of Amos' prophetic visions, which refers to the ancient stone-pillar (JBL 35, 181) Jacob was supposed to have set up in the sacred cromlech north of Beth-el (WF 208, n. 57). The poet says:

- 9, 1 I saw One who stood by the altar,
and He said, Strike thou the top!¹¹
Thus will I shatter their head,¹²
and the rest I'll slay with the sword.
3 If they conceal themselves on Carmel,
I'll hunt them up and reach them;
If they hide on the bottom of the sea,
I'll bid the Serpent bite them.

ויאמר הך הכפתור	9, 1
ואחריהם בחרב אהרג:	ראיתי נצב על-המזבח
משם אחפש ולקחתים	כן-אבקע ¹³ ראש כלם
אצוה את-הנחש ונשקם:	3
	אם-יחבאו בראש הכרמל
	ואם-יסתרו בקרקע הים

that is, If the Israelites try to hide in the thick woods and numerous caves of Mount Carmel, they will not be safe from the Assyrian invaders; and if they attempt to escape in ships, they will be wrecked. The Serpent corresponds to the Babylonian *Ti'âmat* and to the Old Norse *Midgardsorm*, the world-serpent which lies about the earth in the encircling sea. The

¹¹ The top of Jacob's stone-pillar (Gen. 28: 18: *yaî-îîççôq šûmn 'al-rôšâh*) beside the altar (EB 2981, 5) in the cromlech north of Beth-el (EB 2977, d). The pillar was a menhir, the altar a dolmen. Moore says (EB 2983) that Amos does not speak of *maçgebôṭ*.

¹² King Menahem of Israel (743-737).

¹³ The prefixed *bē*, which might be explained according to JBL 32, 112, n. 19; 113, n. 23, is an erroneous repetition of the *bē* of *bē-rôš* in the following verse, just as *miš-šâm* in v. 3^b and v. 4 is due to vertical haplography of *miš-šâm* in v. 3^a. Cf. WF 217, iii.

Hebrew name of this mythical sea-monster is *Leviathan* or *Rahab*.

This poetic passage is followed by a number of explanatory glosses, illustrative quotations, and theological additions including fragments of psalms and other Maccabean passages. Only the first three verses of c. 9 contain genuine lines of Amos; the following twelve verses are all secondary, tertiary, and quaternary. V. 4 contains the explanatory lines:

4 If they are led away captive,
I'll bid the sword to slay them;
I'll set mine eyes against them
for evil, not for good.

וְאִם יִלְכוּ בַשָּׁבִי אֶצְוֶה אֶת-הַחֶרֶב וְהִרְגָתִם 4
וְשִׁמְתִי עֵינַי עֲלֵיהֶם לִרְעָה וְלֹא לטוֹבָה:

Amos did not predict that the prisoners would be massacred; he only said, If the Israelites try to conceal themselves on Mount Carmel, they will be caught, and if they try to escape in boats they will be wrecked. The Assyrians would have deported the captives, but they would not have slain them.

To the first hemistich of this secondary couplet we find some tertiary and post-tertiary additions in the prosaic v. 7. A later glossator says here: *Are ye not to me as the sons of the Ethiopians?* i. e. Ye will be treated like negroes, like black slaves. Cardinal Mercier might have imputed this statement to the Kaiser with reference to the Belgians. A third glossator has added the antiquarian gloss, *Did not I bring Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Arameans from Kir?* i. e. If Israel is deported to Assyria, this enforced emigration is not unprecedented: the Israelites¹⁴ came to Palestine from Egypt, the Philistines (*Mic.* 48, n. *; cf. JBL 35, 169) from Crete, the Arameans from Kir, but יִזְרְיָהּ, who delivered the Sons of Israel¹⁴ out of the house of bondage in Egypt, will also be able to turn the Babylonian Captivity of Israel.

The Israelites never were in Egypt, only the Edomite ancestors of the Jews sojourned there for some time, while Israel was settled in Palestine; but how many modern exegetes realize

¹⁴ That is, the Edomite ancestors of the Jews; see *Mic.* 19, n. 18.

that?¹⁵ The true Israelites were originally as Aramean as the people of Damascus. Kir appears here as the original home of the Arameans. The idea (DB 3, 1^a) that the passage in c. 9 is older than the line in c. 1 is untenable; Am. 1:5 is not interpolated from the prosaic passage in c. 9.

Also the third passage in which Kir is mentioned, 2 K 16:9, *The king of Assyria went up against Damascus and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin* (732 B. C.) is a late (post-Septuagintal) addition derived from Am. 1:5. 𐤊 has simply καὶ συνέλαβεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπόκισεν αὐτήν. 𐤊^A has Κυρήνην. This erroneous interpretation is also found in 𐤔 (לקריינא; cf. לקיריני in Am. 1:5; מְקִירִי, Am. 9:7).

In Is. 22:6, describing Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem (a mutilated passage of what Cheyne regarded as Isaiah's last poem) Kir appears among the subjects, or allies, of Assyria, in conjunction with Elam:

Elam carried the quiver,
with chariots and horses,
And Kir uncovered the shield,¹⁶

* * * * *

The second hemistich of this line is not preserved. Winekler proposed to read *Kôr* instead of *Kîr*, and identified this name with the Carians mentioned by Arrian (EB 2676; contrast IN 249, n. 2). They seem to have dwelt between the Tigris and the mountains toward Elam. In the preceding line we should, perhaps, read:

מְקִרְקֵר קוּעַ וְשׁוּעַ עַלִּי הָהָר

¹⁵ Cf. MuS 528, 16; BB 358; JBL 32, 12.18.25-29.34.39.42.45.47. Paton's interesting address on *Israel's Conquest of Canaan* would have been clearer if he had not used *Rachel tribes* for Israelites, and *Leah tribes* for Judahites; contrast ZAT 29, 284; JAOS 32, 17; MuS 528, 22. Dr. Morgens-tern says: *Thus we know to-day that Moses was really the hero who led one tribe, most probably Judah, out of Egypt. . . . The sojourn in Egypt and the exodus under Moses were undoubtedly historical facts, but only in the life of some one single tribe, probably Judah* [Judah was no tribe; see MuS 516, 12] . . . Not until the time of David were the loosely-related tribes bound together into a fairly close union; see pp. 11. 39.42 of his paper *The Foundations of Israel's History*, reprinted from the Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, vol. 25 (1915). Contrast JBL 35, 167.

¹⁶ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 2, 21 (*scutis tegimenta detrudere*).

Koa and Shoa batter against the mountain

instead of **אל ההר מִקְרָקֶר קֵר וְשׁוּעַ** which is supposed to mean: *breaking down the walls and of crying to the mountains*. The mountain which Koa and Shoa batter is Mount Zion. We have two or three passages in the Talmud Jerushalmî where *qirqér* means *to batter*, destroy, tear down; cf. Assy. *naqâru* (KAT², 512) and Arab. *inqâra*, to fall. Koa corresponds to the cuneiform *Qû* or *Qutû*. It is mentioned in connection with Shoa in Ezek. 23:23. The prophet says to Aholibah, *i. e.* Jerusalem: *Thus said Jahveh, Behold, I shall bring against thee the Babylonians, all the Chaldeans, Pekod, Shoa and Koa, and all the Assyrians with them*. The home of Koa was north of Bagdad, southeast of the Lower Zâb, between the two tributaries of the Tigris, Radân and Turnat (DB 3, 11^b).

It is important to bear in mind that *Qîr* in the two passages in the Book of Amos is preceded by *m*; in the genuine Amosian pentastich at the beginning of the Book (Am. 1:5) *Qîrâ* is preceded by 'am-Ārām, and in the late prosaic gloss c. 9 (Am. 9:7) we have *Ārām miq-Qîr*. An *m* may have been omitted through haplography, and we may read *Mēquîiâr*, corresponding to the present name of Ur of the Chaldees, *al-Muqāiîar*. Many of the present Oriental place-names are more than 3,000 years old. The old Assyrian form of the name may have been *Qûru* (= *quîuru*, a form like *ûbu* = *ûiûbu*, well made) or *Qîru* (= *qaiûru*, a form like *šîmu* = *šaiûmu*, price, lit. *what is fixed*). At the time of Amos (740 B. C.) there may have been an Aramean form *Mēqaiîâr*,¹⁷ a form like Syr. *mēqaiîâm*, existing, or *mēkaiîân*, created, natural. A similar name is *Mespila*, which we find in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (3, 4, 7) for *Nineveh*; it seems to represent an Assy. *mušpîlu* which may mean *a place where shell-limestone is found* (JAOS 28, 103; BL 129, n. †).

According to P, the Aramean ancestors of Israel came from *al-Muqāiîar* in Southern Babylonia, whereas according to J they emigrated from Haran in Northern Assyria. This Judaic tradition may be reflected by the *Xappav* which in the Septuagintal rendering of Am. 1:5 appears as the equivalent of Heb. *bêt-'edn* at the end of the last line but one of the pentastich,

¹⁷ We find several distinctly Aramaic names in the cuneiform texts, e. g. *Naqibîna* (BAL 94; BA 1, 169, below).

whereas, it may be supposed, it was originally the rendering of *Qîrâ* at the end of the last line. The rendering of the first pentastich in **G** is inaccurate and confused (cf. e. g. τὰς ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσας τῶν ἐν Γαλααδ at the end of v. 3) although it has preserved the correct reading *ôn* instead of *âyn*.¹⁸ Riessler (cf. JBL 32, 111, n. 13) reads *mi-Hârân* instead of *miq-Qîr* in Am. 9:7. Grotius (1644) referred Kir in Is. 22:6 to Media. It is certainly not Georgia (or Gruzia) in Transcaucasian Russia (see Delitzsch's *Jes.*⁴ 267, below). Halévy (RÉJ 11, 60) referred Kir to Southern Babylonia; the same view was advocated by Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Münster, 1912) 2, 199.

If we hesitate to read *Mēquîîr* instead of *Qîr* in Am. 1:5, 9:7, we may regard *Kir* as the Assyrian form of the name (*Qîr* = *qaîru*). Also Heb. *qîr*, wall, and *qîr*, city, mean originally *built with asphalt* (cf. BL 130; GB¹⁶ 713^a; contrast AkF 9). We may therefore explain *Qîr* as a translation of the Sumerian name *Ur*, just as Arab. *el-Lejjûn* (= Lat. *legio*) is a translation of the old Canaanite name *Mēgiddô*, place of troops, or as the ancient volcano, which is called *Sinâî* in OT, is now known as *el-Bedr* (JAOS 34, 415). Sumer. *uru*, city, which appears in Hebrew (GB¹⁶ 584^a) as *‘îr*, is connected with Sumer. *uru*, foundation, settlement, dwelling (SGI 50; contrast GGAO 373) and with *unu*, dwelling and people (SGI 53). Similarly Assy. *âlu*, city, is identical with Heb. *ôhl*, tent, dwelling; Arab. *âhl*, people, and *âl*, family; Syr. *îâhlâ*, troop (GB¹⁶ 13^b). For the initial *î* instead of ' cf. ZA 2, 278, and for the *r* and *n* in Sumer. *uru* and *unu* see AJSL 32, 64, below. The original meaning of Assy. *âlu*, city, may be *settlement* (AJSL 22, 199).

There is no country of Kir; *Kir* represents *Qîr* = *qaîru* = Heb. *Mēquîîr*, Aram. *Mēquîîr*, Arab. *al-Muqâîr*, the surname of Ur of the Chaldees in Southern Babylonia.

¹⁸ I have discussed this word in my paper *Their Strength is Labor and Sorrow* (BA 10, 2).

THE WORSHIP OF TAMMUZ

JOHN P. PETERS

New York City

What little, if anything, I have to contribute to this rather well bewritten field is drawn from a consideration of Babylonian climatic conditions, and the practises and uses resulting therefrom. Babylonia depends for its fertilization in part upon the river floods, but it has also a rainy season. During the six months November–April rain is liable to fall, often in torrential abundance, and accompanied at times with violent gales, and with thunder and lightning. It is especially, however, the months of January and February in which the storms are most frequent, violent and destructive, constituting at times very calamities, the rain washing down sections of the adobe buildings, and beating thru the flimsy huts of reeds and mats, which latter are sometimes completely torn to pieces by the violent gales.

At Nippur, about the middle of March, 1889, our camp was almost wrecked by the most violent gale I ever experienced. Tents were blown down, ridge poles snapped, while the air was fairly full of mats and fragments of the reed huts that constituted a large part of our encampment, and housed especially our workmen and equipment. One could scarcely stand against the blast, a burning sirocco, and the air was dense and dark with sand and dirt. Suddenly there came one apparently lightningless loud thunderclap, a veritable קול יהוה , the wind stopped instantly, and the rain fell in a deluge.

The apprehension caused by these storms was strange to witness. The following year we had one very violent storm of thunder and lightning, which terrified our people greatly. Our Turkish commissioner betook himself to his tent and read aloud from the Koran to charm away the evil spirits of the air. After the storm itself had passed there was a vivid and beautiful display of cloud lightning immediately above and beyond the ziggurat of Bel. The people thought that the spirits were

wroth, and indeed it was easy to fancy that old En-lil was manifesting himself from his ancient temple.

The abject fear aroused by these storms is well illustrated by an experience I had about the middle of December on the march between Hit and Baghdad. There was for over twelve hours a rapid succession of violent windstorms, accompanied with deluges of rain and lightningless thunder, the barometer the while rising and falling suddenly. Our Arabs were hopelessly demoralized, lying huddled like dead men on the ground, or praying to Allah for succor, or at especially fierce gusts and torrents and uproar of storm crying and shouting in fear and despair that 'The end has come.' They are really more afraid of the fury of the elements than of the dangers of war, and are absolutely helpless and useless in the face of such a storm.

The cold storms of December, January and February are especially trying. For days the people are continually drenched, their huts are wet and dripping, even if they resist the storm; they can light no fires to cook by, and the whole aspect of the human life of the region is one of utter misery. Between these storms, of course, there are long stretches of bright and glorious days. Toward the end of February or beginning of March the weather becomes warm and all nature bursts into abundant verdure; but there is an immense amount of work required to repair the damage done by the winter storms.

It is these winter storms, with their attendant suffering, fear and destruction, which are the ground and motive of a number of old Sumerian penitential psalms and hymns to En-lil, the great god of the storm spirits, at Nippur; and some of these Nippurian psalms are, I fancy, liturgies of what we might call the vernal house cleaning, the repairing and setting in order of the mud-built temples year by year after the winter storms were past. Langdon has brought together a number of these liturgies, primarily Nippurian, in his "Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms," which for convenience of reference I will make the basis of my comments. In these liturgies, and especially in those which Langdon calls the Er-šem-ma Psalms, the *word* or *spirit* (to follow Langdon's translation) of En-lil is the cause of the disaster which is the motive of the psalm. Temples and houses are damaged or destroyed, not by some outside foe, as Langdon supposes, but, as his own translations

show, by the rain, the thunder, the lightning and the hail, which work the havoc. It is En-lil, the lord of the storm demons, whose word and whose spirit (better wind) cause devastation thru the celestial torrents of the rainy season, washing down mud walls and bringing disaster on the temples and towns, or who releases the Anunnaki and other similar powers to work havoc in the storms, the hostile agencies mistaken by Langdon and others in some cases, I think, for the Elamites or other fleshly foes. So in Tablet I of the liturgy whose name, according to Langdon's translation, is "Like the spirit itself immutable," we have this vivid picture of the destruction wrought by En-lil's word—wind and thunder:

"The word which stilleth the heavens on high.

"The word which causeth the earth beneath to shudder.

"The word which bringeth woe to the Anunnaki.

"His word is an onrushing storm, which none can oppose.

"His word stilleth the heavens and causeth the earth to retire.

"Mother and daughter like a cane mat it rends asunder."

Another liturgy, entitled "The crying storm," is an incarnation of the spirit of the storm, which comes from the wrath of the deity and does mischief in the lands of (names to be inserted as required), which storm spirit inhabits the very temple itself.

Another series of Psalms "Like the spirit it is immutable" (IV) is a lament of the storm which is the word of Anu and En-lil, or various other gods (Ea, Marduk, Nebo, Shamash, etc.), which overflows and destroys and brings all manner of woe. At times the treatment of this *word* of the deity, "a word of majesty," reminds one of the treatment of the *voice* of *Yahaweh* in Psalm 29. The second tablet of this series is a woe of or to various temples.

Properly these liturgies belong to one place and primarily to En-lil, but they are adapted for use elsewhere by the addition of other towns and temples, or addresses to other gods. In the Nippurian services, even those bearing a copy date as late as the first century, B. C., En-lil tends to be the one all pervading spirit thru whom all things are done, and his *word*, which tends to be destructive and is finally identified with Nana, the active agent of the destruction. So in a Psalm described as

"On the flute to Ramman," full of descriptions of the thunder storm and epithets of Ramman, whose thunder shakes En-lil's temple and makes Nin-lil, his lady, tremble, En-lil addresses Ramman, who hearkens to him and is appeased. It is a liturgy for the thunder storm, to control Ramman by the name and power of En-lil.

There are also individual hymns to Ninib and Nergal, but, glorious as these gods are represented to be, in all cases they derive their power from En-lil.

A number of these liturgies represent the woe and misery of the goddess and goddesses, givers of life, who suffer in and with their temples and their worshippers, and with nature beaten with storms, and who are the intercessors for their worshippers to En-lil. So in a series of six tablets (XI), much redacted at many periods down to the Seleucidan, the goddess (and goddesses) wail with sorrow for the destruction wrought by En-lil's storms. He is appealed to with many honorific names, but his heart is estranged, and his neck stiff. Then again follow laments of the various goddesses over their respective cities (apparently, the application or adaptation of one liturgy or litany to different places), processions to the temple with supplications to En-lil (and other gods according to the place named), with great detail of titles and attributes, for restoration of the temples, etc.; and finally the cry of the goddess for her temples destroyed, and prayer to En-lil that his heart be stilled.

It is the goddess, the life giver, for vegetable and animal nature alike, who suffers in and for the violence done to nature in the storms of winter, as also, as will be observed later, in the burning of summer. So in another psalm Ishtar complains for Erech, which has been brought to destruction thru the word of En-lil, and repeated mention is made of the rain, the wind, the thunder and the lightning. Langdon supposes the destruction to have been wrought by the Elamites, but there is in fact no mention of them, but only of the devastation wrought by the violence of storms. And thruout these hymns, while it is possible that a few may have been liturgies fit for destruction or injuries wrought by invaders, in general the theme is the destruction of the storm, and so continually we hear of the "whistling wind," the beating rain, the hail and thunder and lightning.

Occasionally the destruction wrought is by flood as well as

storm. So in the hymn quoted above from Langdon of "Like the spirit itself immutable" (I), following the verse "mother and daughter like a cane mat it rends asunder," he reads:

"The word of the Lord prostrates the marsh in full verdure.

"The word of Marduk overflows the harvest in its season.

"The word of the Lord is an onrushing deluge

* * * * *

"The word of Marduk is a flood which turns away the dykes.*

"His word rends asunder the hugh *Mesu* trees.

"The spirit [wind or storm?] reduces all things to tribute."

So again in a tablet from the series "Arise like the sun" (XXI), where there is mention of destruction of or harm to the brick walls of Ekur at Nippur, the river flows and the storm beats. The rivers do in fact begin to rise in March, before the rainy season is altogether over, and a premature rise may involve destruction of the unready dykes, and damage of crops and buildings. Later on also an excessive rise of the waters may have the same results; and I well remember a night in May when the whole Affech tribe was working at the dykes and dams to save their crops and villages from destruction from the flooding canals.

If, as I suppose, these psalms were liturgies connected with the winter storms and the repair of their destruction, they might be well connected particularly with a festival approximately of the vernal equinox, not primarily reckoned, however, by the turning of the sun, but by the turning of the season, and therefore originally occurring about the beginning of March.

While En-lil with his winter storms is an agent of destruction to the homes and dwellings of man, and causes lamentation to the goddess of life giving and bearing, he is also an agent of fertility to the soil, and is at times referred to as the god of the earth and harvests (so XIII, perhaps the finest of all the hymns in Langdon's volume). The dry ground of autumn, in which the grain has been sown, is softened and fertilized by his storms, and already in February the earth may begin to yield her increase. In March the palm trees flower, to fruit

* I suspect that these verses in which Marduk takes the place of En-lil belong to some of the redactions of the original psalm.

from June until September, according to variety and locality. In May the grain is harvested. In the meantime the rivers have begun to rise, and by the end of May the Euphrates, and by the end of June the Tigris, is in full flood, just at the month of Tammuz.¹ These floods bring with them a huge load of rich mud. As the waters recede the flooded lands are planted, at the present day as presumably always, with quick growing vegetables, which speedily fruit and wither. By the beginning of September the floods have altogether receded, and during the autumn canals are dry, the earth is parched, the climate is torrid and sickly, the land desolate and barren; but at this time are planted the crops in the land enriched by the flood deposits, just when life is at its deadest, before the first of the former rains.

The summer season was the time of the Tammuz worship, and particularly, apparently, midsummer, as indicated by the name Tammuz given to the midsummer month. We have numerous and very ancient Sumerian liturgies for this cult, which was both ancient and popular. To use first some of these liturgies contained in Langdon's volume above referred to: in his No. I Ishtar laments for her spouse, Tammuz, *Alas*, etc., with various titles, and he is described as various plants. But in the summer floods not only does plant life, but also animal life suffer. So No. II commences with a plaint for the suffering and slaughter of flocks and herds, and an *alas* for Tammuz, who has gone into the bosom of the earth, to the land of the dead. Then follows another *alas*, much as before, for Tammuz, the seed buried in the ground. III begins with the *alas*, and contained apparently a descent of Ishtar in search of Tammuz. IV is a lament on the flute, the accompaniment regularly assigned to this ritual, consisting of an address by Ishtar in which she tells of the disappearance of Tammuz, his descent to the underworld, and her mourning for him. V is an *alas*, a lament for Tammuz and the death of verdure. VI, "She that sits in humiliation" (in 8 parts) is dramatic in character and is a ritual for women. It concludes with a suggestion of the resurrection element in the Tammuz cult: "My peace may he bring."

¹ There is considerable variation in calendars, but in Nippur the 4th month seems always to have been the month of Tammuz.

In general it appears from these texts that Tammuz is the crops, which are buried or sown or planted to rise later from death unto life. This burial or planting is accompanied with much wailing and lamentation :

“The hero, your lord, has suffered destruction.

“The god of grain, the child, your lord has suffered destruction.”

The fertilization of the ground is extended also to cover the fertilization of flocks and herds, so that the ritual includes finally all life giving, vegetable and animal alike; besides crops, trees, human beings, flocks and herds, even bees and their honey are included in the laments and exultations of these liturgies :

“When Tammuz slumbers, sheep and lambs slumber,
she goats and kids slumber.

“The lord, the exalted one, into the nether world has
taken his place.

“Into the abodes of the abyss set my thoughts.”

Certain phrases in these liturgies represent his burial as a submergence by the floods, as :

“In his infancy in a sunken boat he lay.

“In his manhood in the submerged grain he lay.”

He is repeatedly called a child, but is also a shepherd and a brother, the liturgies varying between the thought of him as an infant or a full-grown man, and indeed in the same psalm he may be represented as both. Similarly he is indifferently child, or brother or spouse of Ishtar.

Besides these hymns we have many others representing him as the green corn or the grain in the field, which has not yet drunk the water, as “Lord of the shepherd’s cot,” etc.; but always and everywhere he is connected with Ishtar.

In the Gilgamesh epic Tammuz is mentioned as the bridegroom of Ishtar’s youth, to whom she clings with weeping year after year. This occurs in the sixth tablet of that epic, and apparently the sixth month was sacred to Ishtar, as was also the fifth month, Ab, the month of the “mission of Ishtar.” That

mission was connected with the Tammuz cult, as is shown by a liturgy in Semitic translation, preserved almost complete in the Ashurbanipal library, the descent of Ishtar into the underworld, whither she does to seek for dead Tammuz, with the result that nature, robbed of the element of sexual love in plant and animal life, comes to a standstill, and the gods are compelled to come to the rescue and bring about a resurrection. The Tammuz and Ishtar cults and rituals seem to overlap, run into one another and finally coalesce, and in some way to cover with their observances the three summer months of Tammuz, Ab and Elul, which, be it observed, are in Babylonia the time from full flood and commencement of recession of the rivers to the complete abatement of flood.

In the winter months the goddess was a sufferer from the storms of En-lil, with the people, and their intercessor for deliverance from the violence of the same. In the summer floods she, the mother of life, was still more intimately concerned, lamenting the death of her short-lived child or lover, herself going down into the underworld. She was womankind, the womb of nature seeking fertilization. Hence this cult was the cult of women, and connected with the lamentation of dead Tammuz were those sacrifices of female virtue, testified to for Babylonia by Herodotus and Strabo, for Phoenicia by Lucian.

And now to return to the Tammuz cult. This cult belongs to the oldest Sumerian stratum. The ritual apparently from the outset contained first a series of lamentations for dead Tammuz, and then joy songs for his resurrection.

Tammuz was Dumu-uzi, the true son, or more fully Dumu-uzi-abzu, true son of the great deep. He was a son of Ea. He was at the root of the great earth stalk which grew in Eridu, in the central place of the earth. But again, with Nin-gishzida, in the Adapa myth, he appears to be stationed at the gate of Anu's abode. Elsewhere he appears to be identified with Ningishzida, to whom the fifth month belongs. But we have already seen how his cult coalesces with the cult of the mother goddesses covering both the fifth and sixth months. Properly speaking, the Tammuz cult, the original Sumerian Tammuz cult, belonged, I should suppose, to the month Tammuz, the fourth month. When the rivers had embraced and covered the lands and were fertilizing it, then was the month of Tammuz, the true

son of the great deep. But he was thought of first, not as vegetation being born, but being buried. He was the one placed in a box beneath the water, the grain buried beneath the ground, dead and to be lamented:

"Alas! my hero Damu!

"Alas! Child, true lord!

* * * * *

* * * * *

"His mother wails—she begins the wailing for him.

"Wailing and sighing—she begins the wailing for him.

"She rises—bitterly she wails!

"She sits—she puts her hand on her heart.

"She breaks out in wailing—bitter is her wailing.

"She breaks out in lament—bitter is her lament."

"He is gone, he is gone to the bosom of the earth,

"And the dead are numerous in the land."

The "How longs" of his psalms were how long until the return of vegetation.

"How long will the springing up of verdure be withheld?

"How long will vegetation be withheld?"

The people of Babylonia of the present day, as already pointed out, plant their gardens of vegetables in the mud left behind as the waters recede. With such soil, and abundant water and a torrid sun, they grow with amazing rapidity, bear their fruit and are gone, to perish as the mud after a little is baked dry by the burning sun. This became part of the Tammuz ritual, but in itself considered this was something which might have been done any time while the waters were falling, i. e. thru the three months Tammuz, Ab and Elul, from June to September.

Apparently the Tammuz who was lamented as dead was likewise rejoiced for as one who should rise again. But this is not so clear, nor whether the rejoicing followed immediately on the lamentation, or after what interval? It is indicated in some of the Tammuz liturgies, but that is about all that we can say.

Tammuz at the outset was associated with Ea, and his cult with the rise and fall of the rivers. But the turn of the rivers

from flood backward is coincident with the turn of the sun downward at the summer solstice. As the Sumerians began to observe and understand the heavens better this fact was incorporated in the Tammuz myth, and affected the Tammuz cult. He became the child of Shamash and it was thru his solar relation, I think, that he spread westward, connecting with or appropriating the myths and cult of the mid-summer god as Adonis, *Lord*, a testimony to the importance and popularity of the cult, in Syria, Phoenicia, and Greece. But as he went westward his cult continued in its essentials and in some of its details that of the original Sumerian Tammuz of southern Babylonia,—first the wailing for the death of the god, who is the fertilization principle, his burial and his descent to the underworld; the search for him by a forlorn, loveless, lifeless world; and then his joyful resurrection as the grain and the crops and all life restored after its burial in the womb of the earth. Even the planting of the gardens, which were a reality in Babylonia, was continued in the west under climatic conditions which made them unreal. In Babylonia the gardens of vegetables grew almost of themselves in the ooze of the receding floods; in the west they were artificial, practically useless, growths of the speediest and most easily raised greens in shallow pots, sherds, etc., forced by watering under a hot sun. ,

Plato testifies to the use of such gardens in Athens in the Adonis ritual in his time, and also to the fact that that festival was celebrated in midsummer. We have a similar testimony for Alexandria at a later date, and in general this seems to have been true of the west. Only at Byblos in Phoenicia, according to Lucian, the festival coincides with the reddening of a certain river, which reddening, according to modern observers, occurs in the early spring, or even the late winter, with the melting of the snows. Here, therefore, it is claimed that the Adonis festival is a vernal not a midsummer festival. Here, apparently from Lucian's account, the worship of Tammuz was closely associated with the cult of the mother goddess and the sacrifice of feminine virtue, as in Babylonia.

The Adonis-Tammuz cult evidently reached Greece thru the Phoenicians, apparently at an early date. Its traces are supposed to be found in Homer, the god Linos being merely a misunderstanding of the Phoenician Adonis lament, *Ai-lenu*,

"Alas for Us." It is first clearly mentioned, I believe, by Plato, but as something ancient, well known in his time.

The references to it in the Bible are fairly early, beginning with the eighth century B. C. Various writers have seen evidence of the cult and references to its ritual or practises in Gen. 35:8; Jud. 11:40; 21:18 ff.; Hos. 4:13, and I Kings 13:30; but the first really definite indubitable mention of a practice peculiar to and distinctive of the rites connected with the worship of Tammuz is contained in Is. 17:10-11:

"For thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation,
 "And the rock of thy refuge thou hast not remembered;
 "Therefore thou plantest Adonis gardens,
 "And the cutting of an alien god thou sowest;
 "In the day of thy planting thou forestest it,
 "And on the morrow thou makest grow thy seed;
 "Withered the harvest
 "In the day of sickness and cureless pain."

Whatever difficulties the passage presents in minor details the allusion is unmistakeable to the forced gardens of Adonis fostered with joy for an eight days, to wither and perish in sad lamentations. It is noteworthy that the passage occurs in a prophecy against Ephraim following and connected with a prophecy against Damascus in the period of the alliance between the two countries, 736-732 B. C. The implication of the passage is that the Adonis cult in Ephraim was borrowed from Damascus.

The name Tammuz is mentioned only in Ez. 8:14:

"And he brought me to the opening of the gate of the house of Yahaweh, which is toward the north, and behold there women sitting bewailing Tammuz."

Here Ezekiel, writing in Babylonia, uses the old Sumerian-Babylonian name Tammuz. The vision is dated in the sixth year of the sixth month, or of the fifth month according to the LXII. If this is to be accepted as the time of the wailing, as seems probable, it would indicate that coalescence of the Tammuz cult with Ishtar worship, a ritual of women, to which I have already referred as having apparently taken place in Babylonia. The passage appears to describe a Babylonian cult practised at that time by some women in Jerusalem, as presumably by some Jewish women in Babylonia.

Jer. 22:18 is also frequently cited as an allusion to the Adonis lamentation. In this passage Jeremiah says that Jehoiakim shall not be lamented with the

“Alas my brother and alas my sister;”

“Alas lord (Adon) and alas his glory.”

Doubtless these laments were used in the Adonis ritual, but I think that they were not adopted from that ritual for the ordinary lamentation for the dead, but the reverse; and that hence there is here no necessary reference to or even knowledge of the Adonis-Tammuz cult.

There are also allusions to gardens in Is. 1:29; 65:3, and 66:17, but the context in none of these cases suggests, as it seems to me, anything resembling the Adonis gardens.

Apparently, therefore, we have in the Old Testament only two certain references to Adonis-Tammuz worship, once in Ephraim, and once in Judah, in both cases as a foreign cult, and never widespread or well established among Israelites or Jews.

THE ORDER OF THE LUKAN 'INTERPOLATIONS'

II THE SMALLER INTERPOLATION, LK. 6:20-8:3

B. W. BACON

Yale University

It has been already noted¹ that Mt. and Lk. agree in introducing, at the first convenient opportunity afforded by their adoption of Mk.'s outline, not the Sermon on the Mount alone, as a résumé of the preaching of Jesus to the multitude, but the Sermon *plus* a narrative sequel. Moreover, the bridge is formed in each by a colophon of coincident form (and therefore, probably derived from the Second Source²) which marked the transition from discourse to narrative.³

In this narrative section the Believing Centurion (Θ) occupied a place, but, as its reference to the unbelief of Israel implies, its position in S was nearer the close than the beginning. For we have no right to assume that Lk. has omitted none of the narratives of S. On the contrary the colloquy with the centurion implies not only an acquaintance on the centurion's part with Jesus' ministry of healing, but also a disappointment on Jesus' part with the results of his gospel among his own people; for in the story the believing Gentile is used as a foil to the many unbelieving Jews of whom the reader is already supposed to know. In this brief narrative section (Lk. 7:1-8:3), we thus already encounter numerous indications of a disturbance of the original order. Can any common principle be discovered which will account for the present arrangement?

In a general way Lk., arriving with 6:11 at the point where Mk. 3:6 relates the culmination of the opposition in plots against Jesus' life, shows himself conscious of a certain lack

¹ See Art. I *JBL.*, xxxiv. (1915), 166-179. In the series the articles will be referred to by numbers only as I, II, III.

² In distinction from Θ (double-tradition material) the Second Source will be designated S. R will be used for editorial material, with suspended "Mt.," "Mk.," "Lk.," to indicate the special redactor.

³ I, p. 168.

in Mk., his principal source. Doubtless he misses in Mk. 3:7-4:25 an account of Jesus' teaching of his own disciples; for the parables which in Mk. 4:1-34 are supposed to convey "the mystery of the kingdom" are not treated in Lk. as really adequate for the purpose. In Lk. the Markan parables of the kingdom are distributed on various occasions, or else omitted. Whether the existence of the Sermon in **S** suggested the need of supplementing Mk. at this point, or Lk. felt the deficiency independently, is immaterial. The great additions made by both Mt. and Lk. of teaching material at about the same point in Mk.'s narrative is evidence enough of their sense of its inadequacy in this respect.

But it is important to recognize that the disturbance created by Lk.'s large insertion of **Q** material in 6:20 ff. is not strictly limited to the supplement itself; but *extends to the adjoining Markan material.*

It would be too much to expect that a raconteur of Lk.'s skill should oblige the critics by making the divisions of his subject coincide exactly with the sutures of his documentary excerpts; We must search for the idea and predominant motive of his supplementation *in the alterations made in the Mk. context before and after.*

The readjustments of Mk.'s order by Lk. before and after his Smaller Interpolation are slight but significant.

1. In Mk. 3:7-35 the interval between the Opposition to Jesus' Ministry which culminated in Plots against his Life (Mk. 2:1-3:6) and the Teaching in Parables (4:1-33) is occupied by three paragraphs explanatory of Jesus' special relation to the inner circle to whom he delivered "the mystery of the Kingdom of God" (4:10 f.).

a. An editorial survey (ver. 7-12) describes the flocking of the multitude to the seaside plain and introduces (ver. 13-19) the Choosing of the Twelve.

b. The saying on Spiritual Kin (ver. 35) is framed in a narrative setting (19^b-21, 31-34) which is further expanded by the insertion of

c. The **Q** incident of the Blasphemy of the Scribes (22-30).

Both Mt. and Lk. deal freely with this connective tissue of

Mk., omitting entirely the framework of *b*, displacing and scattering the editorial elements of *a*, and removing *c* to its proper *Q* context.

The result of these changes is (for the *τάξις* of Lk. at least) a very manifest improvement, whether due solely to the evangelist's own reflection, or (more probably) to the better order exhibited by the source-elements of Mk.'s agglomeration (List of the Twelve, Blasphemy of the Scribes, *logion* on Spiritual Kin) in their primary connection. The improvement of order in Lk. will be apparent from the following:

1. The Choice of the Twelve (Lk. 12:6-16) comes now to follow immediately the Opposition of the Scribes (Mk. 3:1-6 = Lk. 6:6-11), thus avoiding the hysteron-proteron of Mk. 3:7, *μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ*. By the same simple transfer Lk. also avoids the extreme awkwardness of Mk.'s connection as respects time and place. Thus Mk. had

(a) Gathering of the *πολὺ πλῆθος* at the seaside (3:7-12).

(b) Departure of Jesus and a selected company *εἰς τὸ ὄρος* (13-19^a).

(c) Return *εἰς οἶκον*, *second ὄχλος*, intervention of kindred (19^b-21, 31-35).

[(d) Disconnected episode of the Blasphemy of Scribes (22-30)].

(e) *Third* appearance of the *ὄχλος πλείστος* at the seaside (4:1).

Mt.'s remedy for this is to make the multitude follow Jesus and the select company from the seaside plain *εἰς τὸ ὄρος* (Mt. 4:24-5:1). Lk.'s is simpler. By placing the Choice of the Twelve slightly earlier Jesus can come down with them from the mountain (6:17^a) and preach to the assembled multitude on the seaside plain. To explain how the multitude comes to be assembled there Lk. has only to slightly modify Mk. 3:7-12, setting forth that they had come from the regions specified "to hear him" and to be healed (6:17^b-19).

2. Equal improvement on Mk.'s *τάξις* is obtained by deferring the omitted source elements of Mk. 3:7-35.

The cancellation by both Mt. and Lk. of Mk.'s unfavorable representation of Jesus' Mother and Brethren (Mk. 3:19^b-21) was of course to be expected. Also the return to its *Q* context

(Lk. 11:14 ff.) of the digressive episode of the Blasphemy of the Scribes (Mk. 3:22-30). This left unutilized of Mk.'s connective tissue only the *logion* on Spiritual Kin, whereof a not easily recognizable doublet appears in Lk. 11:27 f., connected *as in Mk.* with the Blasphemy of the Scribes.⁴ The improvement (from Lk.'s point of view) resulting from the transfer of this to a point following, instead of preceding, the revelation of "the mystery of the kingdom" is very marked. Deferred to Lk. 8:19-21 the intervention of Jesus' Mother and Brethren assumes the very opposite of the unfavorable aspect it bears in Mk.⁵ In the Lukan context they appear after the Parable of the Sower, or (as we should more properly designate it) of Fruitful and Unfruitful Sowing, as examples of those who "hear the word of God and do it." The ensuing context (6:22-9:50) resumes the narrative of Mk. 4:34-9:40, leaving the *logion* on Spiritual Kin, together with the Parable of Fruitful and Unfruitful Sowing and connected *logia* on "hearing the word of God" (8:4-18), to close the entire section devoted to the Teaching of Disciples. In short **R**^{Lk.} closes the Interpolation which began with the Sermon, with this Markan incident, because *as thus placed* Jesus' mother and brethren became the best examples of those who receive the word into good and fruitful soil.

Lk.'s transposition of Mk. 3:20 f., 31-35, accordingly, is not a mere matter of improving the sequence of the narrative. Alterations of Markan order are very rare in Lk., and always have cogent occasion. In the present instance the changes of phraseology, which accompany the transposition and so decidedly alter the meaning, confirm the impression of editorial readjustment. They furnish indeed the key to the evangelist's motive in constructing the whole section with which we are dealing.

As we now see by the changes effected in the Markan context before and after the supplement⁶ this section must be widened to include Lk. 6:12-8:21. The saying "My mother and breth-

⁴This connection, purely pragmatic in character, is one of many indications that the points of contact between Mk. and **Q** are due to editorial supplementation of Mk. from **S**.

⁵On the effort of later evangelists to mitigate the unfavorable reflections of Mk. on the twelve and Jesus' Kindred see Nicolardot, *Procédés de Rédaction*, 1908, p. 127.

⁶Cf. especially Lk. 8:22 with Mt. 4:35.

ren are they that *hear the word of God and do it*" is the goal to which everything from the beginning of the supplement is leading up. Recognize this, and immediately the editorial treatment receives its explanation, both as respects alteration of phraseology and as respects the selection and order of material. The editor has the practical aim of commending those who "hear and do the word" (cf. 6:27, 47; 8:4-21). He therefore describes not only the teaching of Jesus, but *the reception which it met from the Elect*.

This interest in the elect is no new thing with Lk. At the beginning of the Sermon the Beatitudes pronounced upon "the disciples" were emphasized by an antithesis of four Woes denounced upon the self-satisfied, while the contrast of the source between the ethic of former times and that of the children of God ("they of old time said . . . But I say") is changed to a contrast between those who hear the word of God and those who turn a deaf ear to the message. "Woe unto you that are rich . . . But unto *you that hear* I say" is Lk.'s antithesis. He is already contrasting the two classes encountered by the Teacher, the elect and the non-elect (cf. Acts 13:48). In the Book of Acts it will become still more apparent how he aims to carry back the origins of the Christian brotherhood to the earliest and highest sources, just as in the Gospel he carries the story of John and Jesus back to an infancy among the meek and devout, the lowly saints who could be regarded as the real heirs of the promises.

We may now turn from the Markan *framework* of the Interpolation to the Interpolation itself, designating by A its teaching element (6:20-49), and by B its narrative (7:1-8:3).

The Sermon (A) ends with a parable which may well have suggested to Lk. the theme of this entire section: "Everyone that cometh unto me and *heareth my words and doeth them* I will show you to whom he is like" (6:46 ff.). This parable seems to be viewed by Lk. as the counterpart of the Markan parable of Fruitful and Unfruitful Sowing with which the section ends (8:4-18). Nor is this an inappropriate use of the material. Note that this parable is the only one of Mk.'s series of Parables of the Kingdom which Lk. here adopts, and that he interjects repeatedly references to "*hearing the word and doing it.*" As in Mk., so here, at the close of the parable (8:8) Jesus

cries " 'He that hath ears to *hear* let him *hear*.' " The interpretation explains (v. 11) that, "the seed is *the word of God*" while the three classes who "hear and do not" are specified in verses 12, 13 and 14, followed by ver. 15 which illustrates "such as having *heard the word* . . . bring forth fruit with persistence." Finally the Markan sequence breaks off with ver. 18 (= Mk. 4:24 f.) "Take heed, therefore, *how ye hear*; for whosoever hath, to him shall be given" etc.

This iteration and reiteration of warnings on "hearing the word of God and doing it," especially when we note how Lk. has abbreviated and changed the text of Mk., and how he varies from the Θ text of Mt., should suffice to define for us the pragmatic interest which controls him in the beginning and ending of the section appended to Mk.'s account of the Effects of Jesus' Teaching (Mk. 1:40-3:12, 13-19 = Lk. 5:12-6:11, 17-19, 12-16), the section of the Smaller Interpolation.

Unlike Mk., Lk. is here not so much bent on accounting for the disobedience of Israel as on exhibiting the obedience of the lowly remnant. At the close, Jesus' mother and brethren are examples of the obedient, but the preceding Markan parable, and especially the selection from the appended Markan sayings, show that Lk. has also in mind the Markan contrast of obedient and disobedient. Herein lies the key to the subdivision of the section, which as we have already shown extends from 6:12 to 8:21, the Markan material at beginning and end (6:12-19 = Mk. 3:13-19^a, 7-10, and 8:4-21 = Mk. 4:1-25; 3:31-35) serving as a mere framework for the non-Markan material.

The Teaching section (A) and the Narrative section (B) of the non-Markan material seem to represent respectively to \mathfrak{A} Lk. the Sowing of "the word of God," and its effect upon two classes of hearers, believing and unbelieving, obedient and disobedient. Our attention will be first directed to the latter.

The following are the successive scenes of B:

- (1) Believing Centurion (7:1-10);
- (2) Miracle at Nain (11-17);
- (3) Stumbling at John and Jesus by all save Wisdom's Children (18-35);
- (4) Self-complacent Pharisee and Penitent Harlot (36-50);
- (5) Ministering Women (8:1-3).

These are clearly so many illustrations in point to show how the penitent and lowly received the message, whereas Israel as a whole turned a deaf ear, some, like "the disciples of John," stumbling; others, like the Pharisees, holding self-righteously aloof. Lk.'s addition to Mk. here is similar in pragmatic interest to the addition of the Woes to the Beatitudes. It emphasizes the distinction of the two classes among the Jewish hearers of Jesus. Not all were disobedient, as the hasty reader might infer from Mk. The rich and self-complacent rejected Jesus, but the lowly received the word of God. To make this application clearer the evangelist in 7:29 f. appends to his story of Jesus' reply to "the messengers of John" an adaptation of the $\text{\textcircled{Q}}$ saying which Mt. more correctly reports in connection with Jesus' reply to the messengers of the Sanhedrin (Mt. 21:31 f.):

Now all the people when they heard, and the publicans, justified God, having been baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected for themselves the counsel of God, not having been baptized of him.

The editorial recasting of the comment is quite apparent from the phraseology (*cf.* "justified God," ver. 39, with "Wisdom is justified of her children," ver. 35; "rejected the counsel of God," ver. 30, with Acts 2:23), and the reference to "the baptism of John" (*cf.* Mt. 21:25); but the fact of the transfer and adaptation makes the editor's pragmatic interest doubly certain. *He constructs the group of anecdotes in 7:1-8:3 (B) for the purpose of contrasting obedient and disobedient "hearers of the word."*

With this key to the pragmatic purpose of $\text{\textcircled{Lk}}$ in our hands it is impossible any longer to imagine that he should be greatly concerned to retain the chronological order of source, or sources, supposing such an order to have once existed. The parable likening "everyone that cometh unto me and heareth my words and doeth them" to the man who built his house upon the rock, wherewith the Sermon (A) closes, has for our evangelist the same value and application as the Markan parable of Fruitful and Unfruitful Sowing, wherewith he ends the section. Between the two he inserts the series of anecdotes that mark the desired application. All are derived from other sources than Mk. All *might* be from $\text{\textcircled{S}}$. But *if* from $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ they cannot be assumed

to stand in their original order; for the present order is too characteristically Lukan. To make this clear we must once more survey the *τάξεις* of B, seeking a motive for the present sequence.

(a) The Believing Gentile heads the series (7:1-10) precisely as the same motive leads off in the Lukan story of the ministry as a whole, when Jesus, rejected by his fellow-townsmen in Nazareth, retorts with the reference to the sending of Elijah and Elisha to the Gentiles (4:16-29). The prefixing has the same motive in each case (the motive so conspicuous in Acts), and in each case involves a flagrant *hysteron proteron*.⁷ But to this, *℔*^{Lk.} is sublimely indifferent.

(b) The Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain (11-17) is generally (and doubtless correctly) understood to owe its present position to the more important *Θ* section on the Message of the Disciples of John which follows it. Whencesoever derived, it is held to have been prefixed by *℔*^{Lk.} to make good the reference of ver. 22 "the dead are raised up," the Markan instance (Jairus' Daughter) being reserved for its authentic connection in 8:49-56.

(c) The Message of the Disciples of John and associated Stumbling of all save Wisdom's Children (18-35) needs no justification for its location. It forms the very nucleus and heart of the series, if indeed it did not actually suggest its formation. The disciples of John were a conspicuous element among those who came to the Lord and heard his word but did not build upon the rock. We have already adverted to *℔*^{Lk.}'s underscoring of the desired application by the transfer hither of ver. 29 f. (= Mt. 21:31 f.). This transfer also served to facilitate the inclusion of the second element of the *Θ* story, Jesus' Complaint of the Generation which Stumbled both at the Baptist and Himself. For this element was quite as germane to the pragmatic purpose of *℔*^{Lk.} as the first, but the reader was not yet informed that "the Pharisees and lawyers" had "rejected the counsel of God."

⁷ In 4:23 the miracles in Capernaum (4:31 ff.) are presupposed. In 7:3, 9, 22, 31-35 not only the mighty works are presupposed, but Israel's rejection of the gracious Messenger. The editor's insertion of ver. 21 before 22, and 29-30 before 31-35 only makes the anachronism more conspicuous to the critical eye.

(d) The Penitent Harlot forms the close of the series, and does so with striking rhetorical effect so far as the Lukan pragmatism is concerned. When the condensed summary of (e) the Women who Ministered is added in 8:1-3, the two form the best possible preface to Lk.'s new form of the Markan anecdote of Jesus' Mother and Brethren, introduced along with the Parable of Fruitful and Unfruitful Sowing and connected *logia*, but *after* it. If, however, we ask what is likely to have been the pre-Lukan order of c and d, it is hardly supposable that if both were drawn from S (as is highly probable from their mutual affinity) the narrator should have presented *first* (ver. 34) the complaint against Jesus as "a friend of publicans and sinners" and *afterwards* (ver. 36 ff.) the account of his dealings which gave rise to it. The hysteron-proteron of the present order is as plain here as in the other cases.

To sum up, the grouping of Lk. 7:1-8:3 is almost regardless of chronological sequence. R^{Lk.}'s purpose is pragmatic, determined by the framework 6:46-49, and 8:4-21.

No more favorable judgment can be rendered regarding R^{Lk.}'s probable faithfulness to the contents of the source, or sources, employed in either A or B.

On this point (cancellation by R^{Lk.} of source material) the treatment of Mk. (for R^{Lk.} an *authoritative* source) affords no surer inference than in respect to order.

Let the elements of this non-Markan section not also embodied by Mt. be designated P (i. e. peculium). We have nothing as yet to connect P^{Lk.} with S; neither have we the right to consider the non-appearance in Lk. of elements which in Mt. form part of the context (P^{Mt.}) evidence against their authenticity at this point in S. On the contrary, we have already seen evidence of editorial condensation by Lk. in 7:29 f. (= Mt. 21:28-32), and have reason to suspect it further in 8:1-3 (P^{Lk.}). Of the larger context which pursues a connected theme in Mt. 11:2-30; 12:17-21, 38-45; 20:1-16; 21:28-32 Lk. might easily defer or even omit altogether what was unsuited to his immediate purpose. He would not be ready to include the Woes on the Unbelieving Cities of Galilee (Mt. 11:20-24 = Lk.

* Matthaean "single tradition" material is distinguished from Lukan by the suspended letters.

10:13-16) until he had related the Mission of the Twelve and the Seventy. For similar reasons he would naturally defer to the same connection Jesus' Thanksgiving for the Revelation given to Sons (Mt. 11:25-30 = Lk. 10:21 f.). All this is completely accounted for by the pragmatic purpose of the group.

As regards the probability of omissions from the Smaller Interpolation whether from A, its teaching section, the Sermon on the Higher Righteousness (Lk. 6:20-49), or from B, the narratives of 7:1-8:3, we must first of all take account of the able discussion of Sir John C. Hawkins in the work already cited.⁹

Considering that both Mt. and Lk. have omitted passages from the Second Source, Sir John ranks first in probability among such the omission by Lk. of the substance of Mt. 5:17-48, i. e. the Antitheses of the Higher Righteousness. He submits first the general *a priori* consideration that Lk. systematically omits "anti-Pharisaic material."¹⁰ He also submits two specific reasons: (a) the phrase ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν (Lk. 6:27)¹¹ and (b) the saying on Divorce (Lk. 16:17 f.) apparently drawn from the Antitheses (cf. Mt. 5:31 f.). On these grounds Sir John

would place Mt. 5:17-48 by itself as a section which we may regard as more likely to have formed part of Q¹² than any other which is found only in a single Gospel.¹³

This agrees with the opinion expressed by the present writer on the same section in a volume on *The Sermon on the Mount*.¹⁴

As set forth in both Mt. and Lk. the ethic of the Sermon is not absolute but relative. Present these precepts in the absolute form and they become irrational. Neither Nietzsche nor Tolstoy shows good exegesis in separating the so-called precept of non-resistance from its context. For when Jesus sets up as the standard "your Father" who "is kind even to the unthank-

⁹ *Oxford Studies* "The Double Tradition of Mt. and Lk."

¹⁰ Cf. Luke's omission of Mk. 7:1-23 and 10:1-12.

¹¹ With this inserted phrase compare the observations made above on the editorial motive of the section 7:1-8; 21.

¹² In the citation "Q" is used to designate the source.

¹³ *Op. cit.* p. 133.

¹⁴ Macmillan Co., 1902, pp. 37-40.

ful and the evil," this is but the culminating example out of a series intended to illustrate a single general principle. This principle cannot be better expressed than in Eph. 5:1: "Be ye therefore imitators of God as beloved children and walk in love." *Imitation of God's goodness* is the supreme virtue, alone befitting "sons."¹⁵ But neither Jesus nor the evangelist can have meant to represent God as absolutely non-resistant to evil. The Source teaches simply that the current tit-for-tat ethics, good for good, evil for evil, is *not enough*. The "righteousness of God" must exceed. It *goes beyond* the *lex talionis*. God not only resists evil, but (in Pauline phrase) "*overcomes* it with good." This "goodness" is to be limited by only one consideration—its effectiveness. When it tends to encourage evil instead of overcoming it it ceases to be imitation of God. Long-suffering, non-resistance, are indeed to be carried to an extreme like that of the long-suffering Father. But when resistance is better adapted to overcoming evil than non-resistance the divine example should be followed in this respect also.

The point for the critic to observe is that by the testimony of both Mt. and Lk. to the original form of the Sermon the righteousness of God was presented by ~~S~~ *in the comparative degree*. But the omissions of Lk. tend strongly to obscure this. In Mt. the relativity of the new commandment to the old is strongly emphasized. The Antitheses illustrate the contrast of the higher righteousness of "sons" with that of "the scribes and Pharisees." In Lk. also the *affirmative* element of the new law remains; but this is only half the teaching, and instead of Mt.'s vigorous contrast "They of old said . . . But I say," it is appended by Lk. under the new rubric "But unto *you which hear* I say" (6:27). Something remains, even in Lk., of the contrast between the divine "goodness" and human, tit for tat "righteousness." But the omission of the illustrative Antitheses almost spoils the intended effect. Lk. is so intent on avoiding "anti-Pharisaic" material, and so eager to emphasize his own

¹⁵ The conception is common to Stoic and Graeco-Jewish ethics of this period. Cf. Ps. Aristeas, 188, 192, etc., and see Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 1909, p. 199. "In its broad features holiness is but another word for *Imitatio Dei*." Schechter refers to Num. R. 9:4 and 17:6.

contrast of the obedient who "hear the word,"¹⁶ that we may be quite sure Sir John Hawkins is right in regarding Mt. as here the better representative of S.¹⁷

Justice to the Source requires, therefore, first of all restoration of the Antitheses, and second, that we cancel Lk.'s editorial adversative "But to you which hear I say," substituting something like the formula of the Matthean Antitheses: "They of old time said . . . But I say . . ." In short the *Gospel of the Naassenes* quoted by Hippolytus (V. 7) is quite justified in combining this passage of the Sermon with the anecdote in Mk. 10:17-22 of the Rich Young Man seeking the Way of Life; for in both the higher 'goodness' of God is set in contrast with written precepts as giving the Christian standard of ethics. The anecdote of the Rich Suppliant takes the place (doctrinally) in Mk. of the Sermon on the Mount, as we have seen. The Naassenes show their appreciation of the fact by giving the answer of Jesus in this form:

Why callest thou me 'good'; there is but One who is good, my Father in heaven, who causeth his sun to rise upon the just and the unjust, and sendeth rain upon saints and sinners.¹⁸

Mk. was not ignorant of S. In this same anecdote he borrows the phrase "Thou shalt have treasure in heaven." But Mk. is too much of a Paulinist to include a *nova lex* in his Gospel, and therefore puts the teaching in the form more congenial to him of the living example. Lk. too is not pro-Pharisaic. He does not exclude the Woes against them of Lk. 11:37-44. But Lk. is eager to show that the *consistent* Pharisee is almost a Christian (Acts 23:6-9; 24:14-21; 26:5-8, 27 f.). Pharisees are guilty of "hypocrisy" (Lk. 12:1). They are "lovers of

¹⁶ In addition to the instances adduced in 7:1-8:21 see also Lk. 10:16 and 11:28.

¹⁷ On the fundamental teaching of the sermon of imitation of the divine "goodness," see Bacon, "Thankworthy Goodness" in *Expositor*, VIII, 42 (June, 1914), 502-518, and S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, ch. XIII "The Law of Holiness and the Law of Goodness." Marcion gives his own conception of the contrast by declaring Jehovah the Jewish God of the O. T. to be the god of mere unrelieved justice, but God the Father of Jesus to be the God of "goodness."

¹⁸ Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, p. 11, lines 20-24.

money" (16:14). Their conduct does not agree with their principles. They have the form and not the spirit. But if they lived up to their professions they would be "not far from the kingdom of God." Lk., then, may be admitted to exclude "anti-Pharisaic material"; but only if by "anti-Pharisaic" we mean teachings opposed to the piety of the Old Testament. Now on their negative side the Antitheses of the Sermon come very close to *such* opposition. They can easily be distorted into semblance to the "Antitheses" of Marcion; and when we observe how Lk. has uniformly cancelled Mk.'s anti-legalistic utterances (Mk. 7:1-23; 10:1-12) it becomes quite credible that he should cancel the Antitheses.

Still more illuminating examples of Lk.'s caution in admitting material which might give aid and comfort to the antinomian enemy will be found in his attachment to the parable of the Great Supper (Lk. 14:15-24) of the severe sayings on "casting out" (v. 35) those who do not show persistence in well-doing (vv. 25-35). Similarly he attaches sayings on the Perpetuity of the Law and of the Marriage Obligation to the radical Φ utterance Lk. 16:16 (= Mt. 11:12).

We must not only correct Lk.'s cancellations from Mt.'s version of the Sermon (of course avoiding Mt.'s very copious and easily recognizable additions) but Lk.'s order as well. For (as is commonly recognized) in Lk. 6:27-38 verses 27-29^a are transposed from after 29^b-30, and verse 31, belongs after 42, where it would follow in Mt. save for the Matthean additions.¹⁹

Addition also has been resorted to in Lk.'s form of the Sermon, as well as cancellation and transposition, though to a far less extent than in Mt.'s.

Whether the affixing of the Woes (Π Lk.) to the Beatitudes is the work of \mathfrak{B} Lk. as compiler or composer would be difficult to determine. On the other hand we may properly repeat here the assertion made in a previous volume:

The two *logia* Lk. 6:39-40 have certainly a fictitious connection. As the paragraph stands the sense must be "Beware of assuming to guide when not yourself enlightened." . . . But it can hardly be admitted that Jesus should have applied to any disciple of his own, however over-hasty to assume the functions of a teacher, the epithet of 'blind guide.'²⁰

¹⁹ See for proof Bacon: *The Sermon on the Mount*, Macmillan, 1902, p. 157.

²⁰ *Sermon on the Mount*, p. 158.

In fact the witness of Mt. 7:1-5 where Lk. 6:41 f. follows 6:38 without a break (much to the advantage of the sense) should suffice to prove that in Lk. verses 39 and 40 have been interjected editorially. The reason is doubtless the superficial resemblance of the two cases: the brother who with a beam in his own eye attempts to remove the splinter from his neighbor's Lk. 6:39 f., and the blind man guiding the blind (Lk. 6:41 f. = Mt. 7:3-5). Both *logia* are \textcircled{Q} material (Lk. 6:39 = Mt. 15:14 and Lk. 6:40 = Mt. 24:10 f.); but little can be said for Lk.'s location. In both cases the Matthean setting is at least as good as Lk.'s, and is followed by the fourth evangelist (Lk. 6:39 = Jn. 9:40 f., Lk. 6:40 = Jn. 13:16; 15:20). But \textcircled{Q} material is not likely to be *all* from \textcircled{S} . As previously stated "The sayings have the appearance of *logia* attached from floating tradition."²¹ In the case of mere detached sayings connected neither with one another nor their context the presumption against a third source dwindles to very slight importance. If this be a case of independent attachment by Mt. and Lk. of floating *logia*, we have in the latter an instance of the disruption of the order of \textcircled{S} by addition. If it should prove possible to establish the original context in \textcircled{S} (whether Mt. 10:24 f.; 15:14 or some other) we should have a case of transposition effected either by Lk. or by some earlier redactor (\textcircled{R}^S), with the idea of rebuking the tendency to be "many teachers" (Jas. 3:1).

Thus in A as well as B $\textcircled{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ already gives evidences of omission, of addition, and of transposition, in the \textcircled{Q} material. Whether in every case our own third evangelist ($\textcircled{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$) is personally responsible for the change, or merely adopts the work of some earlier redactor (\textcircled{R}^S) cannot yet be made out; but the question does not affect the present argument, which aims only to show that the present order of the \textcircled{Q} material in Lk. has suffered extensive changes from the sequence of \textcircled{S} . $\textcircled{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ does *not* extend to the Second Source the extreme deference paid to Mk. This is certainly true as regards its order, and almost as certainly its contents, especially in narrative material.

Recognizing, as we must, the untrustworthiness of all inferences from the present order of Lk.'s Smaller Interpolation to the *τάξις* of \textcircled{S} may it not be possible to draw more reliable deductions from comparison with Mt. and Mk.?

²¹ So *Sermon on Mt.*, p. 159; cf. Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 28, 81.

We have seen it to be probable that **S** led over from an account of Jesus' teaching to some more or less extensive outline of his healing activity. This suggests that we may do well to consider the Lukan group whose agglutination of anecdotes we have already studied in the light of the corresponding groups in Mk. 1:40-3:6 and Mt. 8:1-9:34. For even the Matthean group answers more or less closely to Mk. 1:40-3:6. All three connections conform to the broad general rule of gospel structure: After description of the Beginning of the ministry an account of its Effects.

Mk. 1:40-2:22 is a group of anecdotes illustrative of Jesus' works, his following, and his mode of life. Like the Matthean Series it begins with the Healing of the Leper (1:40-45), but leads over through that of the Paralytic (2:1-12, used to prove Jesus' right to Forgive Sins) to a small group (2:13-22) whose motive is Defense of Jesus from the charge of association with publicans and sinners and of neglecting the fasts. In **Q** (Mt. 11:1-19 = Lk. 7:18-35) the motive of the great discourse on John the Baptist is to answer the question "Art thou he that should come?" It is answered in a sense corresponding to the Isaian doctrine of the rejected Servant. Mk's use of the material, however, is for a slightly different purpose. The Healing of the Leper (Mk. 1:40-45), which stands quite outside the meagre framework of chronological sequence as one of a multitude of similar occurrences, is introduced merely to illustrate how the importunities of the sick compelled Jesus to withdraw (*cf.* verses 38 and 45). The rest of the connection, however (2:1-22), is introduced for the sake of its bearing on the Growth of Opposition. Annexed are two further anecdotes of Sabbatarian controversy which lead up to plots against Jesus' life, (3:6). Obviously Mk. connects Sabbath-keeping with fasting, as in *Oxyrh. Log.* II, and uses the two Sabbath stories in succession to set in clearer light his own radical conception of Jesus' attitude of opposition to the scribes and the Mosaic law. Very significantly the Sabbath controversies are introduced by Mt. in 12:1-14 as part of a *separate division* (mainly **Q**) on this subject.

Now it has been shown in *Beginnings of Gospel Story*²² that the series of anecdotes in Mk. 1:40-2:20 (Leper Healed, Procla-

²² P. 23.

mation of Forgiveness, Eating with Publicans and Sinners, Fasting of John's Disciples, Jesus' Disciples Sons of the Bride-chamber, Rights of New against Old). "appears to be suggested by the section of Θ on the Stumbling of Israel," a portion of which was already employed by Mk. in 1:1-13. It would seem, then, that just as traces of an older motive remain in Mt.'s series of Ten Mighty Works (Mt. 8:1-9:34) and Stumbling of Israel (11:2-12:45), this older motive relating to the Effect of the Ministry, so in Mk. also the section whose editorial motive is the Growth of Opposition, shows intrinsic traces of an older motive, kindred but not identical in character. In Mk. we are told how opposition is aroused by Jesus' claims of superhuman authority, how it culminated in plots by "Pharisees and Herodians" against his life (3:6). Jesus has presumed to forgive sins, disregard distinctions of caste, set aside observance of fasts and Sabbaths "because he is the Son of man." This is the characteristic point of view of \mathfrak{K} Mk., illustrated again in the charge which brings about the death of Jesus in 14:61-64, but it is certainly, both in its occurrence here and in chapter 14, an unhistorical conception.²³ True, the embodied material also aims to show how the Jews were "stumbled in him," but in Θ the motive is somewhat different, and the apologetic does not rest on bald appeal to miracle. It depicts Jesus at work in the character of the Isaian Servant. Jesus is set forth in his mode of life, his compassionate service to the "little ones," his associates, as fulfilling the Isaian ideal. He comes with healing proclaiming "glad tidings to the poor." He meets opposition, but of altogether different character from that described by Mk. Θ does not make even the scribes find fault with Jesus for presumption in encroaching on the prerogative of God. That is Markan (cf. Mk. 14:60-64). The Servant of God in Θ is too meek and unassuming. To the self-righteous he is a mere man of the people, a glutton and wine-bibber mingling with publicans and harlots.

This Θ conception of Jesus as "made a minister of the circumcision for the sake of the promise given to the fathers,"

²³ Mk. 2:27, where a more constructive, less dogmatic attitude, is taken toward the Sabbath, with use of the more liberal rabbinic interpretation (see *Beginnings*, *ad loc.*), is found neither in D nor in either Synoptic parallel.

"born of a woman, born under the law" and as meekly "enduring the reproach" of Israel, is certainly more authentic (Paul himself being witness), than the Markan, which represents him as overriding the law by superior authority as "Son of man" supported by miraculous power.

Taking Mk. 2:1-3:6 as a whole, and comparing 12:13 and 14:60-64 it is obvious that $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Mk.}}$ thinks of the charge against Jesus, his trial, condemnation, and death, in the same terms as would be used in the case of the condemnation and death of Stephen and James the Just at the hands of the same persecutors. Stephen is stoned because he had said "Behold I see the heavens opened and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." James was stoned (as Hegesippus relates) in consequence of acknowledging Jesus publicly as "the Son of man" who would come again in judgment.²⁴ So in Mk. 2:1-3:6 and 14:60-64 Jesus himself excites the same murderous Jewish opposition by the same presumptuous claims. Here he professes authority as "Son of man" to forgive sins (2:10) and to disregard the Sabbath (2:28).²⁵ But this is not only historically anachronistic; it is an *alteration of the meaning of the source*. In *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (*ad loc.*) it was made clear, (independently of Loisy), that the interjected controversy with the scribes over Jesus' claim of the right to forgive sins (2:6-10) is a later editorial supplement, not originally connected with the Healing of the Palsied Man. Still more significant for our purpose is the sequel in ver. 13-17, where Jesus raises opposition by "eating and drinking with publicans and sinners," and still further in ver. 18-22, where he declines to fast with the Pharisees and the disciples of John. These \mathfrak{Q} data are used by $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Mk.}}$ in illustration of his theme, the Growth of Opposition. But their appositeness is more apparent than real, since they

²⁴ *Ap. Euseb. II. E. II, xxiii, 3-19.* The "scribes and Pharisees" set James on "the pinnacle of the temple" and demand "What is the door of Jesus?" to which James replies: "Why ask ye me concerning Jesus the Son of man? He himself sitteth in heaven at the right hand of the great Power and is about to come on the clouds of heaven." Cf. Mk. 14:62 and Acts 7:56.

²⁵ The combination is probably Markan. In Mt. 12:1-15 a new setting is found (as above noted) for the Sabbatic controversies; and the fourth Gospel (Jn. 5:1-47) only connects the right to forgive sins by implication in the defense of the judicial authority of "the Son of man" (5:22-30).

have intrinsically nothing to do with the charge of blasphemy in claiming to be the Son of man which issues in the conspiracy of 3:6. On the contrary the title "Son of man" and the authority alike are enigmatic in Mk. **S**, we know, employed the title (Mt. 11:19 = Lk. 7:34), though no fragment survives to explain why, or in what sense. But we need only turn to the **Q** context to see the true connection of the anecdotes. In **Q** (Mt. 11 = Lk. 7) they illustrate the 'stumbling' of the Baptist (and Israel) "in" Jesus. And this stumbling of Israel is because he is not the *ἐρχόμενος* they look for, but *corresponds to the suffering Servant of Isaiah*, proclaiming glad tidings to the poor, healing the sick and saving the lost. Neither to the Baptist nor to the wicked and adulterous generation²⁰ is this an acceptable "Son of man."

It is quite apparent, then, that Mk. in 2:1-3:6 displays his own adaptation of older sequences precisely as do Mt. and Lk., though with a much less tolerant spirit toward Jewish beliefs and institutions. Mk.'s material reflects two *motifs*, one that of the Rejected Servant (2:1-22) earlier than the present Markan context, the other that of Opposition to Jesus' Pretensions as Son of Man, which may be simply that of **R**^{Mk.} himself. The former *motif* is identical with that of **Q** in Lk. 7:18-35 = Mt. 11:2-19, and has the following sequence:

1. Healing the Leper, Mk. 1:40-45.
2. Proclaiming Forgiveness, 2:1-12.
3. A Friend of Publicans, 2:13-17.
4. Disciples of John fast, 2:18-23.

Item 1 of Mark's series (Leper Healed) sits loosely to the context, but the remainder is closely linked. Item 3 (Call of Levi; cf. Lk. 7:36-50 and 19:1-10) seems to blend this *leit-motif* of **Q** with that of the Mission of the Twelve. The banquet scene in which Jesus associates with "publicans and sinners" is quite subordinate in Mk. to the interest of the growth of Jesus' following, though it is noticeable that no attempt is made as yet

²⁰ The fourth evangelist as usual takes ground above either Mk. or **Q**. Jesus is "the Son of man" and has judicial authority (Jn. 5:27) but his judgment is that of the light which comes into the world (τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν, 3:19-21), and the title *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is explicitly applied to him in this sense in the Prologue (1:9); cf. 6:14; 11:27 and Heb. 10:37.

to identify Levi with any member of the Twelve. This occurs only later, in Mt. 9:9. In the Markan source the incident can have had no other application than Lk. 7:36-50 (Penitent Harlot) and 19:1-10 (Zacchaeus). Indeed were it not for the name and location the story of Zacchaeus might be only a variant of Mk. 2:13-17.

From the traces of precanonical groupings in Mt. and Mk. we return to the Shorter Interpolation of Lk., asking the question whether similar traces of precanonical *τάξις* and similar editorial adjustment to the canonical *τάξις* can be found.

It is noticeable that in Lk. 7:1-8:3 no direct trace appears of the Healing of the Leper, though we should expect to find an instance of the kind before the reference in 7:22 "the lepers are cleansed." At least, when Lk. inserts from an unknown source in 7:11-17 (Widow's Son) an instance to meet the reference "the dead are raised up" we have a right to expect that the incident of the Healed Leper if once a part of the context would not lightly have been removed; for even the inserted editorial summary in ver. 21 ("in that hour he cured many" etc.) makes no specific mention of the cleansing of lepers. Manifestly the difference is that in 5:12-16 Lk. had already related the Leper incident in Markan form and connection; whereas his Markan example of raising the dead came later (Lk. 8:40-48). The taking up of Mk. 1:40-45 in Lk. 5:12-16 would of course necessitate the cancellation of its *Σ* equivalent in Lk. 7.²⁷

If we may assume with some critics that the incident of the Samaritan Leper (Lk. 17:11-19) is a variant form of the same anecdote, there will be a certain analogy of editorial procedure between it and the Raising of the Widow's Son (Lk. 7:11-18). In both cases we have a miracle heightened by the typical Lukan *pathos* (Samaritans, widows etc.). In the case of the former ("Lepers are cleansed") the heightened variant is deferred. In the case of the latter ("the dead are raised up") Lk. introduces the variant (Widow's Son at Nain) immediately before the reference, because the equivalent Markan incident (Jairus' Daughter, Mk. 5:22-43 = Lk. 8:41-56) is deferred. Whether

²⁷ On the evidence for acquaintance by Mt. and Lk. with this *Σ* form see *Beginnings of Gospel Story* p. 20, note on ver. 40, 41.

in either case the Lukan variant is derived from **S** can be decided only by scrutiny of its style and intrinsic motive. Certainly there is a close relation of motive between the anecdote of the Believing Gentile and that of the Grateful Samaritan. In each case the point is directed against the obduracy of Israel. "This stranger" puts to shame the home-born. We could, of course, attribute this special adaptation in the Samaritan Leper to Lk.'s own editorial revision, which would leave little to distinguish the basic story from Mk. 1:40-45. But in the case of the Believing Centurion (**Q**) this adaptation is antecedent to **R**^{Lk.}, since it is equally apparent in the Matthean version. So long as the Believing Centurion remains an example of Jesus' acceptance by the lowly, the Penitent Harlot and Grateful Samaritan will tend to a place alongside. And this application is indisputably **Q**'s.

The cancellation of the Leper incident by **R**^{Lk.} offers, then, no obstacle to its location in **S** at the point where it occurs both in Mt. and Mk., at the head of the series of Mighty Works. This agrees, as we have seen, with the implication of the **Q** reference Lk. 7:22 = Mt. 11:5. As regards the incident of Eating with Publicans and Sinners, Lk. has two variants, one concerning eating with *publicans* (19:1-10), the other the Penitent Harlot (7:36-50). Only the latter appears here. The closer parallel with Mk. 2:13-17 is deferred. But surely the derivation of both these **R**^{Lk.} anecdotes from the same source (**S**) as the **Q** section on the Stumbling of Israel is made probable not only by their intrinsic affinity with it, but by the fact that even in Mk. traces of the banquet scene remain. Lk., however, is no more faithful to the *τάξις* of **S** than Mk. or Mt.; for we have seen that we cannot build upon the order:

1. Centurion's Faith, **Q** 1-10.
2. Raising the Dead, 7:11-17.
3. Disciples of John, 7:18-35.
4. Sinful Woman Forgiven, 7:36-50.
5. Ministering Women, 8:1-3.

It is indeed taken to be significant that Mt. and Lk. agree (?) in placing item 1 next (or next but one) to the Sermon. The real insignificance of this *approximation* to agreement

appears clearly from our analysis of redactional motive.²⁸ Item 1 neither tolerates location as first of a series, nor shows any close intrinsic relation to the *leit-motif* of item 3 (Stumbling at the Servant).

We cannot, therefore, be convinced by Spitta that its place in Lk. 7:1-8:3 *as well as* that of item 2 (Widow's Son) is fully accounted for by the need (in the mind of $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$) to supply instances of "raising the dead" (Spitta refers to 7:2). The able critic asks us to believe that "all these things" which came to the ears of John (7:18) were not "the works of the Christ" (so Mt. 11:2), but an account of Jesus' *preaching* only. His argument is that if the Baptist *already* had miracle as a basis for his faith it was no help to supply him with more miracle. Our answer must be: What the Baptist had to go upon was not miracle, but only *report* of miracle. His messengers bring him *authentication* of the report. Jesus' fame *as a teacher* was a laggard (if we may be guided by gospel tradition), as compared with his fame *as a healer*. The latter has reached the Baptist. It requires now to be both confirmed and corrected. And not for the Baptist alone and his disciples, but for all who are "stumbled in 'the Son of man.'" For Θ the title $\delta \epsilon\rho\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is to be understood in the sense of Is. 35:4-6, Hab. 2:3 LXX (cf. Heb. 10:37 f.). The Baptist and his "disciples" employ it in a different sense—doubtless the sense of Mal. 3:1-3; 4:1-3 (cf. Mt. 3:12 = Lk. 3:17). The question of the disciples of John becomes therefore in Θ the occasion for an address of Jesus to the multitudes on the *real* sense in which he is $\delta \epsilon\rho\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, the "Son of man," and the relation of his vocation and message to John's. The discourse naturally begins with the answer sent to John "Blessed is he whosoever *shall not be stumbled* in me."²⁹ We are not at liberty to ask whether this answer is really in accordance with facts, or even (as Spitta does) whether a still earlier form of \mathfrak{S} may not have lacked these suggestions of disappointment on the part of the Baptist. *The Θ material includes these traits. \mathfrak{S} in the form in which it lay before Mt. and Lk. represented an account of Jesus'*

²⁸ For the redactional motive of the Matthean placing we must refer the reader to forthcoming articles on "The Editorial Arrangement of Matthew 8-10" in the *Expositor*.

²⁹ For the Johannine treatment in relation to Mk. and Θ see note 26.

activity as being brought to John, and the incident as leading Jesus to draw the contrast between his own ministry and that of his predecessor. He depicts his own in terms of the Isaian 'Servant' who "proclaims glad tidings of peace," healing the broken-hearted, cleansing the lepers, raising the dead (in trespasses and sins), and yet "despised and rejected of men." The Servant humbles himself in obedience unto death. In due time the narrator *must* have related also how he was also "highly exalted" (cf. Phil. 2:9 with Is. 52:13).

For the purpose implied in this important section of **Q** it is *not* sufficient to relate, parenthetically, that on the spot, and as if now for the first time, Jesus "cured many of diseases and plagues (*μαστιγῶν* cf. Mk. 5:29) and evil spirits, and on many that were blind he bestowed sight." The present miracles will be of no value unless they serve as further examples of those which *had previously characterized Jesus' ministry throughout*. This is in fact the meaning of the editorial supplement Lk. 7:21. The representation implies in any rational composition some previous exhibition to the reader of the scenes of Jesus' ministry. It implies some exposition of the nature of his work *both* as proclaimer of the "glad tidings to the poor" and *also* as the God-sent healer and savior of Is. 26:19; 29:18 f.; 35:5 f., and 61:1. The fact that the *cleansing of lepers* constitutes a unique addition to the Isaian catalogue of the works of the Servant, without any warrant from the Isaian text, is very strong evidence that some instance of this particular kind of healing had already been related. Since all three Synoptists agree in depicting Jesus first as preaching the glad tidings and thereafter engaging in a series of works of healing, while in two out of the three the Cleansing of the Leper stands at the beginning of the series, we may safely infer that but for its previous coming in via Mk. at Lk. 5:12-16, this incident would also have appeared in Lk. between 7:1 and 7:17.

It is apparent, therefore, that the two items of the Believing Centurion and the Widow's Son in Lk. 7:1-17 are mere remnants or substitutes for a much fuller description of the ministry, which included specifically some healing of a leper among other "mighty works," and some instances such as those of **¶** Lk. 7:36-50 and 10:1-10. Such a description is presupposed in the ensuing contrast of the Servant-ideal with the expectation of

those who with the Baptist stand outside the kingdom and are "stumbled." The condensed agglutination of Lk. 7:1-8:3 has therefore small claim to represent the source, whether as respects order or contents. On the contrary it seems to be implied in the material itself that $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$ has both cancelled and transposed with far greater freedom than in the case of Mk. his primary source. Even as respects the teaching material (A), where Mk.'s defect was most obvious, $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$ has apparently effected the very serious cut of the Antitheses. In narrative (B), where we should expect him to prefer Mk, he is far more generous in supplementing than Mt. (as we should also decidedly expect); but he seems to have largely sacrificed in the process of this supplementation the $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ of the source. To all appearance this $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{Lk.}}$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ was itself quite as pragmatic as Lk.'s own. But that of Lk. is complicated by the desire to write $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\varsigma$, and to preserve as nearly as possible the authoritative $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ of Mk.

To determine the probable order of \mathfrak{S} after the Sermon one must set side by side that of all three Synoptists, especially that of Mk. 1:40-2:22 and Lk. 7:1-50, taking into account the motives already defined for Lk.'s alterations by transfer, cancellation and supplementation.

Mk. 1:40-2:22.

1. Leper healed.
2. Sinners Forgiven.
3. Publicans.
4. John's Disciples.

Lk. 7:1-50.

1. Anticipated, 5:12-16.
[Centurion's Servant, 7:1-10].
[Widow's Son, 7:11-17].
2. Transposed, 7:36-50.
3. Distributed (7:34); 19:1-10.
4. John's Disciples, 7:18-35.

It is far from surprising that Mk., though acquainted with the full \mathfrak{Q} story of the Question of John's Disciples, together with its sequel, Jesus' Address to the Multitude regarding himself and John, should not care to include more in his story of the Growth of Opposition than the mere statement that John's disciples joined with the Pharisees in questioning Jesus as to the observances. It has been shown in *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, *ad loc.*, that the whole description of the Baptist as Elijah in Mk. 1:2-6 including the quotation of Mal. 3:1, wrongly cited as from "Isaiah," and coinciding exactly with the \mathfrak{Q} form in its remarkable departures from the LXX, is dependent on this sequel. But the evangelist who in Mk. 1:7 f. represents John

as proclaiming Jesus to the multitude, as the Coming One, the "greater" than himself who will "baptize with the Holy Ghost" is not likely to have taken up as it stood in **Q** the story of John among those who "stumbled" sending messengers to ask: "Art thou He that should come?"

On the other hand that it is Lk., not Mk., who alters the original sequence in the group of anecdotes descriptive of the Effects of the Preaching is made still more probable by the close connection already adverted to³⁰ between the comparison of "this generation" to unreasonable children (Lk. 7:31-35) which closes the **Q** pericope of the Message of John, and the condemnation of "this generation" by the examples of the Ninevites and the Queen of the South (Mt. 12:38-45 = Lk. 11:29-32). As in Mk. 1:40-2:22 and in Mt. 11:2-19 the Message of John and its sequel formed the close. Lk. adds by transposition 7:36-50, and by supplement 8:1-3. But if this added material is permitted to come in between Lk. 7:31-35 and 11:29-32 the observed intrinsic connection already obscured by the insertion of 8:4-11:28 (principally from Mk.), is made quite unrecognizable.

We need only add that the evidences of editorial manipulation in 7:36-50 are very patent. For the sake of this touching incident Lk. has cancelled the Markan anecdote of the Anointing in Bethany (Mk. 14:3-9), though he need not have done so; for the resemblance is merely superficial, the two incidents (apart from a few transparently editorial additions) being quite independent, and different in fundamental character. The clauses "brought an alabaster cruse of ointment" (v. 37), "anointed them with the ointment" (v. 38), and the whole of verse 46 are additions so clumsy as almost to change the pathos of the sinner's penitence to bathos. Together with the name "Simon" in verses 40, 43, 44 (which if original should have appeared in verse 36), they are derived from the Markan anecdote of Anointing (*i. e.* as Christ) in Bethany by a woman disciple. More probably the additions from Mk. were made *before* the material came into the hands of Lk. Otherwise Lk. would scarcely have cancelled Mk. 14:3-9; for once we remove the almost grotesquely irrelevant trait of the anointing of Jesus' feet (!), almost the only point of resemblance that remains is that the Token of

³⁰ Above, p. 119.

Penitent Love and the Token of Exultant Faith are each the act of a woman. But at least the former has a close relation to the picture in the **Q** section on the Message of John of the Isaian Servant, in whom Israel is 'stumbled' because he "proclaims glad tidings to the poor." If he had the story, Mt. has not seen fit to preserve it, perhaps coinciding with Lk.'s judgment of it as a duplicate of Mk. 14:3-9. As a consequence the ordinary means of determining its connection with **S** is lacking. It was taken from *some* documentary source, otherwise we should not have the traces of redaction; but it is always possible to postulate another Lukan source showing the same affinity of tone and viewpoint with **S** which Lk. 7:36-50 displays with 7:18-35 = Mt. 11:2-19. If this alternative be preferred to the supposition that the anecdote is transferred hither by Lk. from some earlier position (relative to the references in vers. 22 and 34) the alternative must be admitted as possible.

Motives for the transfer hither of Lk. 7:29, 30 from the proper later connection of Mt. 21:31-32 have already been adequately set forth. The use by Mt. (!) here of the phrase "kingdom of God" in place of his stereotyped "kingdom of heaven" shows that this is source-material, though Sir John Hawkins places "Mt. xxi. 31^b-32 = Lk. vii. 29, 30" in his third class (C) of **Q** material,³¹ doubtless because of the wide divergence of expression. But this very divergence, made unavoidable as we have seen by the transposition, is highly characteristic of **Q** Lk. We have still, however, one further observation of importance in respect to this Lukan transposition.

In Mt. 21:31-32 the saying follows appropriately upon the Parable of the Two Sons, which by many critics is regarded as the older and simpler form of the parable 'stylized' by Lk. (or some predecessor) into that of the Prodigal Son (Lk. 15:11-32). The two would thus stand to one another in the same literary relation as the following:

Mk. 1:1-8 vs. Lk. 3:3-17; Mk. 1:40-45 vs. Lk. 17:11-19; Mk. 2:5-10 vs. Lk. 7:36-50; Mk. 2:13-17 vs. Lk. 19:1-10; a list which might be instructively extended.

Both the parable of the Two Sons and the attached application to the repentance of the publicans and harlots, putting to shame the obduracy of the self-righteous, have admirable setting in

³¹ *Oxford Studies*, p. 118.

Mt. 21:23-32, where Jesus is challenged for his authority by the scribes, and has replied by pointing to "the baptism of John." Now the parable as it appears in Lk. 15:11-32 has been elaborated and "stylized" with the typical Lukan pathos. It also has been transposed, as we shall have occasion to see in our study of the Longer Interpolation. An important link for the order of **S** will be obtained by the restoration of the two. On the other hand the *logion* in Lk. 7:29 f. has been reduced to a mere *obiter dictum* of the evangelist. In fact the remark is not even logically attached. The reader has to make the best connection for it he can from the broken context of 24-28, 31-35. It still retains indeed its association with a reference of Jesus to "the Baptism of John," but on a totally different occasion. Its present function, as we have seen, is two-fold. It emphasizes **Lk.**'s contrast of the lowly who received the word and repented with the self-righteous; and it explains to the reader why in the following context (7:31-35) "this generation" is denounced as having already rejected "the Son of man." Employing the *logion* as he does for these purposes **Lk.** was compelled to practically rewrite it in words of his own to fit the context. The result is that he copies the phraseology of **Q** (ver. 35) concerning the redeeming Wisdom of God who is "justified" of her children, i. e. the "publicans and sinners." **Lk.** therefore writes that "All the people when they heard, and the publicans 'justified' God." We even detect a trace of the authentic **Q** context (cf. Mt. 21:25) in the phrase "being baptized with 'the baptism of John.'"³²

Our general inference from these phenomena of Lk.'s Shorter Interpolation cannot be favorable as regards the originality of the order in the narrative section (B). It cannot even wholly confirm its placing as a whole. Doubtless B followed A in **S**; but at what interval? Whatever the motive (perhaps because Lk. understands from the coming of John's disciples that John was not yet cast into prison; cf. Jn. 3:22-30), the whole series of anecdotes illustrative of Jesus' ministry of "glad tidings"

³² A further trace of **S** may be found in the Markan parallel. The phrase "and the common people heard him gladly" (Mk. 12:36), seems to be Mk.'s equivalent for the Lukan adaptation of the *logion*. On the proper location in **S** of parable and *logion* together see the forthcoming article on "The Longer Interpolation."

in contrast with the asceticism of John comes too early. In the Source a longer ministry is pre-supposed and a more advanced stage of popular sentiment toward the final decision. Whether for reasons of chronology or some other, Lk. has reduced in number the links of anecdote connecting the Coming of John's Disciples with the Beginning of Jesus' Ministry both by cancellation and by transposition. If he has added material from other sources he has not avoided interruptions of the Θ context. Traces in Mt. and Mk. of older groupings indicate rather that what we have in Lk.'s Shorter Interpolation and some connected passages is largely if not wholly derived from \mathcal{S} , though perhaps in some cases in expanded form; but that the original order has not been spared as was that of Mk., but sacrificed to several exigencies, among others \mathcal{R} Lk.'s inferences from the material of both his sources in the endeavor to narrate "in order." Unfortunately for this attempt Mk.'s order was by no means entitled to the authority accorded to it by the later Synoptists, while the order of \mathcal{S} , by consent of all critics, must have been so largely topical and subjective as to afford little help to the primitive historian. Lk. might not have succeeded much better even had he been free from the misleading authority of Mk., and gifted with much greater critical insight than his attempts at a reconstructed order would indicate.

Lk. 8:1-21 forms, as we have seen, the last division of the section which began at 6:12 with the Choosing of the Twelve. Its opening paragraph (Ministering Women, 8:1-3) has obviously no relation of pragmatic purpose with the group of anecdotes in chapter 7, and might be characterized as 'connective tissue.' It is manifestly of editorial construction in ver. 1 f. (cf. 13:22, 4:43 and 13:11 for the phraseology), but embodies data certainly derived from an early source, probably the same employed by Mk. in 15:40 f. What was the original context of 8:1-3 it would be impossible to say. Lk.'s motive for inserting the data at this point is probably the need to account for the group of women implied in the Markan saying "My *mother* and brethren" etc., which occurs next in the Markan narrative (Mk. 3:31-35), though Lk., as we have seen, transposes. Like most of the anecdotes from \mathcal{S} in the Shorter Interpolation the fragment has lost all relation to its original order, but like the anecdotes of the Centurion's Servant and the Message of John, it

contains tantalizing implications of incidents of Jesus' ministry of healing quite unknown to the story of Mk. To Lk. it serves the purpose of a link leading back to the narrative of Mk. 4:1 ff., much as Lk. 18:9-14 leads back from the Longer Interpolation to the narrative of Mk. 10:13 ff.

Our general inferences from the material of Lk.'s Shorter Interpolation point to an original order quite different from that which the evangelist has constructed. \mathfrak{R} Lk. gives but a few fragments torn from a much fuller original. In the source they formed part of a survey of the ministry of Jesus as a whole. Reduced to the dimensions of a mere episode between the Sermon and the Markan section preliminary to the Mission of the Twelve, they lose their true significance, and indicate only how far Lk. has gone toward destroying the order of \mathfrak{S} , even while keeping most of its material separate from Mk. One thing, however, remains. The theme of the narrative section of the Shorter Interpolation as a whole is derived from \mathfrak{S} ; for it coincides with traces found also in Mt. and Mk. Lk. found and used the theme of the Message of John. In \mathfrak{S} the ministry of "the Son of man" had been contrasted with the expectation of John as a ministry of the Suffering Servant, not a ministry of the Angel of Judgment. The same contrast is traceable as the foundation of the \mathfrak{Q} story of the Temptation (Mt. 4:1-11 = Lk. 4:1-13), which Mk. characteristically abbreviates (Mk. 1:12 f.) \mathfrak{R} Lk. has made the present \mathfrak{Q} story of the Message of John the nucleus for a second group of anecdotes supplementing the (mainly) Markan group taken over in Lk. 4:31-6:19. Before it he has placed the two anecdotes of the Centurion's Servant and the Widow's Son, not so much for their intrinsic *motif*, as because they supplied gaps in the implied "works" of 7:22. After it he leads back to the order of Mk., his principal source, by a summarizing description of the Ministering Women (8:1-3), having meantime transposed the story of the Sinful Woman Forgiven (7:36-50), apparently for the purpose of accounting for this group of women. The series B is brought to a close corresponding to that of series A (6:46-49) by the Markan parable of Fruitful versus Unfruitful Sowing and connected *logia* on "hearing the word," followed by the anecdote of the Mother and Brethren which ends "My mother and brethren are these which hear the word of God and do it."

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

HEBREW MAŠĀL

Heb. *himšîl*, he likened, and *himšîl*, he caused to rule, are generally regarded as two different stems, but the primary connotation of both verbs is *to shine*. The stem of Assy. *šalum-matu*, shine, luster, glory (HW 665^b)¹ is a transposed doublet (JBL 34, 61, l. 9; 63, l. 2) of *mašālu*. It is not impossible that *māmšalâ* in Gen. 1:16 means *shine*, illumination, not *rule* (Š *šultânâ*, T *mišlât*, Græc. Ven. ἡγεμονία). Afterwards it was, of course, misinterpreted. How many readers of the English Bible know that *solemn* (DB 4, 559) means originally *annual*? Heb. *môšêl*, ruler, is a person who *shines*, i. e. is *eminent*, distinguished. This meaning is preserved in Arab. *mâtula*, to be eminent; *mafil* means not only *like*, similar, but also *distinguished*, excellent. Gesenius' *Thesaurus* stated s. v. *mašâl*, to rule: *In reliquis linguis Semiticis hæc radix non reperitur . . . sed congruit Gr. βασιλεύς*.

According to Fleischer in Delitzsch, *Das salomonische Spruchbuch* (Leipzig, 1873) p. 43, the original meaning of the stem *mašâl* is *to stand*, but Arab. *mâtula* = *aqâma*² is a transposed doublet of *tâmala*, and this is identical with Heb. *šamâr*; see my paper *The Disease of King Teumman of Elam* in JSOR 1, Part 2. It cannot be derived from the Assy. *šamallû*, assistant in business, which we have in the Talmud as *šəuālîâ*, helper (not *apprentice*) although we find Arab. *t* = Assy. *š* in loanwords (cf. JBL 35, 321, below) and although we have in Arabic not only Assyrian loanwords (cf. OLZ 10, 70; BL 121, below) but also Sumerian terms, e. g. *niqs*, *niqš*, *naqš*, *raqš*, *daqš* = Sumer. *daggas* (OLZ 16, 493; cf. 17, 53, n. 5). In §§ 100-107 of the Code of Hammurapi *šamallû* denotes a *drum-*

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75, n. 1.

² For Arab. *tamâtûlata bâjna jadâjhi* cf. Heb. 'amâd lē-famâd (GR¹⁶ 598a) and *Est.* 38 (*hâ'mîd*).

mer (commercial traveler, traveling salesman, French *commis voyageur*, German *Handlungsreisender*) while *tamkaru* is the head of the firm (German *Geschäftsherr*).³ The *tamkaru* is the principal, and the *šamallû* is his agent. R. F. Harper (1904) explained *šamallû* as agent, trader; contrast Winekler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 113^b. Assy. *šamallû* is the Sumerian *šamanla* (SGL 257).

Just as Heb. *himšil*, he caused to rule, and Heb. *himšil*, he likened, are derived from *mašál*, to shine, so Assy. *šarru*, king (= Heb. *šar*, prince) is connected with Assy. *šarûr šamši*, sunshine (cf. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 92). Arab. *šarra* means to sun = to dry in the sunshine. The allied stem *šârâ*, *šârî* has the same meaning, but it signifies also to shine, to flash (syn. *láma'a*). In Hebrew we have this stem in *mišrâ*, dominion, sovereignty (JBL 32, 113, n. 23). *Isrâ-el* may mean God rules (cf. EB 2311; WF 216). Arab. *šarâr* denotes a spark. The original meaning of Arab. *šarra*, to be bad, is privative: to lose luster, i. e. to be tarnished, sullied; cf. Assy. *lâ banîtu*, uncleanness, impurity, syn. *limuttu*, evil, and *zalıptu*,⁴ wickedness (HW 180^a below; ZR 66^b; ZDMG 65, 563, 14). Arab. *šarrara* signifies to tarnish the reputation of a person. The stems of Arab. *šarîq*, rising sun, and *šarîf*, eminent, distinguished, noble, are derived from the same root (JBL 35, 323).

The original meaning of Assy. *mušálu*, mirror, is shiny, polished; the mirrors of the ancients were of polished metal (cf. above, p. 89). *Mišêlu* (for *mišálu*) may have the same meaning.⁵ A synonym of *mušálu* is *nâmaru* (= *ma'maru*, from *amâru*, to see) which appears in Syriac as *nâwêrâ*, *nâwîrâ*. A mirror reflects the likeness of a person; therefore the denominative verb *mašálu*, to mirror, means to be like or equal. Assy. *mišlâni* denotes two equal parts or halves. Heb. *mašál* means

³ Cf. Arab. *tâjir*, merchant = *taggâr* = Assy. *tamgar* = *tamkaru*. For *g* = *k* under the influence of an adjacent liquid (KAT³ 38, n. 3) cf. Ethiop. *hâgüčla*, to perish = *hâkula*, Arab. *hâlaka* = Heb. *halák*, to go. *Tamkaru* means originally trade, commerce; cf. GK §122, r. For *taggâr* in OT see *Kings*, SBOT, 117, 28.

⁴ This stem appears in Hebrew, with partial assimilation of the *z* to the *p* as *saláf*, and in Arabic, with transposition, as *fâsula* (cf. AJSL 32, 64).

⁵ Cf. BA 2, 421, 15; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 422, l. 51; KB 6, 1, p. 96, l. 15; contrast Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (Tübingen, 1909) 1, 37, 51.

a *line of poetry* consisting of two halves or hemistichs. The objections raised by Kittel (RE³ 18, 687, 42) and Eissfeldt (cf. GB¹⁶ 470^b) are not valid (see AJSL 20, 150, n.*). *Mirror* may mean *pattern, example*; Syr. *maḥzîṭâ* denotes both *example* and *mirror*; Arab. *mâtala* signifies *to inflict exemplary punishment*; cf. Matt. 1:19: not willing to make her a public example, *μη θέλων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι* = *παραδειγματίσαι* (Delitzsch's Heb. NT: *uē-lô abâ lē-tittâh lē-herpâ*).

The phrase *Uassurme Tabalâ'a epšêṭ mâṭ Aššûr umaššil* (HW 431^b, below) means *Uassurme of Tabal was indifferent to the actions of Assyria*; KB 2, 21, 64 rendered correctly: *Uassurme von Tabal ward gleichgiltig gegen die Handlungen Assyriens*.⁶ Moses Schulbaum's *Deutsch-Hebräisches Wörterbuch* (Lemberg, 1881) gives *hištaṭṭuē lē-ḏabâr* for *gleichgiltig sein gegen etwas*. In Arabic you say *sayâ'un 'indî* or *sîyan 'alânnâ* for *it is the same to me*, French *cela m'est égal*, Ital. *m'è indifferente*, *m'è tutt' uno* (it is all one to me).

For Assy. *ina mûši mašli*, at midnight (Heb. *ba-ḥăṣî hal-lâilâ*) cf. Arab. *mâlta*, at the beginning of the night, and for Ethiopic *mésla*, with, we may compare the Hebrew prepositions *'im* and *et* which mean not only *with*, but also *like*; the clause *qanîṭî 'iš et-İahyê* (Gen. 4:1) signifies *I have produced a man as well as Jahveh* (CoE 507).

Ethiop. *mésla*, with, Heb. *mašâl*, verse, and *môšêl*, ruler, as well as Assy. *mušâlu*, mirror, and *tamšîlu*, likeness, are all derived from the same stem *mašâl*, to shine; cf. my remarks in JSOR 1, 9.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

DOLLY AND BUCK-TUB IN EZEKIEL

In Ezek. 20:37.38 JHVH says to the Jews in Babylonia: I shall cause you to pass under the dolly, and I shall put you into the buck-tub: I shall purge out from among you those who rebel and transgress against me; I shall bring them forth out of the country where they sojourn, but they shall not come to

⁶ Cf. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pileasers III* (Leipzig, 1893) p. 73, l. 14; p. 115, below.

the land of Israel. Heb. *bô-'el* means *to come to*, whereas *to enter* is *bô-bē* (see *Kings*, SBOT, 161, 43).¹ The dolly (cf. EB¹¹ 16, 282^a: *stirred and beaten with a dolly in the wash-tub*) or beater (Heb. *šābṭ*; cf. Assy. *šabātu*, to beat, ZDMG 64, 708, 10) is the bat (or paddle) of a fuller, i. e. a wooden club (German *Bleuel*) with which the clothes are beaten or stirred in the process of washing. Also in some of our modern washing-machines (German *Hammerwaschmaschinen*)² beaters are used for this purpose. An English dolly looks like a cross-handled rod rising from the center of a round four-legged footstool; see the cut in Webster's *New International Dictionary*. James, the brother of Jesus, is said to have been killed by a fuller with his bat (DB 2, 542^b). For the beating of the clothes soaked in lye cf. RE³ 7, 399, 35. DB 2, 72^b says: *Fulling seems to have consisted in washing the material with some preparation of lye, beating or rubbing it, and exposing it to the rays of the sun*. The lye in which clothes are soaked is called *buck*. This term was used also for the clothes washed in lye or suds. In Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Part 2, Act 4, Scene 2, l. 49 Smith the Weaver says: *She washes bucks here at her home*. CD also quotes a line from Philip Massinger and Thomas Dekker's miracle play *The Virgin Martyr* (1621): *If I were to beat a buck, I can strike no harder*. The verb *to buck* (German *beuchen* or *bauchen*) means *to wash in lye* or suds, clean by washing and beating with a bat.

For *bē-māsôrt hab-bērît* (which is supposed to mean *into the bond of the covenant*; Reuss: *Bundespflcht*) we must read *bē-masrêṭ hab-bôrît*, in the vat of lye. Heb. *bôrît* (Jer. 2:22; Mal. 3:2) denotes *vegetable alkali*,³ i. e. potash obtained by leaching wood-ashes. 𐤁 has *masrêṭâ* for 𐤁 *mahbât* in Lev. 2:5, 6:14; Ezek. 4:3; it denotes a *griddle* or *shallow pan*, not a *crucible* or *melting-pot*. Hitzig, *Die prophetischen Bücher des AT* (Leipzig, 1854) p. 236 translated: *in den Tiegel der Läuterung* (cf. *Ezekiel*, SBOT, 73, 2). The prophet does not refer to metals purified and refined in a crucible or furnace, but

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75, n. 1.

² See plate ii between pp. 394 and 395 in vol. 20 of Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon*, sixth edition (Leipzig, 1908).

³ Mineral alkali (or soda) is called in Hebrew *nāṭr* = $\nu\lambda\tau\rho\nu$, $\lambda\iota\tau\rho\nu$. We use *niter* for *saltpeter*.

to clothes washed and bleached (*cf.* Mal. 3:2) in a keir (EB¹¹ 4, 53) or keeve (EB¹¹ 20, 240^b, below). The Jews are to be purified by trials just as clothes are cleansed in a lye-vat (German *Beuchkessel*). In German you can say *Jemand durch Trübsal auslaugen*. The pronunciation *misrât* instead of *masrêṭ* is incorrect. Nor is it necessary to spell this word with *ś* (Graetz, *Emendationes*, 1893, *ad loc.*): in 2 S 13:9 we must read *uat-tigrâ et-ha-mšârêṭ*, she called the attendant (so Klostermann, Kittel, Budde, Schlögl) instead of *uat-tiqqâh et-ham-masrêṭ*, she took the pan (Ⲭ καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸν τῆγανον, Ⲛ nēsebât iât masrêṭâ). Ⲛ *masrêṭa*, from a stem *tertiæ* *i*, might be connected with Heb. *sîr*, pot, *mediae* *i* (*cf.* *sîr-rahç*, wash-basin) but it may be an Assyrian loanword (with *s* for Assy. *š*; see ZDMG 63, 516, 36; 64, 707, 7) derived from the stem which appears in Syriae as *tērî*, to be soaked;⁴ *cf.* Heb. *mišrât* 'ānabîm,⁵ raisin-wine (Num. 6:3) = Syr. *tiriânâ*, juice from steeped raisins. Arab. *ṭariṭ* means *wet* and *abundant* (*cf.* ZDMG 65, 563, 21). Assy. *mešrû* (= *mašriṭu*) abundance, wealth corresponds to Arab. *ṭarūah* (*cf.* *Numbers*, SBOT, 45, 5). Ethiop. *šêráia*, to dye (lit. to *immerse*) should be spelled with *s* (*cf.* ZDMG 63, 520, 1).

AV *I will purge out* for ⲙ u-ḥârôṭî at the beginning of v. 38 is more accurate than the renderings of the Ancient Versions (Ⲭ ἐλέγχω, Ⲛ eligam, Ⲛ igbê, Ⲛ afréš) and the modern commentators (Toy, *I will sever from you*). It means *I shall wash out*, I shall remove by the cleansing action of the detergent liquor and the dolly. We need not read the Hif'il *hāḥerôṭî* (contrast Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, 1, 92). The *šāḥṭ* is certainly not a shepherd's crook; J. C. Döderlein *apud Grotium* (Halle, 1776) referred to Jer. 33:13 and explained the phrase to mean *et decimabo vos*. J. D. Michaelis (1781) rendered *Zehntstab*, i. e. *tithe-rod* (*cf.* Lev. 27:32): he thought the passage meant, About one tenth of you will return to Palestine. Ⲭ ἐν ἀριθμῷ = *bam-mispār* instead of *bē-masrêṭ* is nothing but a guess based

⁴ In Jastrow's dictionary *masrêṭ* is combined with *nasâr*, to saw. Fürst preferred the reading *masrêṭ* in Ezek. 20:37, but derived it from a stem *sarâṭ*.

⁵ Heb. *mišrâ* is the feminine form of *mišrē* = *mišrâi*; see ZDMG 61, 194, n. 2; *cf.* *ma'nâ*, *miqnâ*, *Miqpâ*, *mišrâ*, *miqnâ*, *mar'â*, *mirmâ*, *Mišnâ*.

on 2 S 2: 15; *hab-bôrîṭ* was omitted in **G** owing to the following *u-bârôṭî*. Valeton's vindication of the traditional reading *bě-mâsôrṭ hab-běrîṭ* (ZAT 13, 256; see also Krætzschmar *ad loc.*) is untenable.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

MĒSUKKÂN, ACACIA NILOTICA

In my paper on Magan and Melukha (OLZ 10, 489)¹ I pointed out that *mēsukkân*, Is. 40:20 denoted the *Acacia nilotica*; it is the Assy. *musukkânû* (ZA 9, 111) = Sumer. *mêš-* or *muš-Magana*, the tree of Egypt. *Mêš* is the older form (OLZ 17, 454) of *gêš*, tree, wood (SGL 97). The adjective Maganian is in Assyrian *Makkanû* with *k* = Sumer. *g* (cf. Delitzseh, *Assyr. Studien*, 1874, p. 159). I suggested this etymology of *musukkânû* more than thirty-five years ago (see Delitzseh, *Paradies*, p. 130, below; cf. Lyon, *Sargon*, 16, 61; MVAG 18, 2, p. 38).

Têrûmâ after *mēsukkân* in Is. 40:20 is not a corruption of *tamâr*, palm (as I assumed in my translation of Is. 40 in Drugulin's *Marksteine*; cf. JHUC, No. 163, p. 57) but a transposition of *tîmôrâ*, post, pillar (AJSL 22, 256). The text of the prosaic gloss following the line *uḫ-el-mî tēḏammēiun ēl, u-mad-dēmûṭ ta'rēkû-lo*, To whom will ye liken Him, what likeness compare to Him? is very much disjointed: the two clauses *uḫ-ḫôrēf baz-zahâb iḫraqqē'ennû u-bē-rētûqôṭ kâsf irḫôf* (not *ḫôrēf*!) should stand, not after the first *hârâš*, but after *hârâš haḫâm*; they refer, not to the gilding of a cast image, but to the overlaying of a wooden core with plates of gold. These golden statues were built up upon a wooden frame braced (Heb. *raḫûf*) by rods of metals. Phidias' chryselephantine statue of Pallas Athene was constructed in this way.

The *ha-* prefixed to *pâsl* (cf. JBL 35, 191) and *mēsukkân* is not the article, but the interrogative *hâ-* (**G** *μή*, **J** *numquid?*). *Hap-pâsl nasâk hârâš* would mean *The image cast a craftsman*, but the meaning is: (What likeness can you compare to Him?)

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75.

An image which a craftsman cast? or an acacia (block) which an experienced craftsman selected, and which a goldsmith overlaid with plates of gold, and which he joined with silver braces to sustain it so that it does not fall? The *çôrêf* after *rêtûqôt* *käsf* is a corruption of *irçôf*; it is not necessary to say *irçêféhu* or *îraççêfennû* (cf. AJSL 24, 123, l. 4). The stem *raçâpu*, to join, is common in Assyrian (HW 627^a). In Ethiopic it appears as *çarâba*; a *çarrâbî* is a joiner or carpenter, &c. In the late (post-Septuagintal) gloss 1 K 6:21 *uax̣abbêr bē-rattîqôt* means *he made a (transverse) barrier with cancelli*; cf. Talmud. *rîṭqâ*, rail, fence. Arab. *râtaqa* means *to join, cement, mend, and ieratêq*, Eccl. 12:6 (= Assy. *ittariq*) has the privative meaning *it is disjoined, sundered* (contrast AJSL 32, 65).

The relative clause *îḥbaqqêš-lô* after *ḥârâš ḥakām* must be inserted after the tertiary gloss *tîmôrâ*, post. 'Eḡ *lô irqâḥ*, wood which does not rot (ἄσῃλον ἄσῃπτον) is an additional explanatory gloss to *mēsukkân*. According to Jerome, *amsuchan* is a *genus ligni imputribile* (see *Isaiah*, SBOT, 129, 26). ḡ has ἄσῃλα ἄσῃπτα for 'āḡê *šittîm*, acacia wood. The *šittâ* tree (Arab. *sunṭ*) is not the *Acacia nilotica* (Herod. 2, 96: ἄκανθα; Plin. 24: 107. 109: *spina*) but the *Acacia seyal* (cf. Bædeker's *Palästina*⁷, p. 158). This wood is exceedingly hard and is not attacked by insects (DB 4, 507^a).

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

18 ואל-מי תדמיין אל ומה-דמות תערכו-לו^a

19, 20 הפסל נסך חרש {} תבססן ββ יבחר חרש חכם [] ויצרף בזהב ירקעני
וברתקות כסף יצרף { להכין הפסל ולא יפוט:

ββ 20 תמורה [יבקש-לו] עץ לא ירקב

The traditional rendering *he that is so impoverished that he hath no oblation* is as preposterous as the translation of Prov. 23:34 discussed above, p. 79. Duhm's emendations *ha-mēsak-kôn tēmūnâ*, he who carves an image, or *ha-mēḵônén tēmūnâ*, he who sets up an image, do not help matters.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

THE ROSE OF SHARON

The rose of Sharon (Cant. 2:11) is the autumn-flowering pale-lilac *meadow-saffron*, i. e. *Colchicum autumnale* (BL 117, l. 7) in the park-like tract (about 8-12 miles wide and 44 miles long) of the Palestinian Maritime Plain extending along the Mediterranean from Joppa to Mt. Carmel. DB 4, 477^b says of Sharon: Throughout its whole extent it is gay with myriads of brightly colored flowers (*cf.* BL 115). Sharon is not a proper name, but a common noun; it is therefore used with the article (GK § 125, d). Nor is it connected with *mîšôr*, plain; it is not level, but undulating; there are groups of hills 250-300 feet high. *Sharôn* is a form like *raçôn* from *raçâ*, *tertiæ u*; the stem is *šarâ* (=Arab. *šarâ-šarî*) from which *mîšrâ*, juice, is derived (see above, p. 144).¹ Similarly we have *ḥazôn*, vision; *ga'ôn*, highness; *ʾagôn*, grief; *ʾayôn*, sin, from *ḥazâ*, *ga'â*, *ʾagâ*, *ʾayâ*; but *zaḍôn*, insolence; *hamôn*, roar; *ša'ôn*, crash; *lašôn*, tongue, must be derived from stems *mediæ u* or *i* (see *Mic.* 76). The meaning of *šarôn* is *luxuriance* (Assyr. *mešrû*). Sharon was famous for its luxuriant vegetation (Is. 35:2). We might render it The Park (*cf.* the name *Carmel* derived from *kârm*, garden, especially *vineyard*). EB 4431 states: There is a long extent of park-like scenery in the neighborhood of Mukhâlid in the very North. Formerly there were large oak-groves; therefore G renders in Is. 33:9, 35:2, 65:10: ὁ δρυμός.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

HEB. *ĂMŠ*, YESTERDAY = ASSYR. *INA MŪŠI*, AT NIGHT

In my paper on Heb. *mašâl* (above, p. 140 ff.) I have combined Assyr. *ina mûši mašli*, at midnight, with Arab. *mâlta*, in the beginning of the night. This semantic difference is not exceptional: Assyr. *lîlâti* (= Heb. *lêlôt*) means *evening*, and *mûšu* (for *muššu*, *mušju*) denotes *night*, while in Arabic and the other Semitic languages *lâilah* (Ethiop. *lêlît*) is used for *night*,

¹ According to König's *Wörterbuch* (1910) *mîšrâ* denotes *marmalade*.

and *masâ'* (Ethiop. *mēsēt*; cf. Assy. *mûšitu*)¹ for *evening*. Heb. *āmš*, yesterday, is originally in the evening = Assy. *ina mûši*, at night, i. e. last night; the day was reckoned from sunset to sunset (*inter duos occasus*, Plin. 2, 188). In Assyrian the adverb *mûša-ma*, at night, is used for *yesterday*. Shakespeare (*Merchant*, ii, 5, 21: *For I did dream of money-bags to-night*) uses *to-night* for *last night*; similarly Schiller (*Wallensteins Tod* 2619: *Ein starkes Schiessen war ja diesen Abend*) uses *diesen Abend* for *yesterday evening* (cf. the edition of the Bibliographische Institut, vol. 4, p. 358) just as Heb. *hal-lailâ*, this night, may mean *last night* (1 S 15: 16).

The initial *ä* in Heb. *āmš* and *ātmôl* is a remnant of the preposition *ina* which is common in Assyrian. I have shown in JSOR 1, 42² that Ethiop. *énta*, in the direction of, in the manner of, is a feminine form of the preposition *ina*, just as we have in Hebrew: *bēli* and *biltî*. The masculine form appears in Ethiop. *en-bála*, *en-zá*, and *en-ká*. The final *i* in Arab. *ámsi*, yesterday, is the ending of the genitive depending on the prefixed preposition *ina* (contrast WdG 1, 290, A; ZA 11, 352). Assy. *amšât*, yesterday (HW 92^b) is shortened from *ina mašâti*, the plural of a form like *amātu*, word, or Heb. *mēnât*, part, and *qēšât*, end. The *ina* prefixed to *amšât* is pleonastic; cf. Arab. *bi-'l-ámsi* and Heb. *bi-hēli* (AJSL 22, 259). For the significant difference in Assy. *ina mûši mašli* and Arab. *málta* we may also compare Assy. *šarru*, king, and *malku*, prince = Heb. *šar*, prince, and *mülk*, king, originally *counselor* (JBL 34, 54).

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

THE SEPTUAGINTAL ADDITION TO HAGGAI 2: 14

After Hag. 2: 14 **¶**¹ has the addition ἐνεκεν τῶν λημμάτων αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθινῶν, ὀδυνηθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου πόνων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμισεῖτε ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντας, i. e. according to Jerome: *propter munera eorum matulina dolebunt a facie laborum suorum et oderatis in*

¹ Dr. Ember has called my attention to the Egypt. *mšjt*, evening meal.

² For the abbreviations see above, p. 75.

³ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75, n. 1.

portis arguentem; cf. Reinke's *Haggai* (Münster, 1868) pp. 24. 98. Wellhausen thinks that the last clause is derived from Am. 5:10, and that **6** read in the first clause: *ia'n liqhôtám šah̄r* instead of *ia'n lēqahtém šoh̄d*, because ye have taken a bribe; the second clause, he thinks, may be a gloss on v. 14. whereas the first and third clauses have no connection with the text. Nowack and Marti follow² Wellhausen, even in reading *ἐγέχοντα* instead of *ἐλέγχοντας* and *liqhôtám* (plur. of *lāqh̄*?) as well as in translating: *sie quälen sich ab mit ihren profanen Arbeiten*. The suggestion that the last clause, *καὶ ἐμίσετε ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντας*, was derived from Am. 5:10 was made long ago by Drusius (Johannes van der Driesche, 1550-1616). But Am. 5:10, *ἐμίσησαν ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντα* = Heb. *šanē'û baš-ša'r mōk̄ih*, they hate (GK § 106, g) him who argues (a cause) at the gate, i. e. who pleads with a court in favor of a (poor) defendant, is a tertiary gloss to the last line of the pentastich Am. 5:11. 12, and this stanza is a secondary addition to Am. 8:4 (see JBL 35, 156; cf. also 287). The last clause of the addition to Hag. 2:14 in **6** is not derived from the tertiary gloss in Am. 5:10; both glosses are illustrative quotations (BL 26).

The Hebrew original of the first and third clauses of the addition to Hag. 2:14 in **6** was, it may be supposed, *ia'n miq-qahám šoh̄d* (cf. 2 Chr. 19:7) and *uē-sin'atám baš-ša'r mōk̄ih*. The plural *πύλαις* is due to dittography of the initial *m* in *mōk̄ih*, and *πύλαις* is responsible for *ἐλέγχοντας* instead of *ἐλέγχοντα*. **6** also read *uē-šēnētém* for *uē-sin'a-tám* (GK § 115, d). The Hebrew text of the second clause may have been *uai-iamérû mip-pēnē 'āmalám*, and they were in bitterness because of their labor. **6** read *uē-iamérû*. We find *ὀδυνθήσονται* for *hamér* in Zech. 12:10; the emendation *hamû* (ZDMG 66, 401) is gratuitous. We might also read *uai-iūgû* for *uai-iamérû*; **6** has *ὀδύνη* for *iaḡôn* in Gen. 44:31; Pss. 13:3, 107:39. According to Geo. A. Smith the Hebrew text of the third clause was *iṭ'annû mip-pēnē 'aḥbêhém*.

This gloss belongs, not to v. 14, but to v. 16, and the two clauses *because of their acceptance of bribes* and *their hatred of pleaders at the gates* must be assigned to the final triplet of

² Wellhausen would say *sie patschen hinterdrein*; see Nowack², p. 160.

this poem in Zech. 8:16. 17 (JBL 32, 107; 33, 161). Hag. 2:3-9 and Zech. 8:9-17 may have been written in two parallel columns, and this gloss was inserted between them; afterwards it crept into the wrong column, just as the protest against Gen. 3:16^b appears now in Gen. 4:7 where we must read *eláik* and *att timšēli* (CoE 508).

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

A PATRISTIC PARALLEL TO 1 COR. 7:18, 21

Attention has already been called to the parallel afforded in Tebtunis Papyri II, no. 421, to the syntax of 1 Cor. 7:18, 27. (American Journal of Theology, XII, pp. 249, 250). The papyrus is a letter about some clothes among other things: in particular a certain turquoise tunic; "You wish to sell it, sell it; you wish to let your daughter have it, let her." This is like Paul's "Thou art bound to a wife; seek not to be loosed; thou art loosed from a wife; seek not a wife." Similar alternative assertions doing the work of conditions occur in ver. 18 and James 5:13, 14.

A similar construction appears in Tatian's Address to the Greeks, 4:1. *προστάττει φόρους τελῆν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἕτοιμος παρέχειν, δουλεῖν ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν, τὴν δουλείαν γινώσκω*. "The emperor bids us pay taxes; I am ready to comply. My master bids me be a slave and serve him; I acknowledge my servitude." Tatian is perhaps influenced by Paul's construction in 1 Cor. 7:21: "Thou wast called while a slave; do not care about it." The translator of Tatian in the Ante-Nicene Library, vol. 22, very interestingly falls into something approaching this form of expression in translating two genuine conditional clauses in the Address to the Greeks, 11:1: "Am I a slave, I endure servitude; Am I free, I do not make a vaunt of my good birth" (p. 69). But this too may be due to a reminiscence of Paul's syntax in 1 Cor. 7:21. At any rate Tatian in 4:1 supplies a new instance of Paul's construction, in which a pair of crisp alternative affirmatives do the work of conditional clauses.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

University of Chicago.

THE ANGELS OF GOD AT MAHANAIM

SARTELL PRENTICE

NYACK, N. Y.

Prefatory Note

(1) For the purposes of this article it does not matter whether we take "Jacob" as the name of an individual, or as an eponym; whether we see in these passages a reference to the journey of a man or the migration of a tribe. The suggested interpretation of Genesis 32: 1-2 applies in the one case as in the other.

(2) The passages on which this interpretation rests all belong to the E narrative. According to Kautzsch in his Bible, Gen. 32: 1-2 belong to E; 13-21 to JE; 33: 18^b-20 to E. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby assign Gen. 32: 1-2 to E; 7-13^a to JE; 23^a, 22^b, 23^c and 30 to E, and 33: 18^a-20 to E. Holzinger gives 32: 1-2, 13^b-21, 23 and 29-31^a to E. W. E. Addis assigns 32: 1-2, 13^b-21; 33: 5^b, 11^a, 18^b-20 to E. J. Skinner allots 32: 1-2, 13^b-21 to E; verses 22-32 to JE. 33: 1-17 he gives mainly to J, but he sees E's hand in certain verses, and adds, "For all that appears E's influence may extend still further." 33: 18-20, with the exception of 18^a β , is also assigned to E.

There is thus enough preserved from the E narrative to show that Jacob came to Mahanaim, on the borders of Northern Gilead, thence he crossed the Jabbok and met Esau. I have rested this suggested interpretation of Genesis 32: 1-2 on the E narrative alone.

The first two verses of the 32d chapter of Genesis read as follows: "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim."

The various explanations of these verses fall into three classes. (1) We are told that the angels met Jacob "to remind him of the divine protection and to welcome him on his return to the land of Promise" (Driver, *Book of Genesis*). Or they came "as an escort, and he names the place after the angelic host

added to his own" (Delitzsch, *New Com. on Genesis*, English Translation, 1889). Or the meeting is to "remind him of the divine protection that has followed him hitherto, and assures him of its continuance in the face of further dangers" (Dillmann, *Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded*, 1897). Ryle, in the Cambridge Bible Series, takes the same view, but adds "in Chapter 28 it was a dream, here the angels meet him." Strack, *Genesis*, 2d ed., 1905, takes the same position as Ryle. But Gunkel (*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, I, 1911) says: "The usual opinion that this angelic revelation assures Jacob of the protective nearness of God is not expressed in the text, although it may have been the opinion of E."

(2) The second explanation is quoted by Gunkel, in the work already cited, from Eduard Meyer's *Die Israeliten*: "The section is not a fragment of a once complete legend woven around a sanctuary, but from the beginning it was nothing but a brief legend (*Notizen*) to give the etymology of Mahanaim. For the correctness of this interpretation the analogies of Gen. 33: 17; Exodus 15: 23 speak." And again Gunkel says: "The section, in its peculiar abruptness, is the model of a legend (*Notizen*), as the story went around from mouth to mouth, for the explanation of a place-name."

(3) The third explanation is given in the work of Gunkel already quoted, *Genesis*, in Nowack's *Handkommentar*: "Angels step on the scene without either saying or doing anything. In the first and second editions of this Commentary we have voiced the repeated surmises of others, that this section is a fragment, the real point of the original narrative—a battle of Jacob with 'wild hosts of angels'—having been left out by later writers because it was offensive to them." Skinner in the *International Critical Commentary* takes the same view. "The brief statement of the text seems to be the torso of a legend which had gathered around the name Mahanaim, whose original meaning has been lost. The curtailment probably indicates that the sequel was objectionable to the religious feeling of later times; and it has been surmised that the complete story told of a conflict between Jacob and the angels, somewhat similar to the wrestling of verses 24 ff."

The purpose of this paper is to suggest another interpretation. It is important for us to remember that the migration repre-

sented by Jacob is not an invasion of armed men. The preparations to avert the wrath of Esau, as well as the evident terror at the thought of a meeting with his kinsman, offer sufficient evidence of the unarmed and peaceful character of the migration. In none of the narratives is Jacob presented to us as a man of war. Nothing that he has ever gained has come to him by fighting. He has trusted to his shrewdness and his cunning in all his dealings with men.

But although he is defenceless, yet he has much to defend, for he is travelling with flocks and herds, with the accumulated wealth of his years of service in Paddan-Aram. So he comes to Mahanaim. We do not know exactly where Mahanaim lay. It is mentioned but thrice before the establishment of the kingdom, once in this passage under review and twice in Joshua, where it figures merely as a boundary mark or as the possession of a tribe. But after the period of the Judges Mahanaim began to play a larger part. Here Abner brought Ishbosheth and the failing fortunes of the House of Saul, and here David came, fleeing from Absalom. From such references as we have, it is clear that Mahanaim lay north of the Jabbok and not far from the fords of the Jordan at Bethshean. These were, perhaps, the best known and the most travelled of all the fords of the Jordan. All through the Bible we hear warriors, couriers, traders and travellers splashing through these fords. The raiders of Midian, the victors of Moreh, the men of Jabesh Gilead, the chariot of Jehu, armies of defence and armies of invasion come and go.

From Mahanaim there are two roads by which Jacob may enter Palestine. One road turns westward, descends to the Jordan, crosses the fords at Bethshean, and ascends the easy slope of the Valley of Jezreel to the Plain of Esdraelon, where it joins the great highroad, running down to Shechem, Bethel, Jerusalem, Hebron and Beersheba. This is the easy road, the safe road, and the natural one for Jacob to follow. It will bring him at once into a land of walled towns and fenced cities, where his ancestors lived in alliance and friendship with kings and peoples. The other road runs away to the south, crosses the Jabbok, where it leaves Northern Gilead and enters Southern Gilead, then it leads on to the borders of Moab, where it turns westward, plunges down the steep descent of nearly 5,000 feet to the fords at Jericho, climbs through the Wilderness of Judea and so

comes to Jerusalem. From the Jabbok on this road is difficult and dangerous. Northern Gilead is mountainous and well forested, the inhabitants could fortify inaccessible hills and either hide from invaders or lie in ambush. The great oaks of the extensive forests almost swept the ground with their branches, so that the Arabs could not use their camels but must advance on foot. The result is "that invaders from the desert, who have been the chief cause of the unsettled character of these regions, have always hesitated to enter Gilead; they are not so safe among its hills as in the open country to the East and South" (Smith, *Geography of Palestine*, p. 535, and Huntington, *Transformation of Palestine*, pp. 231 and 233). So long as the traveller stays north of the Jabbok, the country affords him some measure of protection, but once past that stream he enters upon those level plains which, lying broadside on to the desert, have always been exposed to Bedouin raids. Here weakness finds no place of refuge. But to Jacob the peril is doubly acute, for he cannot travel that Southern route without coming face to face with Esau, whom he defrauded of the birthright. The desert remembers long, and news travels swiftly over the tents of Ishmael. In fact, according to J, Esau is already on the march to meet Jacob and he comes with four hundred fighting men.

This narrative raises one important question, a question which seems to have escaped the notice of all commentators. Why is Jacob attempting this Southern route at all? When there are two roads running out from Mahanaim, why does he reject the easy, safe and natural path, and choose the one which is full of danger? It cannot be that E is ignorant of the nature of this second route. The Wilderness of Judea, the deep trench of the Jordan Valley and the expanse of the Dead Sea effectually separated Judea from Moab and might excuse much Judean ignorance of the latter country, but there was no such barrier between Israel and Gilead. The plateau in Israel drops gently down to the Jordan, there is no wilderness, the bed of the valley is much higher and there are some forty or fifty fords by which the river may be crossed between the debouch of the Sea of Galilee and the entering in of the Jabbok. The contact and intercourse between Israel and the East-Jordan country was always more intimate and constant than that between Judea

and Moab. It is, therefore, not possible that E was ignorant of the road over which his narrative makes Jacob take his journey. Why, then, does E represent Jacob as travelling that difficult and dangerous road when there was another, far more inviting, which he might have chosen at Mahanaim?

I would suggest an answer from the first two verses of the 32d chapter of Genesis. "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him, and Jacob said, This is God's host, and he called the name of that place Mahanaim."

The significance of the verses lies in that word "met."

The usual meaning of the Hebrew verb "paga" is "to oppose." Skinner (*ad loc.*) gives in a footnote a number of passages where it is so used. It is found in this sense in Joshua 2: 16, where Rahab bids the spies: "Get you to the mountains, lest the pursuers meet you, and hide yourselves there three days, until the pursuers be returned." It appears again in Numbers 35: 21: "The avenger of blood shall slay the murderer, when he meeteth him." In Amos 5: 19 the prophet warns Israel: "The day of the Lord is darkness and not light; as if a man did flee from a lion and a bear met him." The same verb is translated "to run upon" in Judges 18: 25: "Let not thy voice be heard among us, lest angry fellows run upon thee and thou lose thy life."

It is translated "to fall upon" in I Sam. 22: 17: "But the servants of the king would not put forth their hand to fall upon the priests of the Lord." There is a kindred verb, "pagash" with similar meanings, which appears in Exodus 4: 24: "The Lord met Moses and sought to kill him," and again in Hosea 13: 8: "I will meet them as a bear that is bereaved of her whelps." Such illustrations might be multiplied. True, this is not always the meaning of the verb; it is used of a meeting of boundary lines in Joshua 17: 10, and in Exodus 23: 4: "If thou meet thine enemy's ox going astray thou shalt surely bring him back"; it carries no echo of hostility; while as for the verb "pagash," "Mercy and truth are met together" (Ps. 85: 10) has a sufficiently peaceful sound. None the less, the idea of a meeting with violence is primary and "to oppose" is a common meaning of the verb. Suppose we so translate it here and read: "The angels of God opposed Jacob in his way, and Jacob said, This is God's host."

This gives us an entirely different understanding of these verses. Something happened at Mahanaim that barred the easy road to Jacob; something happened that turned his face towards the long and dangerous road to the South. We cannot tell what that something was. It may have been some adverse casting of the lots, or the ominous shadow of a dream. Some of the German commentators suggest a resemblance between these angels and the Valkyries, or storm spirits of Teutonic mythology, like the Wild Huntsmen, who ride on the tempest and speak through the mutterings of the storm. This suggestion gathers something of weight when we remember the constant association of Jahveh with clouds, lightnings and thick darknesses. In the oldest poetry of the Bible, the Song of Deborah, He sweeps over the land in a thunderstorm; Budde says: "He appears in the storm at Sinai, He rides on the storm to the Deborah battle; He reveals Himself in the storm to Elijah on Horeb; the rainbow in the clouds is Jahveh's bow, with which He has shot His arrows—the lightning flashes—and which He now mercifully lays aside" (*Religion of Israel to the Exile*, p. 28). If we tentatively accept this suggestion, then the opposition of the angels may have been seen in storm clouds rolling down from the mountains of Israel, filling the Valley of the Jordan with their lightnings, and seemingly marching against Jacob. We cannot tell what that something was, but whatever it was, Jacob saw in it the hand of God, "This is God's host."

After this experience at Mahanaim we are told that Jacob crossed the Jabbok and met his brother Esau. From this meeting he goes to Shechem. There are only three roads by which this journey could be made. One was the long and dangerous route to the borders of Moab, thence westward, crossing the Jordan at Jericho, climbing through the Wilderness of Judea to Jerusalem and then travelling North to Shechem. This road describes three sides of a parallelogram. There is no reason to assume for Jacob a journey of such unreasonable length, or of such unnecessary hardships and dangers.

The second road crossed the Jordan by fords at the mouth of the Jabbok. But according to Huntington (*Trans. of Pal.*, p. 315 ff.), five hundred years before Christ the Dead Sea was 70 feet higher than it is today, showing that there was more moisture in the land. The river would also be correspondingly

higher than it is at the present time. Col. Warren (Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* "The Jordan") says that the crossing at this point was by a bridge, and the extant remains show that this bridge was of Roman workmanship. It is a question whether these conditions did not obtain in the days of Jacob, and whether the river was fordable here at that time.

The third route, which seems more probable to me, would lead him to retrace his steps over the Jabbok and cross the Jordan at the fords of Bethshean. But the last two roads do not differ in much and are practically parallel to one another. In either case it would appear that Jacob had crossed the Jabbok only for the purpose of meeting Esau, and—that purpose fulfilled—the road which "the angels of God" had barred to him at Mahanaim was once more opened for his feet.

THE MESSIANIC IDEAL OF ISAIAH

LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

INTRODUCTION

In the first thirty-nine chapters of the book of Isaiah four passages are especially important in determining the course of the development of the Messianic ideal of Israel, namely 1:24-27; 9:1-6; 10:33-11:10 (or as usually cited 11:1-9), and 32:1-6(?). These four passages agree in describing a political kingdom with a definite government distinct from the rule of Jahveh Himself.

The fact that the book of Isaiah, as it now stands, was compiled some time after the exile from smaller collections of unrelated fragments, many of which first circulated independently, and gradually came to be associated with Isaiah, is now too generally accepted by biblical scholars to need discussion here. Obviously, then, the presence of a particular passage in the compilation proves nothing concerning the identity of its author. It is in the book simply because a compiler considered it worthy of preservation. A large number of passages are clearly post-exilic in form and content (e. g. the oracle against Babylon, ch. 13); also many of the sections which as clearly belong to the eighth century contain explanations and additions of a much later date. The proportion of early and of late material in the several independent collections differs considerably. In chs. 2-12, for instance, the relative amount of Isaianic material is larger than in any other part of the book. In chs. 28-32, on the other hand, the few passages which may have been utterances of Isaiah are almost hidden by the accumulations of later matter. Nevertheless, for the dating of any particular passage within the various collections we must depend on internal evidence alone.

Among the passages of which the theme is the future prosperity of Israel, by far the larger number are unhesitatingly assigned by modern scholars to a period during or after the exile—in many of them, indeed, the exile is presupposed as the historical background. The most important of such predictions are chs. 11:11-12:6; 24-27; 35. These passages are distinctly

eschatological in character. Jahveh will shake the earth 24:18, 19, punish Leviathan 27:1, divide the river 11:15b, dry up the sea 11:15a, cause streams to rise in the wilderness 35:6b, etc.; the return of Israel from exile and the establishment of the world supremacy of Zion are to be effected by the direct action of the miraculous power of Jahveh 11:11-12; 11:15-16; 12:1-6; 25:9, 10; 26:5, 12, 13, 21; 27:1; 35:4; all the world will then acknowledge His power 24:14-15; 25:3, 7; 26:16; and Jahveh Himself will reign in Jerusalem 12:6; 24:23; 25:6, 10; 26:13—ideas which are all characteristic of Jewish thought in the centuries after the exile. Of a similar type are a number of shorter passages (2:2-4; 4:2-6; 17:12-14; 28:5, 6; 29:17-24; 30:18-30; 32:15-20; 33:13-24) which probably belong to the same period.

In direct contrast to such passages are the four already mentioned, in which the restored glory of Jerusalem is pictured as directly the work of the human ruler of the nation, although the ruler is of course the sign of Jahveh's favor to His chosen people. 16:1-5 is not to be included with them since, although v. 5 promises one sitting on a throne "in the tent of David," the character of the section is quite different. The reference to the ruler is here merely incidental in a prophecy which is chiefly concerned with the fate of Moab; while in the other passages the ruler is the chief figure. 16:1-5 is an insertion in the oracle against Moab 15:1-16:12, which 16:13-14 expressly states to be a quotation. The whole passage is probably late—should perhaps be dated in the same period as the book of Ruth¹—and verse 5 is best understood as an allusion to an idea which had long been a part of Jewish expectation. 4:2 ff.; 7:10-25, and 8:5-8 are also omitted since modern exegesis and textual criticism have proved conclusively that they were not intended to have a Messianic significance. In 4:2 the phrase "branch of Jahveh" is obviously parallel to "fruit of the land," so that a personal interpretation is extremely improbable.² 7:10 ff. is evidently, from the context, a definite prediction of time;³ while 8:8 should be read אֲרֵץ כִּי עֲמֹנוּ אֵל, ending with the same refrain

¹ G. B. Gray, "Isaiah" (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1911, pp. 275-277.

² Duhm, *Jesaja*, p. 29, Göttingen, 1914.

³ For discussion see below, p. 197 f.

as 8:10⁴ and thus containing no reference to an expected Messiah.

TEXT AND ANALYSIS OF THE SPECIFICALLY MESSIANIC PASSAGES

To determine whether these four Messianic predictions (1:24-27; 9:1-6; 10:33-11:10; 32:1-6(?)) originated after the destruction of Jerusalem or whether they form an integral part of the message which Isaiah brought to his people, a study of the passages themselves is the first essential.

1:24-27 is a part of a twelve line poem, beginning with verse 21, which is universally ascribed to Isaiah. The date is uncertain. Duhm refers it to the Syro-Ephraimitic war, while Cheyne and Marti date it about 705 B. C. The poem, which is in the *Kinah* or 3:2 metre, is usually considered to end at verse 26, although this leaves the second strophe half a line short. I am inclined to include verse 27 which is also a 3:2 line and omit the rather colorless beginning of verse 25 which in the present text scans 3:3:2. Verses 28 ff. are a late prose addition describing the fate of the wicked, a subject with which verse 27 has no connection. Also it seems somewhat unnatural that the supplementer of the poem should have begun his addition in the metre of the poem and continued it in prose. There is no linguistic argument against verse 27; the parallelism with *זִרְקָה* requires *מִשְׁפָּט* to mean "just judgement" as often in Isaiah and not "judgement day."⁵ Although the word *פָּרָה* is not found elsewhere in Isaiah, it occurs twice in Hosea,⁶ thus showing that it was in use in Isaiah's time.⁷ Verse 27, then, would be an allusion to Hezekiah's contemplated offer of tribute to Sennacherib (II Kings 18:13-16), which according to Isaiah's view would be useless without the intervention of Jahveh—an intervention conditioned on the reformation of the nation. Marti⁸ suggests that v. 23 refers to the alliance with Egypt of which Isaiah strongly disapproved. The poem would thus

⁴ Duhm, *ibid.*, p. 56 (ed. 1902); Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 85, Tübingen, 1900.

⁵ G. B. Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 36.

⁶ Hos. 7:13; 13:14.

⁷ Cheyne, *Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 7.

⁸ Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 20.

date at some time during the blockade of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, before the retirement of the Assyrian army.

1: 21-27.

21. A harlot she has become,
the city of trust.
With justice was Zion once filled,
within her dwelt right.
22. Thy silver is but dross,
thy drink impure.
23. Unruly are those ruling thee,
companions of thieves.
Everyone of them loves a bribe,
and seeks a reward.
No widow's cause they decide,
no orphan they judge.
24. Hence speaks Jahveh of Hosts,
Israel's might:
On mine enemy I take revenge,
and vengeance on my foe.
25. In fire will I cleanse thy dross,
purge all thine alloy,
26. Restore thy judges as at first,
thy counsellors as of old.
Then righteous shalt thou be called,
the city of trust.
27. By justice shall Zion be redeemed,
her inhabitants by right.

21 ^a אֵיכָה הִיְתָה לְזוֹנָה
קְרִיָה נֹאמָנָה
צִיּוֹן מִלֵּאֲתֵי מִשְׁפָּט ^b
צֶדֶק יִלִּין-בָּהּ
22 כִּסְפְּךָ הָיָה לְסִיגִים
סִבְאֶךָ מִהוֹל
23 ^a שְׂרִיךְ הִיְ סָרְרִים
חֲבֵרֵי גִבּוֹרִים

- כלו אהב שחר b
 רדף שלמנים
 ריב אלמנה לא-יבינו c
 יתום לא-ישפטו
- לכן-נאם הארון יהוה-צבאות 24 a
 אביר ישראל
 הוי אנחם מצרי b
 ואנקמה מאויבי
 ואצרף בכר סיגך 25
 ואסירה כל-בריליך
 ואשיבה שפטך כבראשנה 26 a
 ויעצרך כבתחלה
 אחרי-כן יקרא-לך עיר-הצדק b
 קריה נאמנה
 ציוי במשפט תפרה 27
 וישביה בצדקה

21b. **ציון** added from the Greek. The verse is too long by two accents. The final **ועתה מרצחים** is an awkward change to the concrete and may easily be a gloss, perhaps suggested by verse 15. (Cf. Duhm, p. 11; followed by Marti, p. 17; Gray, p. 33.)

22. **במים** apparently added to explain **מהול** which is more probably to be taken as *olive juice*, cf. Ar. *mahl* (cf. Gray, p. 36). Ken. 3 Mss. read **כמים**.

23a. **הוי** added by Budde (ZAW., 1891, p. 246); it improves the metre and also keeps the first half the line parallel in form to 21a and 22. **ואחברי** = **ואחברי**, omit **ו** with **ו** and Ken. 4 Mss.

23b. **ורדף** = **ורדף**, omit **ו** with **ו** and Ken. 1 Ms.

23c. **לא יבוא אליהם** = **לא יבוא אליהם**. Read with **ו**, *kai krisis...* *οὐ προσέχοντες*. The two parts of 23c are transposed in the present text and versions, making the metre 2:3 (cf. Gray, pp. lxxv, 31).

25. The verse as it stands scans 3:3:2; the first clause, **וַאֲשִׁיבָה יְדִי עָלֶיךָ** is a fairly common expression, cf. Am. 1:8, Jer. 6:9, Ez. 38:12, Zech. 13:7, Ps. 81:15; it seems, therefore, probable that it arose by dittography from the beginning of the next verse or was inserted by some copyist. The use of **אֲשִׁיבָה** in different senses in the two verses is also somewhat awkward.

וְכָבֵד אֱלֹהִים כְּכֹד אֱלֹהִים = *ἐς καθαρὸν, ad purum, lēdākīū*, and Ken. 2 Mss. **כְּכֹד**, Kittel, following Lowth (cf. Gray, p. 35).

27. **וְשָׁבִיהָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** = *שְׁבִיָּה*, *יִשְׂבִּיָּה* is suggested by Kittel. The emendation is parallel to that suggested by J. M. P. Smith for the name of Isaiah's son, **שָׁאֵר יִשָּׁב** (cf. below p. 189) and should be accepted with it.

The passage is not strictly Messianic, since the prediction mentions only the counsellors and judges; but it seems to belong to this group since it contains no hint of the direct rule of Jahveh Himself. It is probably the earliest of the four.

9:1-6. (4 strophes of 4 couplets, metre 3:3 and 2:2.)

1. A people who walk in the dark,
have seen abundant light.
The dwellers in a land of gloom,—
upon them a light has shone.
2. He causes great joy,
increases delight.
Unto Thee as in harvest they rejoice,
or as men dividing spoil.
3. Because the burdening yoke,
and the shoulder-striking staff,
The oppressor's mighty rod,
Thou didst break as in Midian's day.
4. And the boot of each evil man,
and the garment rolled in blood,
Is become a flame
and food of fire.
5. For a child is born,
a son to us giv'n,
On his shoulder is the rule,
and they call his name

Wise in Design,
 Mighty as God,
 Father of Spoil,
 Prince of Peace.

6. Great is his rule,
 and endless his peace.
 For David's kingdom and throne
 he shall found and make firm,
 In justice and right,
 both now and alway.
 The zeal of Jahveh
 shall bring it to pass.

הָעַם הַהֹלְכִים בַּחֹשֶׁךְ 1 a
 רְאוּ אֹר גָּדוֹל
 יֹשְׁבֵי בָאָרֶץ צִלְמוֹת b
 אֹר נֹגַה עֲלֵיהֶם

הַרְבִּית הַגִּילָה 2 a
 הַגְדִּילָה הַשְּׂמֵחָה
 שְׂמֵחוּ-לִפְנֵיךְ כִּשְׂמֵחַת בִּקְצִיר b
 כַּאֲשֶׁר-יִגִּילוּ בַחֲלֻקָם שֶׁלֹּל

כִּי אַתָּה-עַל סִבְלוֹ 3 a
 וְאַתָּה-מִטָּה שְׂכֻמוֹ
 שֹׁבֵט הַנֶּגֶשׁ בּוֹ b
 הַחַתָּה כִּיּוֹם מִדִּין

כִּי כָל-סֹאֵן רָשָׁע 4 a
 וְשִׁמְלָה מְגֹלְלָה בְּרִמִּים
 הִיְתָה לְשֹׂרֶפֶה b
 מֵאֲכָלֶת אֵשׁ

5 a כִּי־לֹד יִלְד־לָנוּ
 בֶּן נִתַּן־לָנוּ
 וְתִהְיֶה־הַמְּשִׁרָה עַל־שִׁכְמוֹ b
 וּיקָרָא שְׁמוֹ
 פֶּלֶא יוֹעִיָּן c
 אֶל גְּבוּר d
 אָבִי עַד
 שֵׁר שְׁלוֹם

6 a רַבֵּה הַמְּשִׁרָה
 וּלְשִׁלּוֹם אֵין־קִין
 עַל־כֶּסֶף דּוֹר וְעַל־מַמְלַכְתּוֹ b
 לַהֲכִין אֹתָהּ וּלְסַעְדָּהּ
 בְּמִשְׁפָּט וּבִצְדָקָה c
 מַעֲתָהּ וְעַד־עוֹלָם
 קִנְיָתָהּ יְהוֹה־צְבָאוֹת d
 תַּעֲשֶׂה זֹאת

2a. \mathfrak{M} Ketib, הַנּוֹי לֹא, which is nonsense; Kere and Ken. 14 Mss. \mathfrak{ST} read לו; \mathfrak{GE} omit לֹא. הַגִּילָה which restores the proper parallelism, was suggested by Krochmal and independently by Selwyn (cf. Gray, p. 175).

2b could be scanned as 4:4, in which case the poem would have lines of three different lengths. To divide as two couplets of 2:2 is contrary to the parallelism and makes the first strophe consist of five lines. Duhm (ed. 1902) omits לַפְּנִיךְ as referring to the joy of worship, and therefore out of place in a description of harvest and victory. His suggestion is accepted by Marti. This omission suits the sense, but leaves an awkward succession of three forms of שִׂמְחָה. Duhm (ed. 1914) keeps the text of \mathfrak{M} . If we suppose that כְּשִׂמְחָתָהּ was inserted to make the construction clearer, and omit יָגִילוּ with \mathfrak{GE} , we might read

שִׂמְחוּ לַפְּנִיךְ כְּקִצִּיר | כֹּאֲשֶׁר בַּחֲלֻקִּים שִׁלְלוּ

4a. **א** adds **סֵאן**, probably a dittograph from **סֵאון**. **רשע**. **א** has **בְּרַעִישׁ**, **רשע** read **רשע** (cf. 11:4). The **ב** was probably a later insertion in order to make a grammatical construction after **סֵאן**. **כְּגִלְלָה**, cf. II Sam. 20:12. There is no need to emend with Gray to **מְגִלְלָה**, so **רשע**.

4b. **א** prefixes **וְ**, omit for the sake of parallelism with **הַחֲרָה** 3b.

5c. **א** point **וְיִקְרָא** with **וְיִקְרָא**. (So Duhm, p. 66, Marti, p. 93.) c and d could be combined, giving one accent to the compound names instead of two, but Gray is probably right in assuming that for the sake of emphasis each word is to be given its accent. Duhm's division (ed. 1902) destroys the parallelism, since by it **שֵׁר שְׁלוֹם** must balance both **אֵל גְּבוּר** and **אֵבִי עַר**. In the edition of 1914, Duhm balances **אֵל גְּבוּר** with **אֵבִי עַר** and assumes that the epithet which originally balanced **שֵׁר שְׁלוֹם** has been lost.

6a. **א** **לְסִרְבָּה**. The use of the final form of **מ** points to textual corruption. Gray and Marti read **רְבָה**. The **לֵם** probably arose by dittography from the preceding **שְׁלוֹם**.

The evidence of the language for dating this passage is indecisive, since the words which might give an indication of the period of the writing occur either here only or perhaps once elsewhere, e. g., **מֵאֲכַלְתָּ מִשְׂרָה סֵאן סֵאון** occurs first in Jer. 2:6; 13:16. **קִנְיָה** is an idea frequent in Ezekiel and later writers, "but it may also be so interpreted as not to be absolutely incompatible with Isaiah's thought."⁹ Vv. 3 and 4 are expressed in terms too general to determine the date. However, they contain no allusion to the deportation of any section of the people, and would therefore apply well to the tribute imposed by Assyria during the reign of Hezekiah. Further if **סֵאון** is a loan word from the Assyrian¹⁰ a reference to the Assyrian would naturally be inferred¹¹; "garments weltering in blood" is hardly too strong an expression to be applied to an army which had recently destroyed the Philistine cities and the towns of Judah. The verses are then to be taken, not as

⁹ Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 167.

¹⁰ Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon*, p. 684.

¹¹ Kennett, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*.

a general prediction of the end of war (parallel to 2:4), but as a prediction of the destruction of a particular enemy.

The names of the child in v. 5 are difficult to interpret, and the versions offer little help.

יְעִיץ פֶּלֶא may be "a wonder of a counsellor" parallel to כִּסִּיל אֲדָם Prov. 15:2 (*GK.*, 128, *l*) or פֶּלֶא may be the prefixed accusative parallel to Is. 22:2, "giving wonderful counsel."¹²

אֱלֹהִים גִּבּוֹר does not necessarily imply divinity, cf. the use of the plural, Ez. 32:21 = "mighty heroes" and further the use of אֱלֹהִים in Ez. 31:11, and of the plural Job 41:17, Ez. 17:13, II Kings 24:15, Ex. 15:15, where the MS. readings אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים etc. are probably due to an effort to distinguish the word from the divine name.¹³

עַד אָבִי עַד may be taken either as "booty" or as "eternity." In the sense of "booty" it occurs Gen. 49:27, Is. 33:23. In the sense "eternity" it is late. "Booty" fits the passage here as the other meaning does not, since it gives us two pairs of epithets, each containing one name for a time of peace and one for a time of war. The chief argument offered against this interpretation applies also against the other. It is said that אָבִי in such names as Abimelek, Abidan, etc., always forms part of a sentence, e. g. "my father (is) king," "my father (is) judge." This is apparently true. However, the sentence frequently can not be taken literally, cf. אָבִי הוֹר "my father (is) majesty," אָבִי טֵל "my father (is) dew." On the analogy of these names it is quite as natural to say "my father is booty" as "my father is eternity"; and there appears to be little probability for the meaning "a father forever" parallel to גִּבּוֹר עַד Is. 47:7, or עַבְדֵּי עוֹלָם, Dt. 15:17.¹⁴ שֵׁר שְׁלֹם, the last name, is obvious enough.

The passage, 10:33-11:10, is the most elaborate and definite of the Messianic prophecies in the book of Isaiah. The arguments for regarding it as a single poem are as follows:

10:33-34 is not to be connected with what precedes, for 10:28-32, a vivid description of the advance of an hostile army,

¹² Gray, p. 176; Marti, p. 93.

¹³ BDB., p. 42.

¹⁴ Gray, p. 174.

is complete in itself, and is quite different in metre and style from 10:33f. 10:33, 34 and 11:1 are equally figurative, and the contrast between them, although perhaps not "unmistakable,"¹⁵ is nevertheless too direct to be accidental. The vocabulary of 10:33, 34 is not post-exilic. Cheyne¹⁶ found so many Isaianic expressions that he suggested quite seriously that the passage was an intentional piece of patchwork, composed by the redactor; e. g. **סַעֲרָה** denominative from **סָעַר** 17:6, **מַעֲרָזָה**, cf. 2:19, 21, **נָקַר** cf. **נָקַר** 17:16, **סִבְכֵּי הַיַּעַר** cf. 9:17. The two verses as a whole are parallel to 2:12-17. The only late usage is **בְּאֵדִיר**, and this, as Cheyne himself admits in his edition of Isaiah¹⁷ should be emended (cf. below). Further **הִנֵּה הָאָדוֹן** makes a good opening for a poem, while **וַיֵּצֵא** appears so unnatural that commentators have often suggested that an opening distich has been lost.

11:10 has usually been connected with the following clearly post-exilic section, 11:11 ff., because of its opening words **וְהָיָה כִּי־יִהְיֶה** which are identical with the beginning of v. 11. But it is quite possible, either that the beginning of v. 11 was prefixed by the compiler to make a superficial connection between the two sections, or that the words, if they were originally a part of the verse, were the cause of the position of the later section. For the pre-exilic use of the phrase in predictions, compare Am. 8:3, 9, Hos. 1:5, 2:16. It is of frequent occurrence in the prophecies of Isaiah, e. g. 2:11, 17, 20; 3:7, 18; 4:1; etc.

The chief reason, however, for including 10:33, 34 and 11:10 in the poem is that 10:33-11:10 taken together forms a homogeneous and symmetrical whole. If the poem is considered as consisting of 11:1-8 only, it is impossible to divide into strophes of equal length without making divisions contrary to the sense¹⁸; the poem is without proper introduction; and its conclusion has little relation to its beginning. The addition of 10:33, 34 and 11:10 brings the whole passage into regular metrical form, the couplets being 3:3, arranged in strophes of three couplets each, with the strophic and sense divisions corresponding, while the

¹⁵ Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 116 (Leipzig, 1890); Gray, p. 213.

¹⁶ Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 56.

¹⁷ Cheyne, "Isaiah," *SBOT*.

¹⁸ Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 212.

similarity between 11:10 and 11:1 links closely the different parts of the poem.

The divisions, then, are as follows:—

10:33a. The introductory line does not form a part of the metrical scheme.¹⁰ Behold, Jahveh is destroying the forest.

10:33b-11:1. After the destruction, the branch of Jesse will bear fruit.

11:2-3. The spirit of Jahveh is upon him, so that he is not dependent upon human faculties.

11:4-5. Therefore he judges justly.

11:6-7a. Then even the beasts shall be at peace.

11:7b-9a. Nothing shall do harm.

11:9b-10. For the earth will be full of the knowledge of Jahveh and all nations will honor the root of Jesse.

10:33-11:10.

10:33. Behold the Lord of Hosts,
destroying the tree-tops with might!

Laid low are the tallest limbs,
the loftiest trees shall fall,

34. The thickets with iron He destroys,
and Lebanon falls by the ax;

11:1. But shall spring from Jesse's trunk
a branch from out his root.

11:2. On him the spirit of Jahveh,
a spirit of wisdom and thought,
A spirit of counsel and might,
a spirit revering Jahveh.

11:3. And not by sight shall he judge,
nor by what his ears may hear.

11:4. Rightly shall he judge the poor,
treat justly the meek of the earth.
With a word the oppressor smite,
at his breath shall the sinner die.

11:5. The girdle of his loins shall be right,
and with truth shall he bind himself.

¹⁰ Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, pp. 168 f. (Int. Crit. Com.).

- 11: 6. Then shall sojourn wolf with lamb,
a leopard rest by a kid,
A lion feed near a calf,
their leader a little child.
- 11: 7a. A cow shall feed with a bear,
together their young lie down.
- 11: 7b. The lion shall eat grass like the ox,
and dust be the serpent's food.
- 11: 8. The babe by the asp's hole shall play,
the child by the adder's home.
- 11: 9a. There shall be nor evil nor harm,
in all my holy mount.
- 11: 9b. For knowledge of God shall fill earth
as the water covers the sea.
- 11: 10. And then shall Jesse's root
a signal be to the world.
To him shall the nations flock,
and glorious be his rest.

10:33 a הנה הארון יהוה-צבאות
מסעף פארה במערצה

10:33 b ורמי הקומה גרעים
והגבהים ישפלו
10:34 ונקף סבכי-היער בברזל
והלכנון בחריץ יפול
11:1 ויצא-חטר מגזע ישי
ונצר משרשיו יפרח

11:2 ונחה-עליו רוח יהוה
רוח חכמה ובינה
רוח עצה ונבונה
רוח.... יראת יהוה

11:3 ולא-למראה עיניו ישפוט
ולא-למשמע אזניו יוכיח

11:4 ושפט בצדק דלים
והוכיח במישור לענוי-ארץ
והכה-עריץ בשבט פיו

וברוח-שפתיו ימית רשע
11:5 והיה-צדק חגור מתניו
והאמונה אזור חלציו

11:6 וגר זאב עם-כבש
ונמר עם-גרי ירכין

ועגל וכפיר ירעו-יחדו
ונער קטן נהג-בם
11:7 a ופרה ודב תתרענה
יחדו ירבצו ילדיהן

11:7 b ואריה כבקר יאכל-הבן
ונחש עפר לחמו

11:8 ושעשע יונק על-חר-פתן
ועל-מערת-צפע גמול ידור

11:9 a לא-ירעו ולא ישחיתו
בכל הר קדשי

11:9 b כי-מלאה הארץ דעת-יהוה
כמים לים מכסים

11:10 והיה ביום-ההוא שרש-ישי
אשר עמד לנס-עמים
אליו גוים ירדשו
והיתה מנחתו כבוד

suggests that **ירו הרה** is a corruption from some verb in the imperfect, parallel to **ושעשע**. Any reconstruction is, of course, mere guesswork, but there seems no doubt that v. 8 was originally a 3:3 couplet.

11:9b. **רעת את יהוה** **וארעת יהוה**, cf. GK, 114c and 118d.

Cheyne²⁰ finds in this passage no linguistic peculiarities which demand a date later than Isaiah; and many of the phrases can be paralleled from his prophecies (cf. above on 10:33, 34). The only definite argument for a late date for the passage is drawn from the use of the phrase **גזע ישי** in 11:1. The root meaning of **גזע** is "cut" (cf. Arabic and Ethiopic).²¹ Gray interprets the word here as the stump of a tree which has been cut down and argues that it implies a time when a Davidic king was no longer reigning in Jerusalem. He cites in support of this usage Job 14:8.²² Prof. Barton has pointed out that it may also mean the trunk of a tree from which the larger branches have been cut for fire-wood.²³ It is used in somewhat this sense in Is. 40:24, and this meaning is parallel to the similar nouns in Arabic and Syriac.²⁴ If then **גזע** may be interpreted of a living tree, it does not necessitate a post-exilic date for the passage.²⁵

The fourth passage, 32:1-8, is less important. Vv. 6-8 are obviously not Isaianic. The similarity to the later wisdom literature is too striking.²⁶ Vv. 1-5 are doubtful. Marti joins with them vv. 15-20. If this is correct, the poem must be late, probably post-exilic. The picture of universal peace with the emphasis on the cultivation of the soil belongs clearly in thought with such passages as 2:2-4. 32:1-2 refers, however, to political conditions and if the section 1-5 is taken alone, it is possibly the work of Isaiah.

The metre is rough and the many variations which the Septuagint presents give evidence of early corruption of the text. It

²⁰ Cheyne, *Introduction*, pp. 64 f.

²¹ Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 15th ed.

²² Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 214 f.

²³ Such as described by G. A. Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, p. 156.

²⁴ Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*.

²⁵ G. A. Barton, in *JBL.*, XXIII, p. 73.

²⁶ Duham, *Jesaja*, p. 208-09; Box, *Isaiah*, p. 145; Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 237.

seems therefore probable that some transcriber of Isaiah's work, perhaps he who is responsible for vv. 6-8, altered the fragment of original prophecy to suit his own conceptions. Cheyne counts thirteen words in vv. 1-5 which are apparently not used elsewhere in the genuine prophecies of Isaiah. Several of these occur only here, and others like הֵן occur in doubtful passages, but the extremely large number of unusual words is certainly suspicious.

Any attempt to recover a possible Isaianic kernel for the verses must be purely conjectural; the text of the Septuagint seems to have suffered more than the Hebrew from later emendations. The metre is apparently 3:3, and the verses form two strophes of three couplets each, which is the poetical form of 10:33-11:10.

1. Lo, rightly a king shall rule,
and princes in justice decree.
2. A man shall be refuge from wind,
a protection from the mighty storm,
Like springs of water in thirst,
in a desert like the shade of a rock.
3. Nor shall the eyes of the seeing be blind,
nor the ears of the hearing be deaf.
4. The hasty heart shall understand,
the stammering tongue shall speak.
5. No more shall fools be called noble,
nor the crafty be told . . .

1 הֵן לְצֶדֶק יִמְלֹךְ
וְיִשְׁרִים לְמִשְׁפָּט יִשְׁרוּ
2 a וְהָיָה-אִישׁ כְּמַחְבֵּא מְרוּחַ
וְסֹתֵר מִזֶּרֶם כֶּבֶד
b כַּפְלָגִי מִיָּם בְּצִיּוֹן
כַּצֶּל-סֹלֶעַ בָּאָרֶץ עֵיפָה
3 וְלֹא-תִשְׁעִינָה עֵינֵי רְאִים
וְאֹזְנִי שְׁמָעִים תִּקְשְׁבֶנָּה

4 ולבב נמהרים יבין....
 ולשון עלגים.... ידבר....
 5 לא-יקרא... לנבל נדיב
 ולכלי לא-יאמר שוע

1. וישרים א and וישרים, omit ל with א and Ken. 93.
- 2a. זרם, רוח א [מזרם, מרוח]. The preposition was either read or supplied by the versions. כבד in א follows סלע, making the last half of 2a short and 2b long. Box therefore suggests the change. א has an entirely different reading for most of the verse.

3. תישענה א [תשענה], read תישענה with א' א.

4. Omit לדעת (א read לישמע) probably an explanatory gloss; also תמהר which was probably inserted by mistake from the first half the verse, and perhaps also צחות as an explanatory gloss for ידבר. א reads לרבר, a change made necessary by the insertion of תמהר.

5. After יקרא, א has עור, which should perhaps be retained. שוע in Job 34:19 "noble," א has here Σίγα.

THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION

The criticism and interpretation of these passages, together with 7:14 ff., presented no problem to the early Christian commentators to whom everything in the Old Testament was unquestionably a prophecy of Jesus of Nazareth, so that even Rahab's scarlet thread was considered a symbol of the atoning blood of the Christ.

Thus we find Jerome saying in his commentary on Isaiah²⁷ that the righteous judges, 1:26, are the twelve apostles; that 9:4 predicts the breaking of the yoke of Satan by the Saviour; that 11:6 ff. is to be interpreted as a fable since a literal interpretation would be unworthy of God, for "why should the deity be interested in animals?" The wolf, therefore, signifies Paul who at first persecuted the church. 7:14 is obviously a direct prediction of Christ's birth, and as to the relation of this event to the destruction of Samaria and Damascus, Jerome says:

²⁷ S. Hieronymi *Opera*, vol. III (edition 1704).

"Quod ad mysterium et invocationem nominis ejus, terra Syriae et Samariae, Assyrio superante, vastetur et domus David liberetur a duobus regibus quos metuit, Rasin, videlicet et Phacee."

The authority of Jerome established this method of interpretation permanently in the Roman church. Almost the only opposing views during the Middle Ages were those held by the Rabbinical commentators, the most important of whom flourished from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. R. Solomon Yīṣḥāqī,²⁸ called Rashi, who died 1105, followed the Aramaic paraphrase closely, and gave usually the traditional interpretation of the Talmudists. On 7:14, however, the chronological arguments of the Christian polemicists forced him to abandon the identification of Immanuel with Hezekiah. He suggested instead that העלמה is the prophetess, the wife of Isaiah, and Immanuel his expected son. 9:5 he applied to Hezekiah at the age of twelve, dividing the epithets between God and the child. Ibn Ezra²⁹ agreed with Rashi in his interpretation of 7:14; 9:5, although he gave all the epithets in the latter passage to the child. 11:1 ff. he also referred to Hezekiah. Kimḥi³⁰ in the next century, was interested chiefly in polemics against the Christians. He interpreted 7:14 of an otherwise unknown wife and son of Ahaz. 9:5 he took as a tribute to Hezekiah, but he considered 11:1 ff. as a prediction, still unfulfilled, of the "branch of David," parallel to Mi. 5:1, Zech. 3:8.

The few Christian scholars who endeavored to explain prophecies historically were classed as heretics by the church, and their memory is preserved only in occasional disapproving references to "the Jews and those who think like them" in the works of the orthodox writers.

Even the Reformation made little change in traditional Biblical interpretation. Luther, indeed, said definitely³¹ that the majority of the prophets speak concerning a material kingdom, yet sometimes make a sudden transition to the kingdom of Christ. Such transitions are especially frequent in Isaiah, yet many things may refer to his own people; and Luther

²⁸ Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, pp. 119, 307-08, 360.

²⁹ Gesenius, *ibid.*, pp. 307-08, 360, 418.

³⁰ Gesenius, *ibid.*, pp. 308, 360, 418 ff.

³¹ Luther, *In Esaiam Scholia*, Wittenberg, 1534.

criticised Jerome "who ridicules Apollinaris for turning all things to allegory, yet himself is accustomed to do the same." But Luther is certainly not free from the allegorizing tendency. According to him, 11:6 refers to the receiving of tyrants and oppressors into the church. He interpreted 7:14 of Christ and explained (following a suggestion of Irenaeus) that the eating of butter and honey signifies that He will be brought up like other children. 32:1 ff. on the other hand, he interpreted of Hezekiah rather than of the Christ.

Calvin's³² interpretation in general agreed with that of Luther, although Calvin usually put somewhat more emphasis on the applicability of the passage to earlier events. For example, he applied 9:2 first to the return of the exiles from Babylon, but also to the coming of Christ. In 7:14 ff. Calvin felt clearly the difficulty of connecting the birth of Christ with the perplexities of Ahaz, but he explained, as did the earlier commentators, that all the deliverances of the Jews were really the work of the promised Messiah; he differed from them, however, in referring v. 16 not to Immanuel, but to all those who were children at the time of the prophet.

Such methods of interpretation were accepted almost unanimously by scholars until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. J. D. Michaelis,³³ for example, although making many acute suggestions in regard to the emendation of the text, kept on the whole to the traditional interpretation. 9:6 ff. could not apply to Hezekiah without blasphemy; in 11:6 the beasts are a parable for fierce races of men, etc.

A realization of the possibility of holding diverse opinions concerning Isaiah's Messianic hope was one of the results of the critical analysis of the book of Isaiah—an analysis which was itself the result of the modern conception of the nature and function of prophecy. The beginning of this analysis was made by Koppe in his notes to the German edition of Lowth's commentary.³⁴ Koppe said in his introduction that the book of Isaiah obviously falls into a number of unconnected sections,

³² Calvin, *Isaiah*, 1550 (English translation, Edinburgh, 1609).

³³ J. D. Michaelis, *Entwurf der typischen Gottesgelehrtheit*, Göttingen, 1763; *Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1779; *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*, Frankfurt, 1778+.

³⁴ Lowth, *Jesaia*, Leipzig, 1779.

and that there is no certainty that the superscriptions are accurate, nor that the whole book is the work of Isaiah. For instance, he declared that chapter 32 is plainly a collection of fragments from many hands. He did not anywhere, indeed, attempt a systematic analysis, but contented himself with an occasional suggestion of possibilities. In interpreting the separate prophesies, however, he frequently broke away from the allegorical tradition, suggesting that 4:2 may mean the literal fruit of the land, and that chapters 34, 35 refer to the destruction of Edom by Nebuchadrezzar and have no connection whatever with the Messiah.

Eichhorn³⁵ argued definitely and decisively for the diversity of authorship of the book of Isaiah, separated chapters 40-66 from the first part of the book, suggested that chapters 24-27 were inserted to fill an empty space in the parchment, and asserted that the book as a whole is a collection of oracles, made later than the Babylonian exile, with an earlier collection of Isaianic sayings as a basis. Eichhorn, since his interest was chiefly in the critical analysis of the book, made no especial investigation of Isaiah's Messianic expectation. He considered 9:1-14 a late gloss, but accepted chapter 11 as genuine, and cited it as an especially characteristic example of Isaiah's poetic power.

Gesenius³⁶ accepted Eichhorn's principle of the diverse authorship of the book of Isaiah, and he further deliberately rejected most of the Messianic passages. 7:14 he took as referring to Isaiah's wife, and asserted that the sign dealt with the limit of the time predicted. 9:1 ff. he took as the Talmudists had done, as a tribute to Hezekiah, but chapters 11 and 32 he considered predictions of an ideal king expected in the near future. Hitzig³⁷ agreed with Gesenius on 7:14, but was more consistent in his treatment of chapters 9 and 11, taking both as predictions of the Messianic era which was to follow immediately after the destruction of Assyria by Jahveh. Ewald³⁸ went back to the Messianic explanation of 7:14, although he admitted

³⁵ Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*.

³⁶ Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaja*.

³⁷ Hitzig, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, Heidelberg, 1833.

³⁸ Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 1867, 68 (English Translation, London, 1876).

“it would not have been easy to discover the reference to the Messiah from the words alone, unless his coming had long since been foretold with sufficient clearness by the other prophets.” Chapters 9 and 11 describe the divine kingdom which the prophet considered capable of being combined with the Davidic rule.

Duhm³⁹ denied any Messianic significance to chapter 7. In his interpretation of chapters 9 and 11 he laid stress especially on the eschatological character of the Messianic age as expected by Isaiah. The destruction of Judah is to be complete, but at the moment of greatest danger, Jahveh will overthrow Assyria and the new age will begin. “His future ideal is not an idealizing of the present, not a product of the poetic fancy, but a fully new creation.” Robertson Smith⁴⁰ disagreed absolutely with Duhm’s eschatological interpretation. Isaiah expected, not a new creation, but a reformation within Israel which should make it a holy state, consistent with its position as the chosen people of a holy God. This reformation was to be brought about by Jahveh’s guiding care for His people, exactly as all other changes in the character or fortune of the nation had been effected. Duhm’s commentary on Isaiah⁴¹ was published in 1892. The introduction deals wholly with the analysis of the book, and consistently takes the position that the book of Isaiah which we now possess is a collection of prophecies of various periods, including passages dating from the time of Isaiah himself to that of the Hasmoneans, and that each section of the book must be studied as a unit and dated according to the evidence it presents without regard to the sections which precede or follow it. The analysis is carefully worked out in the body of the commentary, which has served as a starting point for all later critical study of the book. Duhm’s view of Isaiah’s Messianic expectation remains unchanged from that of his earlier work. He assigns 1:21-26 to Isaiah’s youth, when his work as a prophet was just beginning, while 9:1 ff., 11:1 ff., 32:1 ff., together with 2:2-4, belong to the end of Isaiah’s life, after the invasion of Sennacherib. He assumes that Isaiah never made

³⁹ Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn, 1875.

⁴⁰ Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, London, 1882.

⁴¹ Duhm, *Jesaja*, Göttingen (edition of 1914 used).

public his hope for an ideal kingdom, but described it to the band of disciples only.

With the general acceptance of Duhm's method of analysis, the question of the authorship of the Messianic sections in the book of Isaiah at once became prominent. The consistency of such a hope with the rest of the teaching of Isaiah, and with the historical conditions under which he lived were obviously the chief test of authenticity.

Guthe⁴² divides Isaiah's conception of the Messianic age into two periods. At the beginning of his ministry, Isaiah believed that the destruction of the land of Judah by Assyria was a necessary preliminary to the restoration. After that destruction, there should come a new sprout from the cut-down trunk of Jesse, and a righteous judge in contrast to the reigning king should rule over the remnant of the people. In the second period, there is no expectation of any individual, the rescue and final security of Jerusalem is to be brought about directly by Jahveh, and the emphasis is laid on the general virtue of the new community. This era will begin not through the destruction of Jerusalem but through its marvelous rescue.⁴³

Giesebrecht⁴⁴ finds it necessary to suppose three distinct stages in the development of Isaiah's hope for the future. There are really, he considers, two parts to Guthe's second period. First, immediately after the fall of Samaria, Isaiah entertained high hopes for the future of Judah, but in the time of Sennacherib when the alliance with Egypt was persistently maintained in spite of the denunciations of the prophet, he predicted salvation for only a small remnant of the nation. The promises which had formerly included all the nation were now transferred to the remnant.

Other scholars, however, assert that no Messianic hope of any kind could have been consistent with Isaiah's point of view. Hackmann⁴⁵ gives a minute analysis of the book, agreeing in the main with that of Duhm, and laying especial stress on the lack of evidence for any revision of Isaiah's work by the prophet himself. Hackmann insists that Isaiah's expectation of the

⁴² Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaja*, Leipzig, 1885.

⁴³ Guthe abandoned this view in his *Jesaja*, Tübingen, 1907.

⁴⁴ Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesajakritik*, Göttingen, 1890.

⁴⁵ Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, Göttingen, 1893.

future runs in "an unbroken line," that he expected nothing but total destruction for both Israel and Judah, and that all sections describing restoration weaken Isaiah's message. They are to be accounted for as affixed at the beginning and end of originally independent collections of Isaiah's prophecies by the different compilers who sought to re-inforce their own ideas by the authority of Isaiah. Hackmann, however, accepts 1:21 ff. as genuine without making it quite clear how this passage agrees with the expectation of total destruction.⁴⁶ Volz⁴⁷ also denies the genuineness of the Messianic sections, but less as the result of an analysis of the book of Isaiah, than as a necessary corollary to his statement that the nature of pre-exilic prophecy is inconsistent with the Messianic idea. Pre-exilic prophecy, according to Volz, is not "wisdom" but prediction, and the prediction of evil. The hope of good was related only to the faithful remnant and was not openly expressed. He further makes the rather incomprehensible assertion that to preach a Messianic age while there was a king on the throne would be to incite a rebellion. Isaiah looked for the punishment of the nation with the ultimate preservation of a faithful remnant and a time of prosperity to come; of this Jerusalem is to be the centre. The whole is to be brought about directly by Jahveh Himself without human agency. The only definite expression of this ideal is to be found in 1:21 ff., to which the other hopeful predictions in the book are in direct contradiction.

Of the more recent commentators on Isaiah, Marti⁴⁸ re-affirms Hackmann's view without change, Condamin⁴⁹ accepts all the passages without question and even keeps the Messianic interpretation of 7:14 ff., while Gray⁵⁰ leaves the question open, although he is evidently more inclined to doubt the genuineness of all except 1:21 ff.

⁴⁶ Georg Beer ("Wellhausen Festschrift," *ZAW.*, Beihefte 27, pp. 15-35), who also asserts that Isaiah was the prophet of doom only, more consistently treats 1:24 ff. like the other Messianic passages, joining all four with the eschatological pictures of the reign of Jahveh, and making them therefore post-exilic.

⁴⁷ Volz, *Die Vor-exilische Yahwehprophetie*, Göttingen, 1897.

⁴⁸ Marti, *Jesaja*, Tübingen, 1900.

⁴⁹ Condamin, *Le Livre d'Isaie*, Paris, 1905.

⁵⁰ G. B. Gray, *Isaiah*, Int. Crit. Com., 1911.

THE CONSISTENCY OF A MESSIANIC EXPECTATION WITH THE TEACHING OF ISAIAH

As has been said, the only test for the genuineness of the Messianic sections among the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah lies in their consistency with the historical conditions of the time and with other prophecies known to be authentic. (The evidence of the vocabulary of the four poems has already been shown to be indecisive.)

Isaiah saw the vision which called him to the work of a prophet "in the year that king Uzziah died" (6:1), and according to the superscription, 1:1 (which in this case agrees with the internal evidence), he continued to prophesy through the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. Thus he began his work just as a period of peace and great material prosperity was drawing to a close. During the reign of Jeroboam II in Samaria, and Uzziah in Jerusalem, both kingdoms made considerable additions to their territory and engaged largely in commerce. Egypt under the XXII dynasty was unable to interfere in Palestine, and Assyria for fifty years after the invasion of Adad-nirari III in 797 B. C. left the West lands in peace.⁵¹ When after the death of Jeroboam II the North kingdom was distracted by insurrections and revolts, Judah must easily have regained absolute independence, and her prosperity was helped rather than hindered by the anarchy of her neighbor. According to II Kings 14:22, Uzziah held and fortified Elath on the Red Sea, so that Jerusalem had a port for her commerce, and it is clear from the words of Isaiah that Judah, like Samaria in the time of Amos and Hosea, suffered from the consequent concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, as the capitalists, lending money at interest, and seizing the property of debtors unable to pay, "laid field to field until" they "dwelt alone in the land," 5:8. During the independent reign of Jotham conditions probably remained much the same, since no record of tribute from Jerusalem is found in the Assyrian monuments, and the sole reference to Jotham's activity in the Biblical record (II Kings 15:35) is the statement that he built the upper gate of the

⁵¹ Hastings, *Bible Dictionary* (1 volume edition), article "Israel."

temple of Jahveh—a work which is obviously suited to a time of peace.⁵²

In the year 735 B. C. with the accession of Pekah in Samaria and Ahaz in Judah came a change. Pekah, in alliance with Rezin of Damascus, was preparing for war against Assyria, and the allies probably insisted that Ahaz should join them. When he refused, they marched against Jerusalem which was apparently totally unprepared to stand a siege. In spite of Isaiah's exhortation to trust in Jahveh, and his scorn of "the two tails of smoking fire-brands" (7:1-17), Ahaz sent a present with an offer of submission to Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria and asked his aid (II Kings 16:7-9). Tiglath-Pileser came, as he must have done in any case for the sake of his own authority, conquered the armies of the allies, slew the two kings, made Damascus an Assyrian province, and set Hoshea on the throne of Samaria. Ahaz went to Damascus with the other rulers of the West-land to declare in person his allegiance to the victor, and thus began the long period of Judean vassalage to Assyria.

Tiglath-Pileser died in 727, and Hoshea refused his tribute to Assyria. In 725 an Assyrian army appeared in Palestine and after a siege of three years took Samaria in the first year of the reign of Sargon. 27,290 of the inhabitants were deported, colonists from other parts of the empire were settled in their places and the North kingdom became an Assyrian province. In Judah, however, Hezekiah continued to submit to the Assyrian yoke which his predecessor had assumed and was left unmolested in 722, and probably also in the campaign of Sargon against Ashdod in 711.

At the death of Sargon in 705, however, the hope of regaining independence proved too great a temptation to be resisted. From the East came the flattering embassy of Merodach-Baladan (II Kings 20:12 ff.), from Egypt came lavish promises of aid. The hopes of the nation were high. 22:6-14 gives a vivid picture of the eagerness of the people during the preparation for the revolt. On the North, Aram; on the East, Kir and Elam, the

⁵² If, as seems probable, the reference to Az-ri-ia-u of Ja-u-da-ai in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser for the year 738 B. C. is to be taken with Winckler as referring to the land of Yadi in North Syria near Zinjirli, the kingdom of Judah suffered not at all from Assyria, during the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham.

allies of Merodach-Baladan, are preparing their weapons to assist in the fight against Sennacherib. Hezekiah's mercenaries fill the valleys around Jerusalem with horses and chariots, and the city is prepared to withstand a siege if necessary.⁵³ From the annals of Sennacherib we know that the Phoenicians and the Philistines also joined in the revolt, and that the king of Ekron, who wished to remain faithful to Assyria, was sent by his subjects to Jerusalem to be guarded by Hezekiah. Sennacherib after a victorious campaign against Merodach-Baladan marched West, and beginning with Sidon, captured city after city; won a victory over Egypt at Eltekeh; marched against Hezekiah, took forty-six of his strong cities and shut him up in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage." Hezekiah, deserted by his mercenaries, sent an offer of submission to Sennacherib (KB., II, pp. 94-97, cf. II Kings 18:13-16). Sennacherib, who had lost a part of his army through plague and was eager to return to the East where Merodach-Baladan was again active, accepted Hezekiah's offer and left him in possession of what remained of his kingdom.

Recently many scholars⁵⁴ have returned to the view first suggested by Rawlinson that Sennacherib made two expeditions against Jerusalem, one in 701 in which he was successful, and the other about 690 in which his army was attacked by plague, and he was obliged to retire ignominiously to Assyria. In the almost entire absence of inscriptions for the last years of Sen-

⁵³ 22: 6, 7 have generally been interpreted of an army marching against Jerusalem, and the history of the country from the time of Uzziah onwards has been searched in vain to find a time at which Elam and its neighbors were the dangerous enemies of Judah. The suggestion that the reference is to contingents in Sennacherib's army (in itself scarcely satisfactory) is rendered most improbable by the fact that at this period Elam was an independent nation, an ally of Merodach-Baladan, and in no way to be considered a vassal of Assyria. Further it is somewhat difficult to see why any people, however desperate, should rejoice at the appearance of an armed foe filling the valleys. On the other hand, if Kir and Elam were expected to fight on the side of Judah, the passage gives a consistent account of the preparation for the great revolt of 705: first, the gathering of the army of the allies; then the soldiers assembled for the defense of Jerusalem; and finally, the fortification of the city and the building of the Siloam tunnel.

⁵⁴ E. g. Kemper Fullerton, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXIII, pp. 577-634, R. W. Rogers, "Wellhausen Festschrift," *ZAW.*, Beihefte 27, pp. 317-327.

nacherib's reign, positive evidence for the correctness or incorrectness of this view is not forthcoming. The argument for a second expedition is briefly as follows:

There are in II Kings 18:13-19:37 three narratives, one of which, II Kings 18:13-16, agrees almost perfectly with the Assyrian record; while the other two, II Kings 18:17-19:8 and 19:9-37, directly contradict both the Assyrian account and II Kings 18:13-16, since they assert a signal deliverance of Jerusalem. The third narrative is supported by a tale in Herodotus (II, 141) which is evidently based on the destruction of the Assyrian army by the bubonic plague (cf. II Kings 19:35),⁵⁵ and the second (18:17, 19:8) by a relief portraying Sennacherib receiving the tribute of Lachish, a town which is not named in the list of captured cities in the account of the campaign of 701. The occurrence of at least one Western campaign during the last years of Sennacherib's reign is proved by an inscription published in 1904 by Scheil.⁵⁶ This may easily have been one of a series of expeditions, the record of which has not yet been discovered. In II Kings 19:9, Tirhaka is mentioned as the leader of the Egyptian army (the Assyrian record for 701 speaks of the "kings of Egypt") and is called "king of Ethiopia." Therefore this passage must refer to a campaign after 691, the earliest possible date for the accession of Tirhaka. This later date for the campaign is further rendered probable by the fact that II Kings 19:37 speaks of the death of Sennacherib in 682 as occurring immediately after his return to Nineveh.

This evidence is not, however, conclusive. The most important links in the chain, the narratives in II Kings 18:17 ff. and in Herodotus, are obviously legendary, and although we must recognize that such legends have almost always a basis in fact, we cannot place much reliance on the details of the stories. The only fact for which the agreement of these legends furnishes evidence is that at some time the army of Sennacherib was attacked by plague, and that Sennacherib soon after returned to Assyria. It seems hardly necessary to assume a second campaign to find a place for such a disaster. The Assyrian records

⁵⁵ G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 158, 236.

⁵⁶ Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, p. 345.

are frequently silent concerning defeat, or report a defeat as a victory (cf. KB., II, pp. 40, 41 with KB., II, pp. 276, 277).⁵⁷ If Sennacherib had lost a part of his army in 701, he would not have recorded the loss in his inscriptions. The contradictions between II Kings 18:13-16 and the following narratives may be explained as due to the difference in the character of the narratives. 18:13-16 was probably taken by the compiler from the annals of king Hezekiah, while the other two narratives belong to the collections of legends of the prophets, parallel to the stories of Elijah and Elisha. Such legends would naturally emphasize the deliverance of the city and ignore the submission of Hezekiah. Since the compiler arranged the narrative as it now stands from three different sources, obviously with the intention of working up to a fitting climax,⁵⁸ there is no reason to suppose that Hezekiah's offer of submission was the first step in the matter. If Sennacherib had lost a part of his army and also had heard of the renewed activity of Merodach-Baladan (II Kings 19:7 seems to refer to news from Babylon rather than to Tirhaka's advance which is part of the introduction to the third narrative), he would have been very willing to accept Hezekiah's offer of submission which would leave him free to return at once to the East. When the inhabitants of Jerusalem learned of the plague and of the revolt of Merodach-Baladan, the natural conclusion would be that both were the work of Jahveh to protect His people.

It is said, however, that a sparing of Jerusalem after forty-six other cities of Judah had been taken, the whole country devastated, and an enormous tribute exacted, is not a sufficiently great deliverance to account for the narratives of II Kings 18:16 ff. It may seem to us a natural act for Sennacherib to accept tribute and save himself the trouble of a prolonged siege, but it would hardly have seemed so natural to the people who had seen an Assyrian army before their walls. To the Jews who had seen the destruction of Ashdod in 711, and but recently that of Ekron, it must have seemed a miracle of Jahveh's working that their king, the leader of the revolt, was left ruling over an unharmed city.

⁵⁷ Quoted by Kemper Fullerton, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXIII, pp. 577-634.

⁵⁸ Fullerton, *ibid.*

The other points offer no real difficulties. The absence of mention of Lachish in the Assyrian record would be natural if Lachish was one of the "forty-six fenced cities" of Hezekiah, and it apparently did belong to Judah in the reign of Amaziah (II Kings 14: 19, cf. also Mi. 1: 13). The date of Tirhaka really fits neither theory. According to Breasted, his accession could hardly have occurred before 688,⁵⁹ and it is not probable that Hezekiah ruled so late. Breasted also concludes from a mutilated tablet⁶⁰ that Tirhaka led a campaign to Palestine in his youth, while his uncle was king of Egypt. Any account of the expedition written after 688 would naturally use his title. The ignoring of any interval between the return of Sennacherib and his death is quite in keeping with the whole character of the legends of the prophets.

The only other important information which we have concerning Hezekiah's reign is found in II Kings 18: 3-6, which asserts that he removed the high places. Although the reform is described from the point of view of the post-Deuteronomic redactor, the mention of the brazen serpent indicates that the reforms themselves were actual. They were probably undertaken in the last years of his reign after the deliverance of Jerusalem⁶¹. It is during this time that the expectation of the reign of an ideal king might easily develop. Jahveh had shown His ability to protect Zion by His direct intervention, and the whole people, with the remembrance of their deliverance fresh in their minds, were eagerly serving Jahveh alone, as their king demanded. Surely it would be natural to hope that Jahveh would soon raise up among Hezekiah's successors a king who should enable them wholly to free themselves from the Assyrian supremacy, and would regain for the chosen people the glory of the reign of Solomon.

It has been asserted by some scholars,⁶² however, that such a hope could have formed no part of Isaiah's teaching since he

⁵⁹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, p. 492.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 455-56.

⁶¹ If there were two invasions of Sennacherib, the reforms must have come in the interval between them and would then have furnished the ground for Isaiah's faith in the protection of Jahveh. It is difficult to see, in that case, what motives influenced Hezekiah to reform the religious practices.

⁶² E. g. Hackmann, Volz, Marti.

considered that the sin of Judah could be adequately punished only by the total destruction of the nation and often predicted such destruction.⁶³ The song of the vineyard, 5:1-7, is cited, and compared with such passages as 6:11-13, 22:14, 5:29, 30:14, 31:3. Surely, it is argued, the man who expected such destruction could not have predicted at the same time the rescue of the nation from Assyria and its subsequent prosperity. Therefore, all those sections which promise a saved remnant or the defeat of Assyria or the invulnerability of Zion must be interpolations made in order to relieve the gloom of the prophet's real message.

This conclusion rests on the assumption that such predictions of doom are to be interpreted with the literalness of a mathematical proposition, $x - x = 0$. Now a preacher endeavoring to arouse an indifferent audience does not use terms with mathematical accuracy. It is a commonplace of interpretation in any literature that rhetorical figures must not be pressed too far. 5:1-7 is a parable in form, while 30:14, the potter smashing the marred vessel, and 31:3 where the helper and the helped stumble to destruction together, are both figurative. 6:11-13; 22:14; 31:3, are meant as forceful portrayals of a terrible chastisement, rather than as assurances of the annihilation of the nation. Also the idea of the literal annihilation of a nation like Judah by an invading army was unthinkable at that time. A few mud villages could be ground to dust, even a strongly walled city might "become heaps," prisoners were killed or sold as slaves, but the larger proportion of the population would expect to survive any invasion and to rebuild their homes upon the ruins. Campaigns were not managed in those days with quite the modern thoroughness, there were no machine guns to kill men by the thousands. An invading army ruthlessly destroyed all which fell in its way, but in a hill country like Judea, with its heights from which an army could be seen hours before its arrival, with its winding valleys full of caves, there was much which would never fall in an enemy's way. Sargon captured Samaria and, following the precedent set by Tiglath-Pileser, carried off 27,000 people, but two years later Samaria was ready for another rebellion, and two hundred years later was still a

⁶³ Marti, *Jesaja*, p. xxi.

nation with sufficient consciousness of its own identity to interfere seriously with the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem.

Once these things are realized, the "irreconcilable" contradiction between Isaiah's prophecies of destruction and those of restoration vanishes. Furthermore the long continuance of Isaiah's ministry would be psychologically inexplicable if he had been a prophet of disaster alone. Isaiah was not a "transient evangelist" like Amos. He was the leader of his nation through a long life. Had he simply reproved and denounced, he would have been run out of town as Amos was in much less than forty years.⁶⁴

Isaiah's certainty of the survival of a remnant of the people is preserved to us, outside his predictions, in the name of his eldest son, שָׂאֵר יִשׁוּב. Prof. J. M. P. Smith has recently suggested⁶⁵ that the only possible meaning of this name which gives any point to the presence of the boy at the interview with Ahaz (chapter 7) is שָׂאֵר יִשׁוּב "a remnant shall remain." Obviously a prediction of the survival of a remnant may be either a threat or a promise, according to the point of view. At a time of prosperity it is a threat emphasizing the greatness of an impending disaster. This, of course, is its meaning applied to Samaria and Damascus in chapter 7.⁶⁶ In passages such as 1:18; 29:4; 30:17, the emphasis is clearly on the terrible completeness of the desolation which will leave Judah like "a lodge in a garden of cucumbers" or a single beacon on a hill-top. But when the dread Assyrian army was actually approaching, when the allies were deserting or falling one after another into the hands of the conqueror, then the thought that after all some part of the nation would escape, brought comfort. It was then that Isaiah spoke of the surviving remnant with a new significance. Here belong 1:24-26; 6:13; 10:20-23; 37:31-32.

But according to the narrative in chapters 36-37 Isaiah's encouragement at this time was far more definite. Not only would a remnant of the people be left, Jerusalem itself would entirely escape destruction (cf. 37:33). Now, as has already been said, although these two narratives, being legendary in

⁶⁴ G. A. Barton, *JBL.*, XXIII, p. 69.

⁶⁵ *ZAW.*, 1914, pp. 219-224.

⁶⁶ Cf. Kemper Fullerton's interpretation of Is. 9:8-10:4; 5:26-27, in *AJSL.*, XXXIII, 9-39.

character, cannot be trusted for accuracy of detail, they probably had their origin in an actual event. The theme of both is that Isaiah prophesied the safety of Jerusalem, and his prophecy was fulfilled. If nothing of the sort happened, it is difficult to account not only for the rise of the two legends, but also for the influence and importance of Isaiah. If Isaiah prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem and Jerusalem was not destroyed, why should the greatness of his fame have led a later generation to ascribe to him so many things which he did not write? It must be granted, however, that of the two passages, apart from the narrative, which are generally considered in this connection, one, 8:14, is somewhat doubtful in meaning, and the other, 28:16, comes in the collection chapters 28-31 which contains an especially large proportion of late material. With these may be put 8:8 if we read with Duhm *כִּי עָמְנוּ אֵל*,⁶⁷ and thus take the second part of the verse as a promise of protection.^{68 69}

Further, if any of the predictions of disaster to Assyria are genuine they support the prophecy of the escape of Jerusalem.⁷⁰ Of these, 10:5 ff. is, at least in part, the work of Isaiah, and the nature of the beginning is such that some conclusion predicting the downfall of Assyria is required, even though the present form of the conclusion may be the work of a redactor. Chapter 31 clearly contains much late material, yet the definiteness of verse 8 presents a sufficient contrast to the later vague eschatological pictures to suggest that here also the nucleus of the latter part of the chapter was Isaianic.

⁶⁷ Duhm, *Jesaja* (ed. 1902), p. 59.

⁶⁸ Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 148, 194-199.

⁶⁹ The text of chapter 6:13 is so corrupt that the original meaning of the verse cannot now be determined.

⁷⁰ Georg Beer (*Wellhausen Festschrift*, pp. 15-35) denies any of the anti-Assyrian passages to Isaiah. 10:5-34 is a composite of which 10:5-19 is a poem against Assyria written just before the fall of Nineveh, 10:20-27 is post-exilic, v. 27 referring to the Seleucid kingdom, and 10:28-37 is Maccabean. Aside from the general argument, that these passages are inconsistent with Isaiah's view of the Assyrian as Jahveh's instrument, Beer declares that the mention of "all the earth" 10:14 requires a date after the conquest of Egypt in 670. One wishes that all conquering armies were equally exact in their claims.

Duhm⁷¹ concluded that Isaiah preached this hope for a remnant which was to consist of his disciples alone, a sort of inner circle. This idea, however, puts too much weight on the single section 8: 16-18, for there is no hint of an inner circle elsewhere in Isaiah's teaching.⁷² Isaiah's idea seems to have been rather that the remnant from all classes of the nation, appalled by the desolation which the Assyrian army spread through the land, would realize the folly of expecting help from men, and would rely on Jahveh alone; that then Jahveh would punish the pride of Assyria, rescue His people, preserve His chosen city, and restore "her counsellors as at the beginning." The events so far as they can be ascertained from the historical records occurred as Isaiah expected.

Further the book of Deuteronomy (composed in the generation after Isaiah) testifies to the pre-eminence of the one place for sacrifice which Jahveh "shall choose to set His name upon it," and Jeremiah spoke some of his strongest invectives against those who trusted in the presence of the temple of Jahveh to save them and their city from the enemy (Jer. 7, etc.). Older scholars rightly saw here the result of the vindicated confidence of Isaiah in the protecting power of Jahveh.⁷³

If then Isaiah saw his faith in Jahveh justified by the departure of Sennacherib, and his desire for the repentance of his people at least partly satisfied in the reforms of Hezekiah, the Messianic prophecies in chapters 9 and 11 form the fitting climax to his ministry. Hezekiah, vacillating, easily influenced for evil as well as for good, was far from being an ideal king. Surely Jahveh, who had already done so much for His people, would crown His goodness by giving to them a king who would lead them to greater glory.

SOURCES OF THE MESSIANIC HOPE

But although the expectation of an illustrious successor to Hezekiah was a natural result of the later events of that king's reign, there is still to be considered the question of the origin

⁷¹ Duhm, *Jesaja*, p. 65.

⁷² Kemper Fullerton, *HTHR.*, vol. 6, pp. 478 ff.

⁷³ E. G. W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 363, 370.

of the various elements which Isaiah combined in order to portray the reign of that successor. There are certainly details in Isaiah's description which can hardly be supposed inevitable accompaniments of the occupation of the throne of David by a king of ability and virtue.

Since the publication of Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* in 1895, the view that the prophetic ideal of a Messianic king was borrowed from mythology has won several adherents. The work of such men as Hugo Gressmann⁷⁴ has proved conclusively enough the existence in Israel of a popular mythology, which in many ways was directly at variance with the prophetic teachings preserved to us. Naturally the prophets could not but be influenced by the popular ideas. In the book of Amos, their effect is shown in direct contradiction. To Amos, the "day of Jahveh" is "darkness and not light," "as if a man fled from a lion and a bear met him" (Am. 5:18, 19). In the popular conception it was a day in which Jahveh would assert His superiority over other gods in a mighty battle around Jerusalem.⁷⁵ The influence of this popular idea on Isaiah (to whom, since it is older than Amos, it must have been known) is seen in certain of the anti-Assyrian passages. It is only a natural supposition that the eschatological expressions which are by some scholars considered evidence of a later date were borrowed intentionally by Isaiah from the popular notion of the day of Jahveh, in order by the use of familiar phrases to make vivid to his audience his conception of the impending event. Such passages are 10:17 destruction by fire, 28:2 by hail, 30:27, 33 by volcanic eruption; all weapons which Jahveh, in popular opinion, would turn in His "day" against Israel's enemies.

According to Gressmann, this popular eschatology early developed in two directions—towards doom and towards hope—and the two parts became entirely separate. To the eschatology of doom belonged the popular conceptions of Jahveh as a destroying God whose weapons were volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, pestilence, war, etc. Certain of these weapons, e. g. the volcano, obviously originated outside of Palestine and probably belonged to Jahveh before Israel entered the country. Others

⁷⁴ Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905.

⁷⁵ J. M. P. Smith, *AJTh.*, V, pp. 511 f.

are probably to be explained by the absorption into the cult of Jahveh of the worship of specifically Canaanite deities, such as Resheph, a Canaanite God of war and pestilence. On the other hand the eschatology of hope looked for the coming of a Golden Age, a reappearance of Paradise. To the eschatology of doom, Gressmann assigns the idea of the "Remnant"; to the eschatology of hope, that of the "Messiah." But in the popular eschatology, "the thesis to the antithesis of the prophets," the doom was to fall wholly on the rest of the world, not on the worshippers of Jahveh,⁷⁶ for whom only good could be expected. The idea that the "day of Jahveh" was to be a day of punishment for the wicked within Israel was a modification of the popular conception to something compatible with the ethical sense of Amos and his successors. If then Gressmann is correct in assuming that the "remnant" was a part of the eschatology of doom, it must have been applied to a part of the enemies of Jahveh who could perhaps escape total destruction by accepting Jahveh's supremacy and becoming tributary to Israel. Amos, then, who had little occasion to expect any moderation of the disaster which he predicted, simply transferred the remnant along with the doom to Israel (Am. 5:15). But Hosea and Isaiah, believing that at least some portion of the nation would prove faithful to Jahveh, found (to quote Gressmann) in this idea of a remnant a "bridge" between total destruction and Paradise. Thus Isaiah uses the "remnant" both to emphasize destruction and to afford grounds for hope. Gressmann is therefore probably right in supposing that the term "remnant" in the technical sense which it evidently possesses in Am. 5:15 and in the works of later prophets was taken from the popular mythology.

Is he equally justified in asserting a mythological origin for the idea of the Messiah? Obviously certain details in Isaiah's conception of the Messianic reign can have no other origin. The peaceful beasts in 11:6-8 belong quite outside the realm of fact. Indeed, if we are right in supposing that Isaiah borrowed the language of the popular idea of the day of Jahveh and applied it to the relations between Judah and Assyria, it is only consistent to credit him with using the same method to render

⁷⁶ J. M. P. Smith, *AJTh.*, V, p. 521; *Amos*, 5:18.

vivid the glory of the reign of a future king. To the Israelites, the most blissful period in the history of the world was the time of the sojourn of Adam and Eve in Eden. In Eden apparently the beasts were harmless since all are brought to Adam for names. In the time of the flood also Noah was evidently able to allow the "wolf to sojourn with the lamb." In neither of these tales, however, is the peaceful nature of the animals an important element, it is merely assumed as a natural condition. But in an old Sumerian myth, a part of which describes the condition of a place (as yet unidentified) before it became the habitation of man, it is particularly emphasized.^{77 78}

- "1. They that are lofty, they that are lofty are ye,
2. O, X pure;
3. They that are holy, they that are lofty are ye,
4. . . . O, X pure.
5. X is pure, X is bright,
6. X is splendid, X is resplendent.
7. Alone were they in X, they lay down.
8. Where Enki and his consort lay,
9. That place is splendid, that place is pure.
10. Alone in X they lay down.
11. Where Enki with Ninella lay down,
12. That place is splendid, that place is pure.
13. In X the raven cried not,
14. The kite gave not his kite-call,
15. The deadly lion destroyed not,
16. The wolf a lamb seized not,
17. The dog the weak kid worried not,
18. The ewes the food-grain destroyed not,
19. Offspring increased not . . .
20. The birds of heaven their offspring . . . not,
21. The doves were not put to flight (?)."

Here from lines 13-21 we get essentially the same picture as from Is. 11: 6-8. Also lines 1-6, 9, 12, offer a parallel to Is. 11: 9. The ideas illustrated in this Sumerian epic written at

⁷⁷ G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 283, Philadelphia, 1916.

⁷⁸ Stephen Langdon, *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man*, Philadelphia, 1915. Prof. Langdon takes this section as a description of Dilmûn, the Babylonian Paradise, and translates somewhat differently, giving an even closer parallel to Is. 11: 6-9.

Nippur before 2000 B. C. perhaps came to Palestine with the early Babylonian conquerors and traders, and remained in the traditions of the Canaanites, to be adopted in turn by the Israelite invaders.

However, the probability that Isaiah drew certain elements of his Messianic poems from a myth originally Sumerian, does not prove that he got the figure of the Messiah himself from that source. Indeed, in X it is a god, Enki, with his consort (lines 8, 11) and not a human being who rules where no beast harms.

Nor can one find traces of a human Paradise king elsewhere in Babylonian mythology. Aside from this Sumerian epic, indeed, but little information concerning the Golden Age myth in Babylonia or Assyria has been preserved. We have in Berossos⁷⁹ an account of the antediluvian monarchs, the first of whom, Oannes, half fish and half man, taught his subjects the art of writing, and various other useful arts, introduced laws and land measurements, built cities and founded temples. This creature, with a tail for feet, who spent every night under the sea, hardly afforded to Isaiah the model for the Messiah. Gressmann⁸⁰ suggests the possibility of a connection between the Adapa myth⁸¹ and a Paradise king, but the fragments of the tale which have come down to us tell merely how Adapa failed to acquire immortality. The theory of his reign as king, Gressmann bases on the very uncertain identification of Adapa with the second of Berossos's early kings, Alaporos, and on an inscription of Sennacherib in which, according to Gressmann, the king once calls himself "the second Adapa." This inscription⁸² reads (1:4)—"The lord of wisdom (i. e. Ea) gave large understanding, the double of the leader, Adapa; he granted large intelligence." There is, therefore, at present no evidence of the existence of a human Paradise king in Babylonian mythology.

A god, not a man, is also the ruler in the Golden Age to which the Egyptians looked back—the blessed period when Ra ruled the earth in person before the revolt of mankind and the god's

⁷⁹ Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testamente* (translation by Ungnad), pp. 38-39, Göttingen, 1905.

⁸⁰ *AJTh.*, 1913, p. 190.

⁸¹ Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 356, Leipzig, 1907-15.

⁸² Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, p. 38, London, 1851 (translation by Prof. G. A. Barton).

departure for the heavenly regions.⁸³ We have little knowledge of the character of Ra's reign more definite than that conveyed by the frequent phrase "it was not so since the days of Ra,"⁸⁴ or the ending of a hymn to Nile,⁸⁵ "Thou didst provide for us that which is needful that men may live, even as Ra when he ruled this land." The two legends which have survived in fairly complete form (*Isis and Ra*, and the *Destruction of Mankind*) both deal with the end of his reign after he had grown old and feeble. The tale of the *Winged-Sundisk* begins "in the 363rd year of King Ra."⁸⁶ In the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* translated by A. H. Gardiner, there is a fragmentary passage which Gardiner interprets as a description of Ra's reign. His translation is as follows:⁸⁷

"He bringeth (?) coolness upon that which is hot. It is said: he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire (?) . . . so long as (?) the gods in the midst thereof endure (?) seed shall come forth (?) from the women of the people; none (?) is found on the way (?) a fighter (?) goes forth, that he (?) may destroy the wrongs that (?) they have brought about. There is no pilot (?) in their moment. Where is he (?) today? Is he sleeping? Behold his might is not seen."

But even in this passage there is no suggestion that Ra might return to earth or that the blessings of his reign would be repeated. We find, then, no evidence for the Messianic idea in Egyptian mythology.

Gressmann further suggests the possibility of a Canaanite origin for the idea, and here the absence of any knowledge of Canaanite mythology makes proof or refutation alike impossible. There is one bit of legend preserved in Sanchoniathon's curious

⁸³ Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 52, New York, 1897; Zimmermann, *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 11, Paderborn, 1912; Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 211, New York, 1909.

⁸⁴ Merneptah inscription, Israelite stele, line 10. *Altorientalische Texte* . . . , p. 193.

⁸⁵ Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 147.

⁸⁶ Wiedemann, *ibid.*, p. 69.

⁸⁷ A. H. Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 11: 11-12: 6, Leipzig, 1909.

medley,⁸⁸ a tale of a certain Porus "who rode about on a camel, kept watch of the sanctuaries, and conferred benefits on the children of Uranus." Are we to take Porus as Isaiah's model?

Oesterly⁸⁹ has attempted to show that the Messianic ideal is a myth originating within Israel itself, independent of outside influence. He would explain it as a development of the second of the three mythical ideas common to humanity—the belief in a beneficent power—which in Israel took the form of the Jahveh-myth, paralleled by the "Heilbringer" in all mythologies. But the expectation that an illustrious king (at least partly human) should sit triumphantly on David's throne seems hardly a logical development from an expectation that Jahveh would rule the world—especially among a people who like the Israelites did not deify their heroes (cf. the legends of the patriarchs).

But is the idea of the Messianic king necessarily mythological? Gressmann asserts positively that it is. He finds in the conception three consecutive stages:

- (1) The divine child bringing peace to Israel at birth.
- (2) The king with divine epithets and functions.
- (3) The descendant of David ruling at the end of the world.

The first of the three stages which he names is the only one which is necessarily mythological; and the evidence for the existence of this belief in Israel is derived almost wholly from the interpretation of Is. 7 as a Messianic prediction. Modern scholars almost unanimously reject as entirely unjustified any such interpretation of the sign promised by Isaiah to Ahaz, since "the sign lies not . . . in the circumstances of the birth, but in the chain of events predicted and their association with the . . . naming of the child."⁹⁰ Gressmann's chief reasons for dissenting from this view are the mention of milk and honey in Is. 7: 15 "a striking parallel to the food of Zeus in Crete,"⁹¹ and the use of the word העלמה Is. 7: 14. Prof. Barton has shown conclusively⁹² that to the Semite the phrase "milk and honey" had no mythological associations. העלמה,

⁸⁸ Sanchoniathon, *Phönizische Geschichte*, § 7; German translation, 1837.

⁸⁹ Oesterly, *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea*, chapters 8, 10, New York, 1908.

⁹⁰ Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 124.

⁹¹ Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, p. 215.

⁹² Article "Milk," Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

which carries none of the significance of the Greek *παρθένος*, Hebrew *בתולה*, may mean equally well "the young woman," "a young woman," or "young women."⁹³ Hence Gressmann's argument for the miraculous character of the child Immanuel falls to the ground.

The second and third stages into which he divides the development of the idea are not clearly distinguished and may easily be united or put in the reverse order. Further it is hardly clear that the descendant of David is not to appear until the end of the world. Our evidence for dating most of the Messianic passages is internal, and Gressmann seems rather arbitrary in assuming that a king with divine epithets developed into a descendant of David rather than *vice versa*.

Gressmann's further argument that the Messianic idea must be of foreign origin because early Israel had no king is valid only if it can be proved that the conception existed in Israel before the establishment of the Israelite kingdom; and such proof is not given. The two passages which Gressmann cites as evidence of great antiquity because of the mention of the ass, e. g. Zech. 9:9 and Gen. 49:11, may easily be due to the use of the ass at the coronation of Solomon (I Kings 1:33, 38).

The earliest definite formulation of a Messianic expectation is found in the prophecy of Isaiah. Is it not possible to find the origin of the essential elements of his figure of the Messiah in history instead of in mythology? The J and E sections of the books of Samuel and Kings, which received nearly their present form in the eighth century, bear witness that the reigns of Saul, of David, and especially of Solomon were then being idealized and thought of in terms of the world empire of Assyria. A study of these stories reveals, emphasized in them, those characteristics which Isaiah portrayed in his ideal ruler. Verbal identity we do not find. Isaiah was a poet as well as a prophet, and a poet of great originality. He therefore clothes in new words the ideas current among his people.

1:26. *שפטִיךָ כבִּרְאשֹׁנָה וְעֵצִיךָ כְּבַתְחֻלָּה*. For *שפט*, cf. Ex. 18:12-27 (E), where Moses appoints rulers to judge the people, also Num. 25:5 (E); if Dillmann⁹⁴ is right in asserting

⁹³ Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 124 f., 132; G-K., 126q (2d English edition, Oxford, 1910).

⁹⁴ Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 15, 5th edition, Leipzig, 1890.

that the reference is not pre-Davidic, cf. II Sam. 15:2, 4. For **יֵעִץ**, cf. II Sam. 15:12; 16:23; 17, Ahitophel the counsellor of David, and I Kings 12:6, 8, 13, the counsellors of Solomon contrasted with those of Rehoboam. 1:27, as has been suggested, was perhaps meant as a contrast to Hezekiah's method of ransoming Jerusalem by gold.

9:3. **כיום מדין** cf. Judg. 7.

9:4. **וַיִּשְׁמְלָה מְגוּלָּלָה בְּרַמִּים** . . . **סֹאן**, cf. I Kings 2:5 ff., Solomon punishes Joab because **וַיִּתֵּן רָמִי מַלְחָמָה בַּחֲגֵרְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר בְּמַתְנֵי וַיִּבְנְעֵלוּ אֲשֶׁר בְּרַגְלָיו**.

9:5. **הַמִּשְׁרָה עַל-שִׁכְמוֹ**. The root is **שָׁרַר** (BDB) = "rise in splendor," "shine." In I Sam. 9:16 et al., Saul is anointed **לְנִגִּיד עַל עַמִּי**. **נִגִּיד** = "be conspicuous." (Was the phrase, **עַל שִׁכְמוֹ**, perhaps suggested by the description of Saul, I Sam. 9:2, **מִשְׁכְּמוֹ וּמַעֲלָה גָבַהּ מִכָּל הָעָם**?) If the idea of **עַל שִׁכְמוֹ** is the burden of government, cf. rather I Kings 3:9 ff.

9:5. **פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ**, cf. Solomon's request for wisdom, I Kings 3:7 ff., and also David's first appearance, I Sam. 16:18, **נָבֹן דָּבָר**.

אֵל גִּבּוֹר cf. I Sam. 16:18 **חֵיל גִּבּוֹר**, II Sam. 1:19, David's lament for Saul and Jonathan. For the use of **אֵל**, cf. the idea that he who cursed a king should die, II Sam. 19:21, Ex. 22:28; also David's refusal to harm Saul, I Sam. 24:3-12; 26:6-16, because he is the "Lord's anointed," and II Sam. 1:21. Cf. further the use of **אֵל גִּבּוֹר** of giants in Ez. 32:21.

אֲבִי עֵר. For **עֵר**, "booty," cf. Gen. 49:27. Cf. the various exploits of Saul and David, e. g. I Sam. 30:22 ff., the law of the division of spoil, II Sam. 12:30 ff., the spoil of Rabbah.

שָׁר שָׁלוֹם. Cf. the traditional character of Solomon. The peacefulness of his reign is emphasized chiefly by the redactor, but it is also the general view and is implied by his alliance with Hiram, etc.

9:6. **עַל כֶּסֶּף דָּוִד**. A common phrase in I Kings 1, 2, 3.

יֵשֶׁב שְׁלָמָה עַל כֶּסֶּף הַמְּלוּכָה, cf. I Kings 1:46, **עַל מַמְלַכְתּוֹ**.

אֲתָּו צִוִּיתִי cf. I Kings 1:35, **לְהַכִּין אֶתְּךָ וּלְסַעֲדָה** and I Kings 2:24, **יְהוֹה אֲשֶׁר הִכְנִנִי**.

בְּמִשְׁפָּט וּבְצִדְקָה cf. I Kings 3:9, Solomon's request for wisdom **לְשַׁפֵּט אֶת-עַמְּךָ לְהַכִּין בֵּין טוֹב לְרָע** and also I Kings 3:11, 28, **לַעֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט**, . . . **לְשִׁמְעָה**.

11:1. מְנוּעַ יִשִּׁי cf. "son of Jesse" for David, I Sam. 20:27, 30; 22:7, 8, 9; 25:10; II Sam. 20:1; I Kings 12:16.

11:2. רוּחַ יְהוָה cf. I Sam. 10:6; 11:6; 16:14.

רוּחַ חֲכָמָה וּבִינָה cf. I Kings 3:9, 28.

יֵרֵאת יְהוָה cf. II Sam. 1:14, 16, יֵרֵאת, *fear* to slay the Lord's anointed, and II Sam. 6:9, "David was afraid of Jahveh that day."

11:3, 4a, cf. again Solomon's request for wisdom.

11:4b. וְהִכָּה-עֲרִיץ בְּשֶׁבֶט פִּי. Was the figure perhaps suggested by the narrative of I Kings 2 where Solomon by the utterance of a word causes the death of his enemies?

11:10b. אֱלֹוֵי גִוִּים יִדְרָשׁוּ cf. Hiram of Tyre. The tale of the Queen of Sheba perhaps originated about this time, since we know that in 715 Sargon took tribute from Saba.

וְהָיְתָה מִנְחָתוֹ כְּבוֹד, cf. II Sam. 7:1 or perhaps I Kings 2:10.

The picture of the peace among the animals, drawn from mythology, is, of course, figurative;⁹⁵ but its appropriateness to describe a time of prosperity becomes obvious if we remember how quickly disaster in war was followed by ravages from wild beasts (cf. Ex. 23:29, 30; II Kings 17:25). Further, David's first exploits were the slaying of lions and bears which came to devour the flock (I Sam. 17:34-36. Cf. Ecclus. 47:3).

It must, however, be remembered that the idea of having a king was borrowed by the Israelites from their Canaanite neighbors so that their conception of his nature and duties must have been largely Canaanite. But the Canaanites at the time of the Habiri invasion were just beginning to throw off the rule of Egypt. Now the king of Egypt was considered the "son of Ra," a title first assumed by User-k-f, first king of the fifth dynasty,⁹⁶ in a very literal sense, and received his divinity by inheritance. (Cf. the reliefs on the temple of Hatsepsut at Deir el-Bahari, of Amenophis III at Luxor, of Cleopatra VII at Erment.⁹⁷) During his life the king was called "the good God" in distinction to the heavenly deities who were called "great Gods,"⁹⁸ but he bore the latter title after death. He

⁹⁵ W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 303.

⁹⁶ Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, p. 329, London, 1904.

⁹⁷ Zimmermann, *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 14; Budge, *ibid.*, p. 329; Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 40, Tübingen, 1885.

⁹⁸ Erman, *ibid.*, p. 39.

was, however, while living, so closely identified with the sun-god that his palace was called "the horizon," when he showed himself "he rose," when he died "he set"; and on his head he wore the emblem of the sacred sun serpent.⁹⁹ When the Habiri entered Palestine, the heretic king, Ikhnaten, was on the throne of Egypt, but he was still addressed by the old titles with the substitution of Aten, the sun-disk, for Ra. The Tell-el-Amarna letters¹⁰⁰ are full of phrases showing how entirely the Canaanites accepted the Pharaoh's claim to deity. "Sun" or "son of the sun" he is of course called times without number, e. g. 49:1, 3; 53:1; 84:1, 30; 147:5, 6, 52; 211:16. Namiawaza says (195:8 ff.): "At the feet of the king my lord, the sun, the message(?) from the mornings and the evenings . . . The lord is the Sun in the Heaven, and as for the coming out of the sun from the heaven so wait the servants for the coming out of the words from the mouth of their Lord." In 292:8 ff. Addudani says: "I have looked here and I have looked there, but there is no light. I have looked towards the king my Lord, and there is the light." After Egypt abandoned Palestine, the Canaanites would naturally transfer these epithets to their own petty kings, and thus this mode of thought would be familiar to Israel. Indeed, 51, a letter from Addu-Nirari, seems to show that the very ceremony of anointing which gave Saul the spirit of Jahveh, was introduced into Canaan by Thothmes III. "Behold as Manah-bi-i-ia (i. e. Thothmes III), king of Egypt, thy grandfather (T)a(ku), my grandfather, in Nuhašše made king, and oil on his head put; for he thus spoke, that one whom the king of Egypt makes king, and on (whose head he oil) has put shall no one overthrow."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Erman, *ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁰ References are made to the edition of Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1907-15.

¹⁰¹ Contrary to this view is the fact that anointing with animal fat was among the primitive Semites a necessary part of the sacrificial customs. The agricultural Semites modified the practice by burning the fat of the sacrifice and using vegetable fat for anointing. Among all Semites anointing was practiced at festivals, and in connection with the priesthood. Sacred stones and images were also anointed with oil as an act of worship (cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 232, 383). However, the particular significance of the rite in connection with the office of king may well have originated in Egypt. 35:24; 34:47, 50; 1:95, testify to the

May we not, therefore, see in Isaiah's shining light (9:1) an echo of the courtly phrases of Addudani and his fellows? And for 11:4b, shall we not compare the appeal from the city of Irkata, 100:34 f., "may the breath of the king not depart from us. We have shut the city gate until the breath of the king come to us."? Cf. also 141:14 ff.; 145:19; 195:19 f. And again, Abimilki's eulogy of the Pharaoh (147:5) suggests Is. 9:7, "My lord is the sun . . . He it is who makes alive by his good . . . who establishes the whole land in rest through the might of *the hand*." Again the king of Egypt like Isaiah's Messiah can judge rightly without hearing; cf. with Is. 11:3, 119:36 "is no man who has spoken my right before the king, my lord. But my right the king knows."

Further, since Isaiah was writing in the period of Assyrian supremacy, the claims and titles of the Assyrian kings must have been as familiar to him as those of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem. The description and names of the child (Is. 9:6-7) are by no means a translation of the Assyrian epithets, but there is a similarity undoubtedly intentional, between the effect of the whole and the grandiloquent beginnings of many Assyrian inscriptions. Compare for example that of Shalman-ezer II (*KB.*, I, p. 153), "Shalman-ezer II, king of hosts, the prince, the priest of Ashur, the mighty king, . . . the sun of the hosts, who subdues all lands, the king, the honorer of the Gods, the darling of Bel, the officer of Ashur, the mighty, the exalted prince, who finds ways and paths, treads down the ends of the hills, and of all the mountains, who receives tribute and gifts of all the regions of the world (cf. Is. 11:10ab), who opens paths everywhere, before whose mighty battle storm the regions of the world stoop . . . the heroic, strong one (cf. אל גבור) . . . the splendid sprout of Takulti-Ninib."

But in spite of their epithets the kings of Assyria are only mortal. They often claim to have been designated as king by the gods before birth: "I am Ashur-bani-pal . . . whose name Ashur and Sin, the possessor of the king's cap(?), since distant days, had called to rule, and whom they in his mother's

importance of gifts of olive oil to the Pharaoh (Knudtson, notes on 51) and the phraseology of Addu-Nirari's letter suggests that the Egyptians had transferred their own custom to Nuḥašše, with the necessary explanation of its meaning.

womb had established to the shepherding over Assyria" (*KB.*, II, p. 153). But the birth itself is natural. The king may even call a divinity mother or father, cf. the hymn of Gudea of Lagash to Bau, dating from about 2450 B. C.:¹⁰²

"I have no mother—thou art my mother;
I have no father—thou art my father.
My father . . . in a holy place thou hast produced me,
Goddess Bau, thou knowest what is good.
Thou hast given me the breath of life,
Under the protection of my mother, in thy shadow
I will reverently dwell."

But since the goddess is both mother and father, the hymn can hardly be meant literally. The story of the birth of Sargon cannot be taken as evidence for the claim of divine parentage, since the correct translation is apparently "my mother was poor."¹⁰³ Some of the earliest kings, e. g. Sargon of Agade and his son Naram-Sin have their names written with the sign for deity.¹⁰⁴ Naram-Sin is portrayed with upturned horns on his head, the symbol of deity,¹⁰⁵ and on a monument of Ur-Nina the ruler himself offers a libation;¹⁰⁶ the names of Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin of the dynasty of Ur were also written with the sign of deity,¹⁰⁷ but the later kings require a priest even to bring them into the presence of God. There is no evidence for even a partially divine character of kings after the time of the Kassite kings of Babylon.¹⁰⁸

The kings are, however, especially favored by the Gods, and under their especial protection. Compare with Is. 11:2 such claims as the following made by Nebuchadrezzar, presumably

¹⁰² Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 465, Philadelphia, 1915.

¹⁰³ *Altorientalische Texte* . . .

¹⁰⁴ Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 19, New York, 1911.

¹⁰⁵ Jastrow, *Aspects* . . ., p. 23, Plate 8.

¹⁰⁶ Jastrow, *The Civilization* . . ., p. 271.

¹⁰⁷ G. A. Barton, *JAOS.*, XXXIV, p. 318, and *Haverford Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, II, p. 58, No. 278, Philadelphia, 1914.

¹⁰⁸ Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, 1, pp. 144-149, Münster, 1907-10, makes the last divine king Hammurabi, but cf. Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series A, XX, p. 52.

imitating his predecessors: "King of Babylon . . . the exalted who understands the expression of the lawful inclination of the great Gods" (*KB.*, III:2, p. 39); and with 11:5, this from the inscription of Merodach-Baladan: "this is the ruler who brings together the injured, a just sceptre, a staff which leads aright the men intrusted to his hand" (*KB.*, III:1, p. 185). There are parallels also for the "shoot" of Jesse, cf. "the sprout of Bel-kapkap, the former king who still before the ancient time of the kingdom of Sulilu ruled" (*KB.*, I, p. 191), cf. also *KB.*, I, p. 153.

Since, then, the epithets of the king predicted by Isaiah are only those which could be applied to a powerful king of Israel sitting on the throne in Jerusalem in Isaiah's time, it is hardly fair to insist that the figure of the king is mythological because certain accompaniments of his reign are described in terms drawn from mythology. There is in Isaiah's thought no room for a supernatural monarch, but as has been shown, his thought requires to make it logically complete, the picture of the restoration of the days of David and Solomon as Isaiah understood them.

For the prediction of an actual (not a mythical) king by a prophet we have at least one striking parallel in the literature of Egypt. A papyrus, No. 1116 of the Hermitage of Petrograd, dating from about the middle of the XIX dynasty (two other copies of part of the contents are preserved),¹⁰⁰ tells a tale of the prophecy spoken by a priest in the presence of king Snefru (c. 2950 B. C.). The prophecy runs as follows (according to Sayce and Ranke): "A king shall come from the South, Ameni, the truth declaring, by name. He shall be a son of a woman of Nubia and will be born in the inner part of Nechen (the old capital of Upper Egypt). He shall assume the crown of Upper Egypt, and put upon himself the Lower Egypt crown. He shall unite the double crown and make at peace Horus and Set in love. The people of the age of the son of man shall rejoice and establish his name for all eternity. They shall be removed far from evil and the wicked shall humble their mouths for fear of him. The Asiatics shall fall before his blows, the Libyans before his

¹⁰⁰ Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylon*, p. 248, Edinburgh, 1903. Golenischeff, in *Recueil de Travaux*, XV, pp. 88, 89; *Altorientalische Texte* . . . , pp. 204 ff. (translation by Ranke). Compare also the translation by Gardiner, in *Jour. Eg. Arch.*, April, 1914.

flame, the enemy before the rage of his . . . and the rebels before his strength. The royal serpent on his brow shall pacify the revolted. A wall shall be built, even that of the prince, that the Asiatics may no more enter into Egypt. They ask for water . . . according to the manner of . . . in order to give drink to their cattle. The truth will again come to its place, while the lie . . . overthrown. He rejoices over it, he who shall see, who shall be in the train of the king. A wise man will sprinkle water for me when he sees that which I have said come to pass." There is in this prophecy a possible implication that the king to come is a miraculous being, and so Sayce interpreted it. But Ranke, following a suggestion of Eduard Meyer, points out that *Ameni* is the abbreviated form of *Amen-em-het*, and that the prophecy may be referred to Amenemhet I, the founder of the XII dynasty. The epithet, "son of a man," applied to the king is, according to Ranke, the regular expression for "a man of noble birth" in distinction to the son of an unknown father. The "prince's wall," which is referred to also in the *Romance of Sinuhit* and was therefore in existence about 1970, is the wall built on the Eastern frontier to keep the Bedoui out of Egypt. One of the inscriptions of Amenemhet quoted by Breasted,¹¹⁰ makes for him somewhat the same claim as does the prophecy, "binding of the chiefs of the Two Lands, capturing the South and the Northland, the foreign countries and the two regions, the Nine Bows and the Two Lands." Plainly, therefore, Egyptians of a later day thought that this first of the great kings of the South had been predicted nearly a thousand years before his birth. Such a tale could originate only among a people who were accustomed to hear predictions of good to occur in the reigns of future human kings. Thus although we can find in Egyptian thought no parallel for the expectation of a mythological Hebrew Messiah, we do find there the same expectation of an ideal human king.

PRE-EXILIC MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS

One argument against the genuineness of the Messianic passages in Isaiah should be considered more fully—namely that the specific expectation of an ideal Davidic king did not originate

¹¹⁰ Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 151, New York, 1905.

until there was no longer an actual Davidic king upon the throne.¹¹¹

This view is by no means universally accepted. Sellin¹¹² asserts, with Gressmann, that the idea of a Messiah is an early Semitic ideal, older than the Hebrew monarchy. The arguments drawn from mythology have already been considered, but Sellin discusses in much greater detail than Gressmann the evidence afforded by the early Hebrew literature. In the early J stories of the patriarchs there are certainly expressions of an expectation of a glorious future for the Hebrew nation, cf. Gen. 9: 25-27, the blessing of Shem; Gen. 12: 2, the promise to Abraham; Gen. 28: 14, the promise to Jacob; and from J and E, Gen. 27: 27-29, Isaac's blessing to Jacob. (Gen. 22: 17; 26: 4, which Sellin also cites are the work of E².)¹¹³ Sellin is undoubtedly correct in assuming that these stories are much older than the time of the composition of the J document, but none of these passages makes any specific mention of an individual ruler; and the description of the blessing is in all cases too general in phraseology to admit many deductions. Sellin's inference that the inclusion of "all the world" proves the mythological and non-Israelite origin of the idea is hardly admissible. Would a comparison with the folk-lore of any other nation lead us to expect Gen. 12: 2 to read "in thee shall be blessed those nations whose territories border on thine"? These passages therefore prove nothing beyond the existence of the very natural belief that Jahveh would prosper His people. (Judg. 5: 31 is a less positive expression of the same idea.)

There are certain passages in the Pentateuch which may be interpreted as predictions of an individual, e. g. Gen. 49: 22-26, the blessing of Joseph; Gen. 49: 9-12, the blessing of Judah; Num. 24: 17-20, Balaam's blessing upon Jacob (since Deut. 33: 13-16 is based upon Gen. 49: 22-26 and is less definite, it needs no separate consideration). Sellin asserts that these passages portray in eschatological colors the rescue of the Israelites by an individual. Now Gen. 49 is generally admitted to contain elements of different dates,¹¹⁴ which were combined at least at

¹¹¹ Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Mi. 5: 15), Tübingen, 1903-04.

¹¹² Sellin, *Die israelitisch-jüdische Heilandserwartung*, Berlin, 1909.

¹¹³ Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, London, 1900.

¹¹⁴ Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *ibid.*; Skinner, "Genesis" (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1910.

late as the reign of David, so that it furnishes no certain evidence for the existence of conceptions earlier than the monarchy. Furthermore, the text of vv. 22-26 is extremely corrupt; the only possible reference to an individual is v. 24cd, but "the mighty one of Jacob" is obviously Jahveh, cf. v. 25 and Is. 1: 24; 49: 26, so that the parallelism requires the last clause also to refer to Jahveh. Skinner¹¹⁵ reads with שׁט° "through the name of the shepherd of the Israel-Stone"; Mitchell,¹¹⁶ ". . . shepherd of Israel thy father." Vv. 9-12 were evidently written after the rule of David had been firmly established (since the continuance of something non-existent is hardly an admissible prediction). The Messianic interpretation of the term, *Shiloh*, is first given in the Talmud¹¹⁷ as a parallel to ינון , Ps. 72: 2; חנניה , Jer. 16: 13 et al., fanciful interpretations devised as compliments to various rabbis. The word was evidently never intended as a proper name. Many emendations on the basis of the versions have been suggested, i. e. משלה שלו , שלם , אשר לו , שׁלו . The parallelism of the following clause could be kept by reading $\text{הַשָּׁלֵם} + \text{שׁלִי}$ *locale*¹¹⁸ "until he enters into peace and his is the obedience of the nations," cf. בשׁלִי II Sam. 3: 27; שׁילה would then arise by transposition, and the rarity of the term שׁלִי would hinder the correction of the mistake. In any case the passage is clearly a *vaticinium ex eventu* concerning the rise of the Davidic dynasty coupled with the prediction of its long continuance. The various oracles of Balaam are best explained as composed at the same time as Gen. 49 and for a similar purpose, although the story in which they are inserted is probably much older. The monarchy is presupposed, and the mention of both Edom and Moab fits best the reign of David.¹¹⁹ For the use of the term "star" cf. Is. 14: 12, Ez. 32: 7. Sellin proposes to supplement the vagueness of these prophecies by deducing the character of the expected rescuer from the common attributes of the heroes in the book of Judges, but neither miraculous birth (cf. Gideon,

¹¹⁵ Skinner, *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ H. G. Mitchell, *Genesis* (B.H.S.), 1909.

¹¹⁷ Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*.

¹¹⁸ G-K 90 a-h.

¹¹⁹ G. B. Gray, *Numbers* (Int. Crit. Com.), 1903; Baentsch, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numeri*, Göttingen, 1903; Holzinger, *Numeri*, Tübingen, 1903.

Jephthah) nor phenomenal physical strength (cf. Deborah) seems to be a necessary characteristic of these heroes.

Thus the Hebrew literature before the time of the literary prophets gives evidence only for an expectation of national prosperity, and a hope of the long continuance of the ruling dynasty. Amos, the first of the prophets, denied the possibility of the fulfilment of even this hope, for Am. 9: 11-15 presupposes the exile (v. 14) and is also entirely inconsistent with the rest of the prophet's teaching. On the other hand it is impossible to conceive the message of Hosea without some element of hope for the future. He pleaded eloquently for a return of the nation to the loving worship of Jahveh, and such phrases as 2: 2; 10: 12; 11: 1, 3, imply that if Israel returned, there would be forgiveness and renewal of favor on the part of Jahveh. How definite was Hosea's expression of this future hope is less easily determined since many passages in the book are either post-exilic or have suffered a post-exilic revision, e. g. 11: 9-11; 14: 4-9.¹²⁰ But 2: 14-23; 3: 1-5 are as a whole consistent with Hosea's phraseology and thought. The definite denunciation of Ba'al worship (2: 16, 17) and the lack of reference to any return from exile prove 2: 16, 17 at least earlier than 586, and the "pillar" and "teraphim" (3: 4) argue for the pre-Deuteronomic character of chapter 3. But since a pre-exilic date for the section as a whole does not exclude the probability of post-exilic glosses, it is unsafe to lay much weight on the reference to the covenant with the beasts (v. 18), or to assert that "David their king" (3: 5b) proves that a re-union of Israel and Judah under a Davidic king formed a part of Hosea's hope for the future. Thus we have no certain evidence that there existed before Isaiah any hope for the future of Israel more definite than that the Israelite nation was destined by Jahveh for prosperity, and that long continuance had been predicted for the dynasty of David.

Neither is it clear that Isaiah's contemporary, Micah, had any expectation of a Messiah.¹²¹ Mi. 4-7 contains little or nothing which can be the work of Micah; while Mi. 2: 12-13, the only

¹²⁰ Harper, *Amos and Hosea*; J. M. P. Smith, *Amos, Hosea, and Micah*; Marti, *Das Dodekapheton*.

¹²¹ J. M. P. Smith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*; and "Micah, Zephaniah" . . . (Int. Crit. Com.); Marti, *Das Dodekapheton*.

hopeful passage in the first three chapters, presupposes the exile. There is, however, a possibility that some part of Mi. 5:2-6 may have been the work either of Micah or of some unknown contemporary. The text is corrupt and the passage is obviously not a unit since it speaks of one leader and then of several; but the definite mention of Assyria (vv. 5b, 6) as a conquering world power links the passage with the period of Isaiah and Micah.¹²² Mi. 5:2 ff. may be an echo of the Messianic hopes of Isaiah, although again the uncertainty is too great to warrant taking the parallel as evidence for the pre-exilic date of the Isaiah passages.

There is still to be considered whether there is any trace of the influence of Isaiah's ideal on the age immediately following the work of the prophet. II Sam. 7:11-16 is one of the most definite statements in the Old Testament of the permanence of

¹²² The statement generally made (H. G. Mitchell, "Haggai, Zechariah . . ." *Int. Crit. Com.*), that "Assyria" was used by post-exilic writers as a name for any world power threatening Israel is not borne out by an examination of the passages. In Ez. 31:3, אֲשׁוּר is not used for Egypt, but is a copyist's error for מִצְרַיִם (Bertholet, *Hezekiel*, p. 160). Ezra 6:22 probably refers to a Persian satrap of Assyria who bore a courtesy title similar to Zerubbabel's (Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, pp. 153, 154). The use of "Babylon" for Persia, Ezra 5:13; Neh. 13:6, which Mitchell gives as parallel, is in both passages due to textual corruption, since Ezra 5:13 should be read according to the text of Esdras "in the first year that Cyrus ruled over the country of Babylon" and Neh. 13:6 should read, parallel to Neh. 2:1, simply "the king" (Batten, *ibid.*). In II Kings 23:29; Is. 10:24; 30:31-33; Jer. 2:18; Ps. 83:8, the Assyrian empire gives the better sense. In most of the other passages the term is used of a geographical not a political division, e. g. Is. 11:11, 16, where it is parallel to Elam, Cush, etc.; Is. 27:13; Lam. 5:6. In Is. 52:4 "Assyria" may be taken as a historical reference, parallel to the sojourn in Egypt. Zech. 10:10-12 refers specifically to Ephraim so that the return should naturally be from Assyria. This leaves unaccounted for only Is. 19:23-25; but if these verses are a continuation of 19:19-22, the mention of the altar in Egypt and the pillar suggests a pre-Deuteronomic date; while if they are a later addition, Assyria may have been substituted for the original name from 20:1.

Zech. 10:10-12 dates from the Greek period. It is therefore possible that in this passage, and perhaps also in Is. 19:23-25, if that is late, "Assyria" is used of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, a confusion of terms exactly parallel to that in Herodotus (*Enc. Bib.*, article "Syria," § 1). Such a use, however, would give no support for the interpretation of "Assyria" as identical with Babylon or "any enemy of Israel."

the Davidic dynasty and of Jahveh's especial favor for David's descendants. The section in its present form shows plainly its Deuteronomic character, and is probably exilic, but the present form of the passage is clearly not original.¹²³ The whole point of the original oracle (omitting v. 13) was that David should not build Jahveh a house, but that Jahveh would make David a house. Obviously this section which disapproves of the building of the temple is pre-Deuteronomic and was probably written in the early part of the seventh century,—a result of the national enthusiasm over the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib. Vv. 9, 14, 15a especially emphasize the peculiarly close relation between the king and Jahveh.

The section in Deuteronomy 17:14-20 which describes the duties of the king, emphasizes Isaiah's ideal of right judgment and justice, and agrees with him in disapproval of intercourse with Egypt. If the king fulfills this Deuteronomic law, he and his children shall prolong their days in the kingdom. Thus in spite of the discouragement caused by the reactionary reign of Manasseh, traces of Isaiah's ideal king may be found in the law book of his followers.

The only other description of an ideal king which is possibly pre-exilic is Jer. 23:5-7 (parallel to Jer. 33:14-22). For this passage a *terminus ad quem* is supplied by Zech. 3:8; 6:12, which certainly depend upon it; for the abrupt introduction of the title "Branch" implies a previous and more explicit use of the term.¹²⁴ The passage, Jer. 23:5-7, is therefore either exilic or pre-exilic. Cornill¹²⁵ argues convincingly for Jeremiah's authorship of at least vv. 5, 6. The passage is entirely ethical; it contains nothing of either war or politics. The expectation of help for Israel and Judah is characteristic of Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 3:6 ff.). The decisive argument is the use of the name יהוה צדקנו, parallel to the name of the reigning king, צדקיה. Zedekiah was always pitied rather than blamed by the

¹²³ Kennedy, "I and II Samuel" (*New Century Bible*), 1905; H. P. Smith, "Samuel" (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1899; Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, Tübingen, 1902.

¹²⁴ Mitchell, "Haggai, Zechariah . . ." (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1912; Cornill, *Jeremia*, Leipzig, 1905; Duhm, *Jeremias*, Tübingen, 1907; Giesebrecht, *Jeremias*, Göttingen, 1907.

¹²⁵ Cornill, *ibid.*, pp. 264, 265.

prophet whose condemnation was for the nobles who influenced him for evil (cf. Jer. 2:8; 10:21; 23:1, 2). Thus Jer. 23:1, 2, 5, 6 gives Jeremiah's verdict on Zedekiah, parallel to those on his predecessors. Jeremiah could not praise Zedekiah himself, but he uses intentionally a similar name for the ideal king who is to come. The idea of a perfect king is evidently not being expressed for the first time in this passage, it is introduced much too casually. Further as Cornill says,¹²⁶ Ezekiel knew the Messianic ideal and from Ez. 17:22-24; 34:23, 24, it is clear that he did not create it. Hence it must have originated before the exile. Also it is difficult to account for the assurances of Haggai and Zechariah, or for the brilliant eschatological pictures of a still later time if there had been no definite Messianic prediction by the accredited prophets of the pre-exilic period. Neither the appointment of Zerubbabel as governor of Jerusalem, nor any later event offers in itself a probable origin for a Messianic hope, while the enduring confidence in the ultimate realization of such a hope implies a definite statement of it by prophets who had been accepted as inspired by Jahveh.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion: the expectation of an ideal king ruling in Jerusalem is a natural outgrowth of the historical situation at the end of Hezekiah's reign, since the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib inspired unlimited confidence both in the power of Jahveh, and in His determination to protect His chosen people. A natural accompaniment of this confidence was an expectation of a return of the power and prosperity of the already idealized days of the United Kingdom. Hezekiah was obviously incapable of being the leader of such a restoration; but Jahveh would provide a successor who should possess the necessary qualifications.

Without the Messianic passages, the thought of Isaiah is incomplete. The destruction which he prophesied was not final, since the account of his prophecy that the city of Jerusalem should remain untaken must have some basis in fact, and some of the passages which predict the punishment of Assyria are

¹²⁶ Cornill, *ibid.*

evidently genuine. The Messianic passages are the natural consequence of the fulfilment of these expectations.

On the other hand, there is nothing in the character of the passages themselves which makes the Isaianic authorship improbable. The vocabulary is similar to that of the passages accepted as genuine. The characteristics of the king were drawn largely from the stories of Saul, David, and Solomon in the J portion of the Book of Kings, which existed in written form in the time of Isaiah. The effect of the expressions used is precisely similar to that produced by the conventional series of epithets in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings—formulae which would certainly be known to Isaiah. Other phrases suggest the forms of address used in the Tell-el Amarna letters to the king of Egypt. These forms would be expected to occur in the court style of the Hebrews, who instituted their kingdom in imitation of their Canaanite neighbors.

The king is thus a real not a mythological figure, since the epithets applied to him are all parallel to those used of actual rulers. Further, no reference to a mythological Messiah has yet been found in the literature of Egypt or of Babylonia and Assyria from which the Hebrew conception might have been borrowed, although there are parallels in Egyptian writings to the prediction of an illustrious king. The picture of the peace among the animals may have been drawn from the myth of Paradise, but is used evidently to emphasize extraordinary prosperity and not intended to be understood literally.

Finally, such passages as II Sam. 7:5 ff., Jer. 23:5 ff., prove that a hope for a worthy successor to David was held in the period before the exile. It seems reasonable to suppose that Isaiah was the originator of that hope, and that the Messianic passages, Is. 1:24-27; 9:1-7; 10:33-11:10; 32:1-6(?), were the work of Isaiah.

THE HOME OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH

JOHN A. MAYNARD

General Theological Seminary

The prevailing view among Bible critics¹ is that the Second Isaiah lived in Babylon among the exiles. Indeed he is often called "the Great Prophet of the Exile," an epithet that scarcely does justice to the value of the influence of Ezekiel, who certainly was a great prophet and an exile. Several critics who have accepted Koster's theory of the Restoration no longer admit the separate existence of a Trito-Isaiah, or rather have ascribed to the Trito-Isaiah the work of the Second as well.

This paper being limited in scope the writer will not discuss Koster's theory or its later forms; he will accept as a sound hypothesis that Deutero-Isaiah (Is. 40-55) had a separate existence. He will, for the same reason, leave the Songs of the Servant out of this discussion; the internal evidence does not warrant any conclusion as to the place of composition of these lyrics.

The population of Judah and Jerusalem circa 600 B. C. must have been at least 250,000. Some 70,000 were carried over to Babylon.² Several thousand were killed or migrated to Egypt. If we allow that 100,000 Jews were thus disposed of, we shall have to admit that at least 50,000 of them remained in the home land.³ Although they did not attempt to rebuild Jerusalem,

¹ There have been notable exceptions. Duhm has held that Deutero-Isaiah lived in Phoenicia, Marti that he sojourned in Egypt. Among modern English-speaking critics, with the exception of the followers of Koster, Dr. Cobb is, so far as we know, the only one who has written against the view commonly accepted. Cf. *JBL.*, 1908, p. 48 ff. His point of view differed from ours in that he considered Is. 40-66 to be one whole; our enquiry started from the more common critical position and, pursued independently of Dr. Cobb, reached a similar conclusion. We need not add that everybody admits now that Is. 56-66 is the work of a writer living in Palestine.

² G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II, 267, 269.

³ In Germany, one fourth of the population survived the Thirty Years War. Even after the invasions of the kings of Assyria, more terrible by far than Nebuchadrezzar, destruction was never complete and the Assyrian rulers tell us in their annals of repeated campaigns in the same region.

they were strong enough to hold the villages. Otherwise the Edomites, the Samaritans, and the motley people still called the Philistines would have overrun the country. If the returned exiles, who had little military strength, were able to find and to hold such a large section of the home land, we can only account for this by the fact that ravenous neighbors had been kept away by the "poor of the land"⁴ who had taken charge of it. If the few hundreds who returned with Sheshbazzar had not found in Palestine a large settlement of Jews, they would not have been able alone to hold firmly the territory⁵ described in Neh. 11:25-36. Indeed we find no traces of a conflict between the returned exiles and foreign occupants and so we must admit that the central part of the land had, to some extent, been kept free from invaders by the Jews of Palestine. Who can tell what would have become of the small band of Jewish patriots if the Edomites, for instance, had occupied Jerusalem as they did seize Hebron.

The fact that the number of Jews who remained in the home land exceeded that of the returned exiles would also explain some of the difficulties encountered by Nehemiah, when he tried to enforce Deuteronomistic reforms. These Jews were for the most part peasants. Discouraged by national reverses, deprived of their natural leaders, they had relapsed into pre-reformation practices (Is. 41:27-29). Indeed they were little better than their northern neighbors, the Samaritans, and allowed the latter to worship with them on occasions. And so when Nehemiah and Ezra tried to re-organize Israel, the Palestinian Jews were often a dead weight because of their inertia and lack of sympathy with Deuteronomistic ideals. They must have resented the overbearing conceit of the returned exiles;⁶ they certainly had difficulties with them about questions of property. The country was indeed thinly populated but good arable land was scarce, and no doubt the returned exiles claimed a good deal of it on the strength of ancient deeds. The Jews of Palestine did not follow the

⁴ Jer. 39:10. But 'poor' does not mean 'meek' and these fellahin, conscious of their number, felt that they were quite able to take care of themselves and of Judea. Ez. 33:24; cf. 11:15.

⁵ This list has perhaps been inflated. Cf. Batten, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 273.

⁶ The latter had been told clearly that they were the hope of Israel. Jer. 24:1-10; Ez. 11:16-21; 33:25-29.

returned exiles in their Messianic dreams.⁷ History was written later by some who were not their friends, namely the Deuteronomists and writers of the school of P. But even when the worst will have been said,⁸ everyone must admit that the Palestinian Jews at least occupied to some extent the land of Israel; we think that they did even more. Out of this retrograde and unenlightened community, had risen at the beginning of the exile the writers of elegies now contained in the book of Lamentations. Towards the close of the exile, another unknown poet and prophet arose and gave to his people the series of messages found in Is. 40-55. The text of Is. 41:27a has suffered beyond recovery, but the second part of the verse is clear, "I will give to Jerusalem one that telleth good tidings." This Jerusalem is the ruined but still 'holy city,' where the uncircumcised and the unclean shall no more enter (Is. 52:1). Indeed she is told to "shake herself from the dust, to arise and sit down" (Is. 52:2), a metaphor that cannot apply to the Jewish settlement on the Euphrates. We claim that "he who telleth glad tidings" (Is. 41:27) is the prophet himself.

If Deutero-Isaiah had lived in Babylonia, we should expect a writer of his value to show his familiarity with Babylonian religious customs. Indeed he refers to Bel (the common name for Marduk at the time) and Nebo (Is. 46:1) but everybody in Palestine was familiar with these names. A prophet living in Babylonia would certainly have referred to the Moon-God Sin, for he would have known that Nabunaid slighted Marduk, cut down his endowments and compelled him to do homage to Sin;⁹ the priests of Marduk, and probably those of Nebo as well, bore Nabunaid no good will; they paid him in kind and, if the fall of Nabunaid was followed by any ecclesiastical re-arrangement, it was probably a blow to the worship of Sin, and certainly a temporary exaltation of Marduk, and not of Jahveh, who was for the Babylonians an obscure Amorite God. There are in

⁷ The men referred to in Zech. 6:12 are not natives of Palestine but returned exiles.

⁸ The עַם הָאֶרֶץ in Ezra 4:4 were taken usually as 'the Palestinian Jews'; but Dr. Batten has shown (*Ezra-Neh.*, p. 157) that we must read here the plural, following the Greek text in Esdras.

⁹ Cyrus Cylinder, 5 Rawl. 7, 35. Transl. in Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 381, 383.

the second Isaiah two or three allusions to diviners (Is. 44: 25; 47: 12-13; cf. also 47: 9c), but they are very vague, quite different from the short but vivid description of Ezekiel (Ez. 21: 21). The astrologers and diviners of Babylon were known all over the world, as were also its merchants (Is. 47: 15), and other features of a big city. Allusions to the rivers of Babylon (Is. 44: 27; 45: 1), its treasures (45: 3), its trees and canals (44: 4; 50: 2) are not remarkable instances of *couleur locale*. Deutero-Isaiah was endowed with many literary gifts but he was evidently not a travelled man and could not describe as well as Isaiah (Is. 18: 1-2) or Ezekiel (Ez. 27) a locality that was beyond his ken.¹⁰

It has been said that Deutero-Isaiah must have lived in Babylon because he is quite familiar with the use of incense and fragrant cane in public worship (Is. 43: 23, 24), but these had been used in Israel before the exile.¹¹ We find in Is. 45: 7 a clear statement of Jahveh's uniqueness:

I am he who forms Light and creates Darkness,
Who produces welfare and (creates) calamity.

Since the days of Saadya one or two commentators¹² have seen in this verse a statement aimed at Persian dualism. If this were true, it would be an argument for making Deutero-Isaiah and of his hearers neighbors of Persia, for Palestinians were not aware of the tenets of the religion of Zoroaster. But we know that, in the Persian religion even as late as the days of Darius, the conception of Ahura-Mazda was not different from the doctrine of Jahveh found in Is. 45: 7.¹³ As for the dualism

¹⁰ The picture in Is. 41: 18 is not that of a Babylonian landscape; that of 44: 4 is vague but like the former applies to Palestine. Critics who think that both passages are descriptions of Babylonia pay a poor compliment to Deutero-Isaiah's powers of description. We claim that he described well what he knew.

¹¹ For the use of incense cf. 1 King 7: 48; Jer. 19: 13; 33: 4; cf. 2 King 23: 12; Jer. 32: 29; Zeph. 1: 5; and the altar of incense found at Taanah, Vincent, *Canaan*, 180. Cf. also Gen. 37: 25; 43: 11. For the use of the fragrant cane Jer. 6: 20. Aromatic herbs were burned at funerals (at least in cases of plague) by the Hebrews (Amos 6: 20) as among the Babylonians, where the smoke of incense drove away the evil spirits.

¹² A. Kohut, *ZDMG.*, XXX, 716 f.

¹³ Cf. Yasna 44: 5; J. H. Moulton, *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, IV, 993; *Early Zoroastrianism*, 220, 291.

of the Magians, if we can reconstruct it, it was as unfamiliar to the Jews of Babylonia as to the less cultured Palestinian community. Indeed Is. 45:7 would be more probably aimed at another myth, namely that of the fight between the Sun-God, whose weapon was the flood of light (the *abubu*), against the hordes of Chaos (Tiamat). This myth was familiar to Deutero-Isaiah as to most Semites. He alludes to it very clearly (Is. 51:9) in a poetical interpretation of the Exodus, saying to Jahveh:

"Art not thou he who hewed Rahab in pieces
And thrust through the dragon."

Long before the days of Isaiah, it had become an integral part of the Hebrew tradition that in ancient days Jahveh himself had fought against Chaos a more than titanic conflict. In order to explain an allusion to this belief, a personal contact of Deutero-Isaiah with Babylonian rhapsods is not at all necessary.

In Isaiah 50:11 there is an obscure reference to a rite of fire-walking:¹⁴

Behold, all ye that kindle a fire,
And surround yourselves with firebrands,
Go through the blaze of your fire,
And the firebrands that ye have kindled.

We know of no such rite in Babylon; the Shurpu and Maklu rituals and even the Babylonian practice referred to in Epistle of Jeremy 43, are altogether different. But we know of fire-walk rites among Asia Minor tribes¹⁵ and the desert nomads.¹⁶

¹⁴ On these rites cf. Lang, *Modern Mythology*, 1897, p. 148-175; *Magic and Religion*, 1901, p. 270-294; W. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*,² 1904, 565; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., II, 327-329; V. 114 ff., 168; XI, 1-20; E. W. Hopkins, *ERE.*, VI, 30, 31; Tuchmann, in *Mélusine*, VIII, p. 160; Croke, *The Popular Folklore and Religion of N. India*, II, p. 315; Gaidoz, *Etudes de mythologie gauloise*, 1886, p. 27-28; P. Lowell, *Occult Japan* (1894), pp. 47-62.

¹⁵ Cf. Strabo, XII, 2, 7, quoted by Frazer, *GB.*,³ X, p. 14.

¹⁶ This is not a mere supposition. There are few traces of fire-worship among the Arabs. Jauhari refers to the fire alhula, the sacred fire of the tribe. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*,² 1903, p. 58 n. To this day the Arabs do not blow a candle with their mouth. Cf. similar taboos in Frazer, *GB.*,³ II, 240-241; VIII, 254; X, 133. The case given by Frazer, III, 136, is different. Among the Arabs of North Africa there

There is no other reference to this rite in the Old Testament,¹⁷ for the worship of Melek could not be described in such terms. Whatever its nature is, the allusion to the rite of fire-walking does not help us in our search for the home of Deutero-Isaiah except in so far as it points to the exclusion of Babylon.

The idols spoken of by the prophets are either of metal or of wood. In a description of the latter (Is. 44:13-16) it seems that the carpenter did not have to go very far to find a suitable tree, even a cedar tree (Is. 44:14). It was not so in Babylonia; lumber was scarce and cedars had to be brought from Amanus and the Lebanon. Palm-tree wood was abundant but cannot be curved. Indeed most statues of the gods were of imported stone when made for the temples, or of clay, when for popular use. Only portable statues of the gods would have been made of wood. In the present stage of archaeological research we can say no more,¹⁸ but on the whole, it seems clear that the prophet's description applies to images of the gods more likely to be found outside of Babylonia. It is true that the author of the Epistle of Jeremy inveighs at length against wooden images overlaid with silver and gold as being specifically Babylonian (Jeremy 4, 8-10, 20, 30, 39, 45, 50, 55, 57, 58, 71). But the place of composition of the Epistle of Jeremy was probably not Babylon but Egypt. It is, moreover, a late document; the work of a prosaic writer who has found his theme in Deutero-Isaiah (Is.

are fire-walk rites called 'Anṣara (عنصرة). Cf. E. Doutte, *Marrakech*, 377-381; *Magic et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 1903, p. 565-574; Westermarck, *Folklore*, XVI (1905), p. 28-47; Destaing, *Revue africaine*, 1906, 362-363; Desparmet, *Arabe dialectal*, 2d part, p. 133. The practice was known in Egypt (Destaing, *op. cit.*, p. 364) and in Syria. Cf. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, VI, Anonymous Pilgrim, p. 14-15; VII, Felix Fabri, I, 191. Makrizi (*Khitat*, II, 474) witnesses to its existence among the Jews. Moslem writers knew that the practice was pre-Islamic and thought that it was borrowed from the 'people of the Book.' Probably so, but the 'people of the Book' had simply preserved a popular practice.

¹⁷In Ez. 28:14 the prince of Tyre is described as walking through the "stones of fire." These are either flashing precious stones (aban isati, in Assyrian) or the constellations surrounding the mythical North.

¹⁸Evidently wooden statues decayed more easily than others. The only wooden sculpture from Assyria-Babylonia is a small lion now in the Louvre. Cf. Hancock, *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, 1912, p. 236. There is a reference to a statue of cedar covered with bronze plate in a Sumerian inscription of An-am. Cf. Clay, *Yale Babylonian Collection*, p. 47.

44: 9-19) and in the unknown authors of Jeremiah 10: 1-16 (Jer. 10: 3-5) and of the first part of Psalm 115 (Ps. 115: 4).

More important is the fact that the Second Isaiah mentions almost wholly trees that do not thrive in Babylonia, cedar, oleander, myrtle, pine-tree, elm, box-tree (Is. 41: 19; 55: 13), cypress, oak, fir-tree (Is. 44: 14), but are found frequently in Palestine, while he never refers to the palm-tree, the tree par excellence of the Lower Euphrates. The only trees named by him that are found in both countries are, so far as I know, the acacia (Is. 41: 19) and the poplar (*'arabah*) (Is. 44: 4).

Deutero-Isaiah knows that the Chaldeans were good sailors (Is. 43: 14). This was common knowledge. How could we otherwise account for the fact that the Sumerian *ma-lah* was adopted as a term to designate a sailor in Assyrian, in Syriac, in Hebrew, and in Arabic?

The Second Isaiah considers himself as being in the center of the earth (Is. 48: 5: cf. 49: 12 and probably 43: 14), namely Jerusalem. Three times he declares that Cyrus comes from the East,¹⁹ and once that he comes from the North (Is. 41: 25). A Babylonian would usually have described Persia as being North; he would scarcely have called it east, most certainly not a far country as Deutero-Isaiah does (Is. 46: 11). If on the contrary the writer was living in Palestine he would consider Persia as being geographically in the East, but since Jahveh was living above Jerusalem (Is. 43: 14), Cyrus would eventually come to the holy city from the North and thus the prophet was quite logical when he said:

"I have raised up one from the North, and he is come,
From the rising of the sun, even one that called upon
my Name" (Is. 41: 25a).

We should not expect an inhabitant of Babylon to refer so often to the "isles," meaning evidently Cyprus and other islands of the Great Sea (Is. 41: 1, 5; 51: 5); still less to call Mesopotamia, Ur and Harran, the end of the earth, as Deutero-Isaiah does.²⁰

¹⁹ Is. 41: 2, 25; 46: 4. The exilic author of Jer. 51: 48 who lived in Babylon says that her enemies come from the North.

²⁰ Is. 41: 9, whether it refers to Abraham in the past or to Israel then. Cf. Is. 5: 26 for a similar statement by a writer who certainly lived in Judea.

Some have supposed that "here" (פֶּה) in the difficult verse Is. 52:5 refers to Babylonia, but the context is against this interpretation. Not only does the prophet speak in verse 11 from the point of view of one outside of Babylon ('Come out from *thence*') but in this very verse 5, the Lord speaks of the people as 'taken away'; the only place from where they might have been taken away is of course the home-land above which Jahveh still abides and to which he will *bring* the spiritually blind (Is. 52:16). The only countries referred to in the Second Isaiah are all around Palestine, namely, Lebanon (Is. 40:16), Sela (Is. 42:11), Kedar, Egypt, Ethiopia, Seba (Is. 42:3; cf. 45:14). The reference to Kedar and Sela is particularly interesting. The man in the street of Babylon would not have thought of these small countries, but they were very near to Palestine; indeed Sela was now possessed by Arabs, akin to the people of Kedar, enemies of Edom, and therefore, ipso facto allies of Israel.

The enemies of Israel seem to be dwelling in hills and mountains,²¹ indeed mountains and forests are referred to frequently (Is. 44:23; 54:10; 55:12), more than we should expect from a Babylonian. There are frequent references to the sea, which would rather favor a Judean, for he could see it from his mountains, while it is beyond the horizon of a Babylonian. Deutero-Isaiah is very much concerned with the lack of water,²² a condition familiar to the Palestinians, but not to the exiles living in well-irrigated Babylonia.

The poor and needy seek water . . . there is none;
 Their tongue is parched with thirst (Is. 41:1) 47

Judging from conditions he knew, he seems to have supposed that water was scarce like milk and wine in Babylon and had to be bought with money (Is. 55:1). No doubt it was so, but at a very cheap rate. He depends upon abundant rains and even melted snow (Is. 55:10) to cause fertility. He says in the name of God:

²¹ Is. 41:15. This applies to the Edomites, but not to the Babylonians. Indeed the deliverers of Israel, Medes and Persians, came from the mountains.

²² Is. 41:17. Not referring to the wilderness, but to the land where the writer dwells.

I will open rivers on the bare heights,
 And springs in the midst of the valleys;
 I will make of the wilderness a marsh,
 And of the dry land watercourses (Is. 41: 18).

This is clearly not a picture of a Babylonian landscape, but rather of Syrian lands. Marshes were already too many in Babylonia and an increase of them would have been no blessing. While in Babylonia agriculture depends on the well-regulated inundations of the Tigris and Euphrates, Deutero-Isaiah, being a Palestinian, expects God to pour water from heaven (Is. 44: 3).

On the one hand Deutero-Isaiah has hazy political notions when he talks of the Golah; he seems to consider that the exiles were downtrodden slaves, prisoners in a dark dungeon (Is. 42: 7). He wants them to escape from Babylon (Is. 48: 20; 52: 11), trusting in the Lord who can build up for them in the desert a miraculous highway, level and straight, commodious, well shaded and garnished with wells (Is. 48: 21; cf. 43: 19-20; 49: 9, 10). He is very bitter against Babylon perhaps because he does not know her well.²³ On the other hand, the author is very familiar with conditions in Palestine; the people are few and insecure:

"They are all of them snared in holes,
 And hidden in prisons."²⁴

No doubt this would not have been true in Babylon where peace and prosperity reigned; the description is here of villagers who scarcely dare to leave their retreats because their land was raided by hostile bands,²⁵ so that often their bread was failing.²⁶

²³ Is. 47-48: 14. The author of Jeremiah 50-51 is also bitter against Babylon, but he is a nationalist, a disciple of the D School, and lacks the breadth of soul of Deutero-Isaiah. Ezekiel has nothing to say against Babylon.

²⁴ Is. 42: 22. Cf. 42: 7; 49: 9, and the use of *יְנִי וְאֶבְיִן* (Is. 41: 17).

²⁵ If we must take the people described here as being the exiles, the description is so inaccurate, that the writer cannot have been an eye-witness, and this point remains an argument for making him a Palestinian Jew.

²⁶ Is. 51: 14. One can scarcely apply this to Babylon, a land of plenty where even slaves were well treated. Is. 58: 10—admittedly written in Palestine—is parallel to Is. 51: 14.

The oppressors of Israel are many, worthy of the name of robbers (42:24); they blaspheme the name of Jahveh (Is. 52:5), an imprudent feat of rashness that a Babylonian would not have indulged in but that would come quite naturally to an Edomite, a "profane" son of Esau. The prophet in his hatred of the Edomites and their allies restrains even to these small tribes the epithet of destroyers of Jerusalem and declares to her that henceforth, "thy destroyers shall go forth of thee" before the coming of her children flocking back to Jerusalem (Is. 49:17). A Babylonian Jew could not say that the Chaldeans would go forth of the Golah, but a Palestinian Jew would yearn for the day when the Edomites would evacuate Hebron and the Negeb, and when the Jewish community would enlarge the place of her tent (Is. 54:2, 3). The exiles were mostly city people and a prophet speaking to them would scarcely mention the ruined little towns of Judea, but to one living in a Palestinian village the situation was heartrending.²⁷ The comparison of the Lord's rule to that of a good shepherd (Is. 40:11) would be quite natural to one living in a country where, owing to the scarcity of population, most of the land had been turned to pasture lands (Is. 7:21-25) and not in Babylonia where the tilling of the ground and the cultivation of palm-trees was far more important than the breeding of cattle.

The Second Isaiah is not aware of Ezekiel's teaching²⁸ or in sympathy with the spirit of Deuteronomy that fashioned however the mind of the exiles. He ignores priestly ideals or Messianic dreams, being thus like the Palestinian Jews. He does not show any traces of apocalyptic tendencies, so evident in Ezekiel 38-39, which played such an important part in the formation of religious ideals among the returned exiles.

A certain similarity between the language of Cyrus' Inscription and that of Deutero-Isaiah was shown by Kittel in *ZAW*, 1898, 149-162, and the argument was developed and extended to Neo-Babylonian Royal Inscriptions by Sellin (*Der Knecht*

²⁷ The waste places mentioned in Is. 51:3 are perhaps the city of Jerusalem itself. Cf. Is. 52:9. Is. 44:26 shows that, as we might expect, many cities of Judah were in ruins.

²⁸ Is. 55:3-4 (cf. 42:6; 49:8) is inspired by Jer. 23:5-6 rather than by Ez. 34:23. Is. 54:11-12 is totally different from the description of the ideal city in Ez. 40-48.

Gottes, 131-134) in defense of his thesis that the Ebed-Jahveh was Jehoiachin. As we leave the Songs of the Servant out of this discussion, we need not dwell here on Sellin's argument. More appropriate is the comparison made by Jeremias²⁹ between Is. 40:13; 55:8-9, and that famous text 4 Rawl.² 60* 34-38. The similarity is striking and yet the context is quite different; the attitude of the Babylonian religion is decidedly on a lower plane. Moreover, the study of Comparative Religion has taught us that similarity of form is not incompatible with originality of thought. It is said that the use of the words 'take hold of the hand' (Is. 41:13; 45:1) shows the influence of the Babylonian language³⁰ where the expression *kata šabatu* is well known. This is a rather misleading statement. The expression, take hold of the right hand (Is. 41:13; 45:1), is not specifically Akkadian, and the expression *kata šabatu* can only be equated as far as form goes to *בִּיר הַחַיִּיק* found twice in Deutero-Isaiah (42:6; 51:18); but the similarity is only superficial; in both passages, the meaning of *בִּיר הַחַיִּיק* not only differs from *kata šabatu*, to help, but it is similar to the use of *בִּיר הַחַיִּיק* in pre-exilic writers, where Babylonian influence is out of the question (Gen. 19:16 (J) *bis*; 21:18 (E); Ju. 16:26 (J); Jer. 31:32; cf. Hos. 11:3). The expression "call by name" (*קָרָא בְּשֵׁם*) is rare in Hebrew [Is. 43:1; 45:3; Ex. 31:2; 35:30 (additions to P)] and it is not Babylonian.³¹

The term "my shepherd" (Is. 44:28) is indeed applied to Assyrian and Babylonian kings,³² but the image equally found in pre-exilic Hebrew writings (2 Sam. 5:2; Jer. 3:15; 23:1-8; Mic. 5:3; Nah. 3:18). As for the use of an uncommon word for cup (*קַבְעֵרַת*) (Is. 51:17, 22); it does not prove a Babylonian influence. The root is well known in all Semitic languages,³³

²⁹ Jeremias, *Altes Testament in Lichte des Alten-Orient*,² 571; English edition, II, 273. Cf. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 167.

³⁰ Kittel, *ZAW.*, 1898, 160; Whitehouse, *Isaiah*, II, 34, 71.

³¹ Kittel, *op. cit.*, 150-160, erroneously compares it to *zakaru šuma*, which is a different idiom, found very frequently in pre-exilic Hebrew as *קָרָא שֵׁם*.

³² Kittel, p. 160, n. Kittel prefers, however, to read *רַגְלִי*, my beloved, but this is quite impossible. First, because the text is good. Secondly, because the term *רַגְלִי* implies some degree of equality.

³³ Volders, *ZA.*, IX, 185.

and the Arabic form of the word (*kub'at*) is in fact nearer than the Assyrian to the Hebrew. One may lay, moreover, as a general principle that it is pretty nearly impossible to ascribe with certainty Babylonian origin to purely Semitic words. We know too little of ancient Aramaic to speak dogmatically in the matter of Semitic Babylonian lexicography and to apply our results to Hebrew with any degree of certainty.

One might say that it is hard to conceive that out of a poor community of fellahin and shepherds such a great prophet as Deutero-Isaiah arose. The answer is that, in the East, literature has often flourished among nomads and shepherds. Amos was a shepherd and perhaps the author of Job was a nomad. The authors of Lamentations belonged to the "poorest of the land" left by Nebuchadrezzar in Palestine. Moreover, some of the Jews of Egypt might have returned to Judea before the end of the Babylonian hegemony, and even a down-trodden community can in half a century develop itself. Indeed, it is rather remarkable that, as late as the Second century, some learned Jews ascribed the words of Deutero-Isaiah to Jeremiah. Cf. 2 Chron. 36:21. May we infer from this statement that the Second Isaiah had really been a disciple of Jeremiah (although not a hearer of the prophet)? The book of Jeremiah was edited by Deuteronomists, the descendants of his persecutors, churchmen who for the first time in history canonized a great heretic. But the real disciples of Jeremiah—if he had any—would probably have been in Palestine or in the Egyptian Diaspora. Whether this view is correct or not, no one can tell with certainty, and yet one may well say that, while from the Golah rose a group of reformers (Deuteronomistic scribes, Ezekiel, Nehemiah, Ezra), from the hitherto slighted Western Jews arose idealists (Second Isaiah, author of Ruth, author of Jonah). The latter are in the true sense of the term descendants of Jeremiah by a kind of spiritual, if not actual succession. The prophecies of the Second Isaiah may have been added to those of the first because there was a vague recollection that he also had lived in Palestine.

ARE THERE ANY MACCABAEAN PSALMS?

MOSES BUTTENWIESER

Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

On the question of Maccabaeian Psalms there has been a wide divergence of opinion, some critics going so far as to claim that fully half the Psalter is Maccabaeian, while others find only four or five Maccabaeian Psalms, and a few, even, none at all.

Strange to say, the question has been thought to hinge absolutely on the date of the conclusion of the Canon, the close of the various collections that make up the Psalter, and the date and final redaction of Chronicles—points which are all of deep interest to the Biblical scholar, but which are comparatively irrelevant to our question. It seems to me, the one really important point in the discussion of this question, the only one that has a distinct bearing on it, has been lost sight of, and that is the passing of Hebrew as a spoken language, in post-exilic times, and its supplantation by Aramaic.

The dying out of Hebrew is so frequently ignored in the historical surveys of those times, or mentioned only cursorily, as if it were a fact of little consequence, that I feel justified here in drawing attention to it as an event of extraordinary importance, one which must be carefully borne in mind, not only in deciding whether certain Psalms are Maccabaeian, but in determining the date of many other post-exilic products. The fact that the importance of this event has been overlooked, has interfered seriously with our understanding of post-exilic Jewish history from the last decades of the Persian down to the Maccabaeian period.

The real problem connected with the prevailing belief in Maccabaeian Psalms is not, as Gesenius a century ago formulated it, whether the close or final redaction of the various collections making up the Psalter, and the conclusion of the Old Testament canon, in general, can be placed as late as the Maccabaeian period,¹ but whether a Maccabaeian date for any of the Psalms is reconcilable with the fact that as early as the beginning of

¹ See *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, *Ergänzungsblätter*, Halle, 1816, No. 81.

the third century B. C. the Hebrew language had entered on a stage of rapid decadence, which ended in its dying out altogether as a spoken tongue.

I

When did Hebrew cease to be a spoken language? Can it be ascertained when Aramaic took the place of Hebrew as the language of the people? I believe this can be ascertained, or deduced, with a certain degree of positiveness, from the linguistic character of two sources, the Hebrew original of "The Wisdom of Ben Sira" and the Book of Daniel.

The linguistic character of Ben Sira is somewhat of a puzzle at first. The language is apparently choice, but somehow the effect is missing. One is conscious of a certain disturbing element, which interferes with one's aesthetic enjoyment. A closer examination shows what the trouble is. Everyone grants that for literary effectiveness elegant diction alone is not sufficient. There must be a fitness of the language used to the thought expressed. And it is just this quality that is lacking in the writings of Jesus ben Sira. There is no vital relation of form to thought. There could not be in writings which, like his, not merely show no originality, but which abound in phrases and sentences taken piecemeal from other writers and strung together, often regardless of the context. As Schechter and Taylor have pointed out, Ben Sira exploited the Biblical writers to an almost incredible extent.² Taylor's remark is to the point: "The words which he (Ben Sira) uses are not all his own, his book being more or less a tissue of old classical phrases like a modern school-composition in a dead language."³

If other editors and critics have failed to see this, and have even claimed that "the language of Ben Sira is classical," and that his "style stands throughout on an altogether higher level than that e. g., of Chronicles and Ecclesiastes,"⁴ it can only be

² Cf. the list of quotations given in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, edited by Schechter and C. Taylor (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 13-28.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

⁴ A. E. Cowley and Ad. Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus* (XXXIX. 15-XLIX. 11) (Oxford, 1899), p. xiii; cf. also N. Peters, *Hebräischer Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Freiburg, i.B. 1902), p. 85*; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), p. xliii.

that they were misled by the favorable impression produced, at first glance, by the large amount of Biblical phraseology in the book.

As a matter of fact, Ben Sira's style, or I should rather say, his writing of Hebrew, is exceedingly faulty. In the first place, his grammar is poor, but I should like to pass over this point for the present. Apart from the grammatical errors, the wrong use of words, showing a misunderstanding on the part of the writer, may be pointed out, also the still more frequent occurrence of improper combinations of words and phrases, especially Biblical phrases.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the two latter points. I should say that numerous examples might be taken from any part of the book; but I have purposely chosen them, in the main, from the two hymns, 33: 1-13a, 36: 16b-22c and 51: 1-12e,⁵-(16),⁵ since it has been maintained that these might well have a place in the Psalter:⁶

הניף ירו על "to brandish one's hand" or "shake one's fist at" is confused (33:3) with הניף יר "to wave the hand," while in another passage (47:4c) it is incorrectly used with the meaning "he reached out his hand for."

בין is wrongly used (16:23) with the meaning "to reason" or "to think." Note also the phrase תיסר שרש (3:9), which does not express anything.

נגר "in the presence of," is wrongly used (37:5 and again 51:2) with the meaning "against the attack of."

To give one other example of the wrong use of prepositions בחר בו, באמונתו ובענותו, 45:4: ב with the meaning "out of" can be used only when denoting the motive from which the subject acts.

A very poetic phrase used in the Psalms is שערי מות, "the gates of death"; Jon. 2:3 there occurs, on the other hand, the equally effective מבטן שאול שועתי "from the innermost part of Sheol I cry for help." Ben Sira fuses the two into משערי שועתי, "from the gates of Sheol I cry for help" (51:9), which is clearly absurd.

⁵ According to the numbering in Smend's text-edition.

⁶ Cf. Th. Nöldeke, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Ben Sira," in *ZAW.*, XX (1900), 92.

Another such combination—they are most numerous—is גבור ישעי, “the hero of my help” (51:10). The stumbling block for Ben Sira in this case was, no doubt, Zeph. 3:17, “אלהיך בקרבך גבור וישיע,” “The Lord thy God is in thy midst who helps like a hero.” This accusative of comparison Ben Sira did not understand.

שפלת מארץ הדברי of מארץ, Is. 29:4, “thou shalt speak humbly from the ground,” which, as the parallelism shows, is equivalent to מעפר, “out of the dust,” he joins to the familiar phrase הרים קול (51:9), which invariably means “to shout.”

One other example is extremely interesting, חצי לשון כרמה, “the arrows of a deceitful tongue” (51:6). This no doubt is to be traced to Ps. 120:3f., where the question, “What gives thee and what bestows on thee לשון רמיה a deceitful tongue?” is answered by חצי גבור שוננים, “Sharpened arrows of a warrior.”

We may now consider the question of Ben Sira's own Hebrew, when he does not copy Biblical writers. A careful analysis of his book bears out what has already been observed by Schechter, that his language proper is the Neo-Hebraic idiom as met with later in the Mishnah and the kindred Rabbinic literature.⁷ To mention some of the linguistic characteristics which prove this, as well as the charge that his Hebrew is exceedingly faulty:

Ben Sira has no longer any feeling for the use of the tenses, and accordingly, as in Neo-Hebraic and in the later Aramaic dialects, he, to a great extent, substitutes for them the participle with the personal pronoun.

He very often omits the pronominal suffix in cases where the substantive requires it, e. g. הכאן ראש, 4:7, instead of ראשך; במר רוח, 7:11, instead of רוחו; הניף יד על, 33:3, instead of אפך and העיר אף ושפך חמה: יר, ib. v. 8, instead of ע' לכך, 37:13, instead of חמתך. Some of these cases are probably Grecisms, as e. g. במאמר ובמעשה 3:8, the corresponding Greek phrase of which is ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ.

He does not distinguish between the predicate use of a noun and its use as subject, but in both these cases he frequently construes the noun without the article; cf. e. g. ראש כל מעשה

⁷ See *op. cit.*, p. 13.

ממנו מועד, *ib.* v. 18; ומושלל בם כליל לשון, 37:16; רבר 43:7; תואר שמים והדר כוכב, *ib.* v. 9. (The last two examples show another mistake which is common with Ben Sira, that of using the singular of substantives for the plural; a particularly striking instance of this is ירבה אוהב, 6:4.) On the other hand, in 43:27, הוא הכל, he uses the article with the predicate-noun.

In cases of participial clauses used attributively, he often omits the article where Hebrew grammar demands it; cf. e. g. רחם הלא דון מגיע אל מות רע כנפיש, 36:17; על עם נהרא בשמך נהפך לצר, 37:2. In the last example there is another mistake, the omission of the pronoun of relation. Ben Sira does not seem to have had any idea of this grammatical point.

Perhaps in no way does Ben Sira betray his deficient knowledge of Hebrew more than through his ungrammatical construing of substantives with their governing verbs or nouns, and his use of the wrong preposition. Such constructions are by no means isolated, they occur with great frequency, cf. e. g. על פן הוא נוכח פניו ילך, 8:15; גנג נכרא הבשת, 5:14e;⁸ תסיב את נחלתך 9:6—the required indirect object is lacking; פו שנים 18:32, instead of ברישו or שנים רישו; הבין, 36:20; תן עדות למראש מעשיך, 12:5; רעה תשיג, 37:13, with the meaning “give heed to,” and צפה 51:7, with the meaning “look out for,” are incorrectly construed with the accusative.

One other telling point, which has already been noted by Nöldeke, must be mentioned here; contrary, not only to Hebrew, but to common Semitic usage, Ben Sira construes an objective suffix of the second person with the verbal form of the same person.⁹

The inferiority of Ben Sira's writings, whether considered from the point of view of language or of literature, cannot be ascribed to any lack of ability as a writer, for, as we know from his grandson's prologue to the Greek translation of his book, Ben Sira was esteemed by his age as a man of great literary fame and attainments; if notwithstanding this, he did not sue-

⁸ The stumbling block for Ben Sira was very likely Is. 4:5, וברא יהוה עץ, כל כבין הר ציון ועל מקראה ענן נור.

⁹ See Nöldeke's article mentioned above, p. 87, where four such examples are cited.

ceed in writing idiomatic, and grammatically correct, Hebrew, there can be only one explanation, namely, that, at the time when he wrote, between 190-170 B. C., Hebrew had ceased to be a spoken language and was used for book purposes only.

This conclusion is fully borne out by a consideration of the peculiar make-up of the Book of Daniel. The problem of the Book of Daniel is its bilingualism—a feature which is the more puzzling, as without any apparent reason, the Hebrew breaks off in the middle of the sentence, and the continuation follows without interruption in Aramaic. אַרַמִּית of 2:4, most Biblical critics rightly hold, is not object of וִידְבַּרוּ, but, as in the self-evident parallel case, Ezr. 4:7, was primarily an interlinear gloss, which was put in to indicate the beginning of Aramaic, but which subsequently got into the text itself.¹⁰ Hardly less perplexing is it when we find the Aramaic break off, in its turn, at the end of chap. 7, and the Hebrew begin again with chap. 8, for, inasmuch as chap. 8 expatiates on the most essential parts of chap. 7, the two chapters are logically inseparable. It is because of this circumstance that the solution of the problem offered by Marti cannot be accepted. Marti rightly concludes that originally the book was written in Aramaic throughout, but he thinks that the beginning, i. e., chap. 1-2: 4a, and the close of the book, viz., chaps. 8-12, were later translated into Hebrew in order to make its acceptance into the Canon possible.¹¹ In such a case, however, it might reasonably be assumed that either the whole book would have been translated into Hebrew, or at least the transition from Hebrew into Aramaic, and *vice versa*, would not have been made so abrupt as we find it at present.

The explanation, to my mind, is to be seen in another direction. With the exception of the prayer, 9:4-19, which was evidently taken over by the author of Daniel from the established liturgy, of which it had long been a part, the Book of Daniel originally was written in Aramaic. An analysis of the linguistic character of its Hebrew parts reveals the fact that, in syntactical structure and in the use of certain word-forms, these parts are so closely modelled after Aramaic, that they must, unquestionably, be a translation from an Aramaic original by one who did

¹⁰ This was pointed out as early as 1860 by Oppert, *Eléments de la grammaire Assyrienne*.

¹¹ See K. Marti, *Das Buch Daniel*, 1901, p. ix f.

not know how to write Hebrew proper. From this, and from the further fact that the Book of Daniel, unlike the Wisdom of Ben Sira, was not written for the learned, or for such as were sufficiently educated to have a book-knowledge of Hebrew,¹² but, like all apocalypses, was intended for the masses, it may be definitely concluded that the language spoken at the time by the people must have been Aramaic. As the object of the Book of Daniel was to fill the hearts of the people with faith and fortitude, to encourage them to steadfastness by pointing out that the gloom and bitter trials of the present were but preliminary to the bliss awaiting them in the future, it would have failed of its purpose had it not been written in Aramaic.¹³ It was translated into Hebrew, either at the time it was written, or possibly a few years later, when the Maccabaeen victories had added to its prestige. When later the inclusion of the Book of Daniel into the Canon was decided upon, there existed, no doubt, several copies of the Aramaic original, which, we may assume, had been sent broadcast among the people, while of the Hebrew translation only certain parts still existed, *viz.*, the first sheet, which contained chap. 1 and chap. 2 down to v. 4a, and the last sheets, containing chaps. 8-12. Had a complete Hebrew copy existed at that time, the Book of Daniel would have been embodied into the Canon entirely in Hebrew, for Hebrew, and not Aramaic, was the language of Sacred Literature; as it was, the parts missing in Hebrew had to be taken from the Aramaic original.¹⁴

¹² Cf. the Prologue to the Greek translation of The Wisdom of Ben Sira.

¹³ Similarly the apocalypse 1 Enoch VI-XXXVI, which antedates the Book of Daniel by but a few years, was originally written in Aramaic.—For the date and original language of 1 Enoch VI-XXXVI see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1912, pp. lii, lvii ff., and 1.

¹⁴ Charles C. Torrey, "Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel" (in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. XV, July, 1909), pp. 241-251, in explanation of the peculiar alternation of Hebrew and Aramaic, advances the view that the Book of Daniel consists of two distinct works: chaps. 1-6, the "Story of Daniel," written between 245 and 225 B. C., and chaps. 7-12, the "Visions of Daniel," written in the Maccabaeen period. He argues that chaps. 1-6 were originally written entirely in Aramaic and were attached to chaps. 7-12 by their Maccabaeen author, who "wished to write his Visions in Hebrew, for reasons which are sufficiently obvious"; but in order to give the two parts "the appearance of a unity," the Maccabaeen author "made a dove-tail joint . . . He wrote the

Thus, it seems to me, the Book of Daniel furnishes conclusive proof that at the time of the Maccabees Aramaic was the spoken language of the Jewish people, and explains, not only why idiomatic Hebrew could no longer be written in those days, but also why an original production in Hebrew like Ben Sira's should contain so many grammatical blunders.

Is the prevailing belief in Maccabaeian Psalms compatible with this fact? The extreme views that declare half, or more, of the Psalms to be of Maccabaeian or post-Maccabaeian origin may, I think, be ignored.¹⁵ As to the more moderate views, according to which a considerably smaller number would come in question (the number, with the different critics, varies from four to twenty-six), it is not necessary for our purpose to enter into a discussion of the conflicting opinions regarding any one Psalm. Rather this purpose will best be served by taking together all those Psalms which by one or the other group of scholars are held to be Maccabaeian, and dealing with them collectively. These Psalms are: 2, 20, 21, 30, 33, 44, 60, 61, 63, 74, 79, 80, 83, 102, 110, 115-118, 135-138, 145-150.¹⁶ (Psalms 108 and 101 have

first of his Visions, chap. 7, in Aramaic." And as "the dove-tailing process had need of another step in order to be absolutely finished, he translated into Hebrew the introductory part of the older narrative."

In regard to this rather artificial theory it may be remarked (1) that von Gall, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel* (1895), showed conclusively that the Book of Daniel forms a uniform whole; (2) Torrey considers the contradiction between the date of the final vision, chaps. 10-12, "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia," and 1: 21, "וּבְשָׁנָה רִאשִׁית to the first year of King Cyrus," an especially strong point in support of his view of the composite character of the Book of Daniel. But this contradiction is more apparent than real, for in the first place, in 10: 1 the LXX read 'Εν τῷ ἐναυτῷ τῷ πρώτῳ Κύρον, and in the second place, in 1: 21, as H. Ewald, *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, III (1868), *ad loc.*, had already pointed out, the text in all probability is incomplete—a conclusion which is the more legitimate as it does away with the unlikely meaning of וְיִי, "he continued" or "er erlebte"; (3) the decisive point is that in chaps. 8-12 it is quite as evident as in 1-2: 4a that the Hebrew is modelled after Aramaic; (4) as to Torrey's view that "the Maccabaeian author wished to write his Visions in Hebrew," it may be noted that 1 Enoch 6-36, which, as already remarked, antedates the Book of Daniel by about ten years, points to the very opposite conclusion.

¹⁵ Among recent exegetes, this extreme view is taken by B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen* (1899), pp. xii, xx-xxii.

¹⁶ Cf. among others F. Giesebrecht, "Über die Abfassungszeit der Psalmen," in *ZAW.*, I (1881), pp. 304 ff., 325 f.; W. Robertson Smith,

also occasionally been included, but these two must be eliminated; the former for the reason that its two parts, vv. 2-6 and vv. 7-14, are word for word identical with 57:8-12 and 60:7-14 respectively, and the latter, because there is absolutely nothing in its contents to justify its inclusion.)

Of the Psalms I have enumerated, Psalms 30, 116-118, 137, 138,¹⁷ and probably also 33, are of such literary perfection that they must have been produced while Hebrew literature was still at its height; while others, like Psalms 2, 20, 21, 60, 61, 63, 102, 115, 146, and 147, show such a freshness and finish of style that it is obvious that they must have been written before any decadence of language had become manifest. A third group, finally, comprising Psalms 44, 69, 74, 79, 83, 135 and 136, 145, 148-150, and also the fragmentary Psalm 110, though clearly showing a decided decline in literary skill, are all without exception written in faultless, idiomatic Hebrew. The language shows no trace of the decomposition which is so markedly in evidence in Ecclesiastes, written in the second part of the third century B. C. From the point of view of language, therefore, it is excluded that even any of this third group of Psalms could be a product of the Maccabaeon period. To be convinced of this, one has but to compare those of them which, from a literary point of view, are most inferior, with the two hymns of Ben Sira to which reference has been made, or with Ben Sira's panegyric, chaps. 44-50, of the heroes of old. Such a comparison will show that the difference in style and language could not be more radical.¹⁸

The Old Testament in the Jewish Church (1892), pp. 207-211; T. K. Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (1895), pp. 89-100, 195, 198-201, 455-458; F. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen* (1897), pp. xxiv-xxix, also the discussions of the various Psalms enumerated on p. xxix.

¹⁷ There can be no doubt that Psalm 138 belongs to this group; it is so genuinely pious in spirit and so wonderfully simple in expression that it must be considered a model Psalm.

¹⁸ Occasionally one hears the view expressed that, even though Hebrew had died out as a spoken language, there might have been writers who succeeded in writing idiomatic Hebrew. In support of such a view Judah ha-Levi's poems are usually referred to as an example of classical Hebrew as late as the twelfth century A. D. A closer examination, however, of Judah ha-Levi's poems reveals the fact that, in syntactical structure and word-order, they no more approximate Biblical Hebrew than mediaeval Latin resembles classical Latin. Judah ha-Levi's Hebrew was uncon-

This conclusion receives additional weight from Ben Sira 51: (1)-(16). Verses (1)-(15) of this piece are in structure and contents parallel to Ps. 136, but are so palpably inferior to the latter, that it can hardly be doubted that this is the primary product, and Ben Sira 51: (1)-(15) an imitation. As to the concluding verse (16), this verse is word for word identical with Ps. 148: 14, but, whereas in the Ben Sira passage the verse is very crudely joined to its context, in Ps. 148, verse 14 is not only a logical continuation of the verses which precede it, but is a necessary part of the whole; it is in fact the key to the Psalm. The inference cannot be evaded that Ben Sira 51: (16) is a quotation from Ps. 148: 14, and with this we have a direct proof of the pre-Maccabaeian origin of at least this particular Psalm.

II

But the question will be asked, how are the contents of the three groups of Psalms enumerated above to be reconciled with the conclusion of their pre-Maccabaeian origin? Is not the historical background of many of them, that is, the struggle described in some, and the victory celebrated in others, clearly to be identified with the Maccabaeian crisis and its ultimate issue? I may, for convenience's sake, introduce the discussion of this side of the question with the summary statement that the conditions alluded to are described in such general terms that, as far as they are concerned, the Psalms in question might have been written at almost any time during the two centuries from the closing decades of the Persian down to the Maccabaeian period.¹⁹

sciously determined by the structure of his mother tongue, just as the Latin of any mediaeval writer was influenced by the language peculiar to his native country. Language, it must be remembered, being organic, is capable of growth and development only so long as it is part and parcel of the life and soul of a people. It would be as impossible to revive it artificially as it would be to breathe life into a dead body.

¹⁹ In this connection it is significant that the upholders of the theory of Maccabaeian psalms show no unanimity as to which psalms may be classed as Maccabaeian. T. K. Cheyne's position on this question well illustrates the general uncertainty. In *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* he is quite convinced of the Maccabaeian date of at least twenty-seven Psalms, including Ps. 44, 74, 79, and 83, whose Maccabaeian origin is widely thought to be well substantiated, but in his *Introduction to Isaiah*,

The one exception is Ps. 74, which contains a definite picture of contemporary conditions; but for the identification of this picture it is not necessary to turn to the Maccabean conflict. In fact, strictly speaking, the expression, **מִשְׁאוֹת נֶזֶח**, "perpetual ruins," said in v. 3 of Zion, would hardly be applicable to the Maccabean conditions, when one considers that the devastation wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes and his generals in the Temple-precinct lasted only five years at the most; nor would the statement, **שָׁלְחוּ אֵשׁ בְּמִקְדָּשְׁךָ**, "they have burned down thy sanctuary" (v. 7), accord with the actual amount of damage suffered by the Temple, as we know it from I Macc. 4:38; II Macc. 1:8; 8:33: both sources state expressly that only the gates of the Temple were burned. The clue to the historical background of this Psalm, as we shall see later, is rather to be found in certain events of pre-Maccabean times.²⁰

It is important to note in this connection that also in the case of Ps. 83, which is very definite in one particular, that of specifying the nations attacking Israel, there are difficulties in the way of identifying the occurrences referred to in the psalm with the Maccabean struggles. The clue to the situation described is commonly held to be found in the wars against the neighboring nations carried on by Judas Maccabaeus and Simon in 165-163 B. C. (after the rededication of the Temple), as related in I Macc. 5. But, it must be pointed out, the nations enumerated in Ps. 83 tally but partially with those mentioned in I Macc. 5; and further, if the psalm were of Maccabean origin, Asshur, i. e., Syria, instead of being referred to as having joined and aided the attacking nations, would undoubtedly have been spoken of as leading or as being aided by them. Theodoret of Mopsuestia's explanation, accepted by various modern critics, that Samaria is meant by Asshur, is untenable for the reason that, aside from the fact that it is nowhere called Asshur, Samaria at that time was not hostile to the Jews (I Macc. 5:66, *Marisa* is to be read instead of *Samaria*²¹). Theodoret's explanation, pp. 360 ff., he recedes from this view, and agrees with W. Robertson Smith that Ps. 74 and 79 are really a product of the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, while in regard to Ps. 44 he admits the possibility of such a date.

²⁰ See below, p. 245.

²¹ Cf. E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3d ed., vol. I, p. 212, n. 7; and *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, übersetzt von E. Kautzsch, vol. I, p. 49, n. 1.

tion rather evades the issue, as does also that of Hitzig and Duhm, that inasmuch as the Syrians had at the time only a comparatively small army on the Judaeian borders, they participated only indirectly in the wars by inciting the small neighboring nations against the Jews.²² However, these two differences are secondary in importance to the fact that the wars in which Judas Maccabaeus and Simon were engaged from 165-163 B. C. were all waged on the soil of the neighboring nations, and that although undertaken for the protection of the Jews living among these nations, they were aimed at the consolidation and expansion of Jewish power, while in Ps. 83, as v. 13 shows, **אִשֶּׁר אֲמְרוּ** **נִירְשָׁה לָנוּ אֶת נְאוֹת אֱלֹהִים**, "They that say let us take in possession the fields of God," i. e., the Holy Land, the neighboring nations, united against the Jews, have attacked them in their own country for the distinct purpose of gaining possession of it. This radical difference between the Judaeian situation of the years 165-163 B. C. and that reflected in Ps. 83 precludes the Maccabaeian origin of the latter. The similarity in language between I Macc. 5:2, "They resolved to destroy those of the tribe of Jacob that were in their midst," and Ps. 83:3-4, "They take crafty counsel against thy people . . . They say, come let us 'destroy them, so that they cease to be a people,'" is to be explained by the fact that the Maccabaeian writer made use of the phraseology of the psalm. If, notwithstanding these facts, the view prevails that there is substantial proof of the Maccabaeian origin of Ps. 44, 74, 79, and 83, it is to be attributed to a fundamental error in the customary presentation of post-exilic Jewish history.

Owing to the dearth of direct historical information concerning the two centuries preceding the Maccabaeian period, we have been accustomed, in dealing with post-exilic Jewish history, to make the serious mistake of identifying the conflict that ensued between Hellenism, or to put it more accurately, between the policy and ambitions of the Seleucidae, and Judaism with the wars waged by the Maccabees for their religious liberty, whereas, in reality, these latter constitute but one, and that the closing, act of a struggle which had been extended over a century and

²² Cf. F. Hitzig, *Kommentar zu den Psalmen*, *ad loc.* and B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, *ad loc.*

a half, from the death of Alexander the Great down to the Maccabaeon age. And this is not stating the matter fully. For the oppression actually began during the last half-century of the Persian period, and the rule of Alexander but marks a time of respite for the Jews.

As to the condition of the Jews under Artaxerxes Ochus (358-337 B. C.), whatever we have of direct information has come down through such late writers as Josephus and Eusebius.²³ Of the two records preserved in Josephus, one is the naive story (*Ant.* XI. 7, 1) about the desecration of the Temple by Bagoas²⁴ (because the High-priest John had slain his own brother Jesus in the Temple) and the seven years' tribute imposed by the satrap on the people as a punishment for the High-priest's crime. This story, it is safe to conclude, rests on misinformation both in regard to the cause of the trouble and in regard to the limit and severity of the punishment inflicted; for the brief record in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schöne, II, 112f., and in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, I, 486, and Orosius, III, 7, both of whom quote Eusebius, justifies the inference that the Jews took part in the revolt of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus against Persia in the years 351-348 B. C., and that, as punishment, many of them were led away captive to Hyrcania by Artaxerxes Ochus. That the record of Eusebius and his successors is of greater historical value than the embellished account in Josephus there can be no doubt. Instead of being an objective report, the account in Josephus comments on the wickedness of the crime committed by John, and represents the penalty imposed by Bagoas as punishment inflicted by God. Note especially the indignation which Bagoas is supposed to have manifested because it was in the Temple that the crime was committed; also his query when the people tried to prevent him from entering the Temple: "Am I not purer than the body of him who was slain in the Temple?" Because of these features the story in Josephus is to be considered, not as the report of a different event, but as the

²³ The perplexing report in Solinus, *collect.* XXXV. 4, about the conquest of Jericho was formerly included in the records about Artaxerxes Ochus. This report, however, as Th. Reinach points out, refers probably to occurrences at the time of Ardashir I, the founder of the Sassanian empire (see *Semitic Studies in Memory of Alex. Kohut*, 1897, pp. 457-462).

²⁴ In Josephus he is called Bagoses.

legendary account of the same occurrences that are recorded by Eusebius and his successors.²⁵

But while there is scarcity of direct information, indirect light is shed on the conditions of those times by the records of the following period, foremost among which are the legends clustering around Alexander the Great.

The oldest records of the Alexander legend are found in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* VII. 7, 4 and *Ant.* XI. 8, 4f. The former consists of a fragmentary reference to the apocalyptic notion that Alexander shut up the nations of Gog and Magog behind iron gates; the latter contains the well-known story about Alexander's alleged visit to Jerusalem. The story is in substance as follows:

When Alexander, after conquering Gaza, was on his march to Jerusalem to conquer it, the people of Jerusalem, with the High-priest Jaddua in his priestly robes at their head, went out to meet him in order to offer peaceful submission. Alexander seeing the festive procession from a distance, ran ahead of his army and prostrated himself before Jaddua in worship of the God to whom Jaddua ministered. To his generals, who expressed their astonishment at his action, Alexander declared that when at Dios in Macedonia he had been deliberating how he might conquer Asia, this very priest had appeared to him in a dream, promising to conduct his armies and give him dominion over Persia. And now that he beholds this man in the flesh, he feels assured that he is under divine guidance, and that he shall succeed in defeating Darius and in conquering the empire of the Persians. Having spoken these words, Alexander proceeded with the High-priest and the people to Jerusalem, where he sacrificed in person unto Jahveh in His Temple. On being shown in the Book of Daniel, where it was declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, Alexander took this revelation as referring to himself, and well pleased,

²⁵ Since writing this article, I find that the view that Josephus shows himself "ill-informed" in the above record has already been expressed by W. Robertson Smith. "The whole Bagoas-story," he remarks, "looks like a pragmatistical invention, designed partly to soften the catastrophe of the Jews, and partly to explain it by the sin of the High-priest." (See *op. cit.*, p. 438.)

dismissed the people.²⁶ The following day he gave the Jews full religious liberty and also granted their petition that they might be exempt from taxes every seventh year.

This story, it has rightly been concluded, is only an excerpt from a more elaborate apocryphal work about Alexander, elements of which reappear some centuries later in Pseudo-Callisthenes and in various offshoots of this work, as also in several apocalyptic writings.²⁷ Proof of this is to be seen in the fact that the story of Alexander's dream of future world-dominion and of his visit to the Temple at Jerusalem, though not found in Pseudo-Callisthenes, reoccurs in a later offshoot of this work, namely, in the Himjaritic version of the Alexander legend by Ibn-Hisham.²⁸ The story of the dream as told in Ibn-Hisham is, however, at such variance with that in Josephus that it cannot possibly have been derived from the latter, and there is no other conclusion possible than that both stories go back to one common source. This conclusion is borne out also by the version of Alexander's visit to the Temple at Jerusalem as found in two apocalyptic products, *viz.*, in the so-called "Syriac Alexander-legend," and in a poetic product closely related to this, "The Alexander Homily of Jacob of Sarug" dating from 514 or 515 A. D.²⁹

²⁶ The form in which this incident is told here is of later origin; from later versions it can be shown that it must have read quite differently in the original legend.

²⁷ See F. Kämpers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage*, Freiburg, i. B. 1901, pp. 51 ff.; and also Alfred v. Gutschmid, *Gesammelte Kleine Schriften*, vol. IV, p. 350.

²⁸ The Himjaritic text of this Alexander legend has been published by Lidzbarski in "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," vol. VIII, pp. 278-311; and *ib.* p. 272, and also in vol. VII, p. 107, he discusses briefly Ibn-Hisham's story of the dreams (in Ibn-Hisham's story Alexander dreams on successive nights). These dreams are treated at still further length by I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 194 ff.

²⁹ The "Syriac Alexander legend" is found in all the MSS. of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, to which it is appended. It has been published and translated into English by E. A. W. Budge in *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes . . . with an English Translation and Notes* (Cambridge, 1889), pp. 255-275 (text), pp. 144-158 (translation), where also a translation of "The Alexander Homily of Jacob of Sarug" is given, pp. 163-200; the Syriac

These later offshoots of the legends which were at one time current among the Jews about Alexander interest us for our purpose only in so far as they show that Alexander the Great must have possessed for the Jews of his day and of subsequent times a fascination similar to that which Cyrus had for Deutero-Isaiah. He is not only claimed to have confessed Jahveh, but, like Cyrus, he is proclaimed the God-sent Messiah, or more accurately, the precursor of the Messiah. This apotheosis of Alexander can, to my mind, be explained only by the supposition that the closing period of the Persian reign must have been for the Jews a time of great suffering, and that Alexander's world-rule brought them for a brief space enjoyment of liberty.

This supposition is borne out by a contemporary source consisting of only a few verses, viz., Is. 14: 29-32³⁰—a sort of *vaticinium post eventum*, in which the apotheosis of Alexander by the Jews for the first time makes its appearance. The oracle was evidently written some time after the conquest of Gaza by Alexander, for this event is referred to in v. 31³¹ in a way that shows that it has already occurred.

The Philistines, namely Gaza, had sent messengers to the Jews to ask that they join in the opposition to Alexander, but had met with a refusal. The answer as expressed by our document reads: **כִּי יְהוֹה יִסְדֵּר צִיּוֹן וּבֶהּ יִחְסוּ עַמִּי עָמוֹ**, "Jahveh has founded Zion, and there the afflicted of His people find refuge"; to which may be added the parallel thought from the preceding part: **וְרֵעוֹ בְּכוֹרֵי רְלִים וְאֲבִיוֹנִים לִבְטַח יִרְכְּצוּ** "The first-born of the poor shall pasture, the needy lie down in security." The expressions, **אֲבִיוֹנִים** and **עַמִּי עָמוֹ**, "the needy" and "the afflicted of His people," are not used with the religious connotation they sometimes have, but as the phrase, **בְּכוֹרֵי רְלִים**, "the first-born of the poor," that is, the poorest, the most miserable, shows, are to be understood in a literal sense. Our source then

text of the Homily has been published by Knös, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66-107. On the date of this apocalypse and its relation to the Legend cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans* (Wien, 1890), p. 30 f.

³⁰ As to the alleged date of the oracle (v. 28), cf. M. Bittenwieser, *The Prophets of Israel* (1914), p. 276 f.

³¹ Between **כִּי כִצְפִין עֵשֶׂן בָּא** and **וְאִי בּוֹדֵר כְּמוֹעֲרֵי** some statement must have dropped out, for the suffix of **כְּמוֹעֲרֵי** lacks its antecedent.

describes the situation of the Jews at that time as most pitiable—their condition, no doubt, was the result of the cruel rule of Artaxerxes Ochus. Yet our author is convinced that the change for the better has arrived, and what gives him this assurance is the fact that מִשְׁרֵשׁ נָחַשׁ יֵצָא צִפְעָה וּפְרִי שֶׁרֶף מֵעוֹפֵף “Out of the root of the serpent has issued a basilisk, a flying dragon is its fruit.”

The hero referred to in these enigmatic words is none other than Alexander the Great. To take the second part of the verse first, “a flying—or a winged—dragon is its fruit” finds its explanation in the historical fact that, at the time of the conquest of Egypt, Alexander was declared to be the son of Jupiter-Amon by the priests of the god, and that in this same period Jupiter-Amon and his son Horus are directly represented by the winged dragon.³² Thus in the story in Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 6f., 10, about Amon’s intercourse with Olympias, the mother of Alexander, the god appears, mainly, in the form of the dragon. It should be added that this identification of Alexander with the solar deity not only forms a prominent feature in the later legends, but receives due emphasis even in the works of the contemporary writers.³³

³² The winged dragon has always been the foremost attribute of Amon-Re and his son Horus; cf. A. Erman, *Die Ägyptische Religion*, pp. 11 and 13, and also p. 246.

³³ In this respect may be compared the description, Diodor I, 15, 6-8; 17-20, 5, of Dionysos-Alexander’s victorious conquest and rule of the universe which Diodor took from another old source and put in among his excerpts from Hecataeus of Abdera: The incomparable hero, the ancient writer declares, is everywhere acknowledged as god and especially after his death is shown the highest honors (cf. P. Wendland, *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*, 1907, p. 69, note 3; and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie des Klassischen Altertums*, vol. V, p. 1039 f. and also p. 674). Even more conclusive are the resolutions passed in 324 B. C. by the Athenians that Alexander be worshipped as Dionysos (Dinarch. I, 94, Hyper. I fragm. VIII, Diogen. Laert. VI, 63), and the fact recorded by Arrian, VII, 23, 2, that in 323 deputations from Greece arrived in Babylon to worship Alexander as god (cf. J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters*, 1901, I, pp. 389 ff.; Kampers, *op. cit.*, p. 129, note 3, and Pauly-Wissowa, *ib.*, p. 1040). The worship of Alexander as Dionysos explains, to my mind, why in Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 6 f., one of the changing forms in which the god Amon appears and holds intercourse with Olympias is that of Dionysos (this feature is common to all the versions). Similarly Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, p. 3, points out the

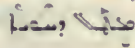
The first part of the verse, "Out of the root of the serpent has issued a basilisk," is but another expression of the belief of that age in Alexander's divinity. Proof of this I find in Pseudo-Callisthenes, where, after the story just referred to, of Alexander's divine descent from Jupiter-Amon,³⁴ it is related (I: 11) that some time prior to Alexander's birth an egg was laid by a bird in the lap of Philip, and this egg, dropping to the ground, broke open; whereupon a serpent crept out, encircled the egg, and then died before it could creep back into the egg. The serpent that came out of the egg was interpreted by the magician to represent Alexander who, after conquering the universe, should die before he could get back to his native country.³⁵ At the bottom of this oracle is the primitive notion

fact that the tale in Pseudo-Callisthenes, *ib.* and 10, of Amon's appearing in the form of the dragon and holding intercourse with Olympias is found in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* and *Justin*, XI, 11, 3; XII, 16, 2, and concludes from this that the tale must have been circulated during the lifetime of Alexander, probably at the monarch's own request.

³⁴ The feature that Amon's intercourse with Olympias was a deception wrought by the magic art of Nectanebus—a feature of which there is no trace in the older sources—is in all probability an invention of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and may be ascribed to this author's tendency to rationalize.

³⁵ This is the version of the story in Text A of Müller's edition of the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes (*Pseudo-Callisthenes* primum edidit Carolus Müller, Paris, 1846) according to three Paris MSS., which represent three different versions of the work, A, B, C. The story as told in Version B, on which, because of its superior text-condition, Müller's edition is principally based, and as told also in the Syriac Version (edited by Budge, *op. cit.*) and in the Armenian version, varies in but one point from that of A. According to these versions the serpent seeks to creep back into the egg, but dies as soon as it puts its head inside the shell.—The Armenian version has been made accessible to those who do not know Armenian by Raabe's retranslation into Greek: R. Raabe, *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Die Armenische Uebersetzung der Sagenhaften Alexander-Biographie (Pseudo-Callisthenes)*. . . Leipzig, 1896.

In view of the importance of the story of this portent for the interpretation of Is. 14: 29, I shall quote it in full according to B of Müller's text-edition: Μετά δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς καθιζόμενον τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐν τινὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν συμφύτων τόπων, ὁρνέων διαφόρων πλήθη ἐνέμοντο ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ αἰφνιδίως ὄρνις ἄλλομένη εἰς τὸν κόλπον Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεκεν ὄν. Καὶ ἀποκυλισθὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ πρὸς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπερράγη, ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέπεσε μικρὸν δρακόντιον, ὅπερ πολλάκις κυκλεῖσθαι ἔξω τοῦ ὡοῦ, πάλιν ἐξήτει εἰσελθεῖν ὅθεν ἐξῆλθεν. Καὶ βαλὼν ἔσω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐτελεύτησεν. Ταραχθεὶς δὲ Φίλιππος μετεστείλατο τινὰ σημειολύτην καὶ ὑψηγῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονός. Ὁ δὲ σημειολύτης εἶπεν ἐμπνευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. "Βασιλεῦ, ἔσται σοι υἱός, ὃς περιελεύσεται τὸν ὅλον κόσμον πάντας τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ὑποτάσσων,

held by the Greeks that their national heroes, just as the chthonic gods and local heroes, manifested themselves in the form of the serpent. There is frequent reference to this notion in Greek writers, but it will suffice to quote from Plutarch, *Cleom.* 39: οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζώων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἥρωσι συνφκεῖωσαν ("The ancients associate the serpent above all other animals with their heroes").³⁶ As a matter of fact, this notion, it will now be seen, is expressly referred to in the interpretation of the portent of the egg and the serpent by the words, ὁ γὰρ δράκων βασιλικὸν ζῶόν ἐστι of the Greek version and by  of the Syriac version. The first part of our verse, Is. 14:29, is then clear: "The root of the serpent" is the egg that dropped from the lap of Philip, that is to say, in its last analysis, Philip himself; and the basilisk, the more formidable serpent that issued therefrom, is Alexander. The parallel second part of the verse tallies with this exactly: "its fruit" (the fruit of the root of the serpent) "is the winged dragon," Alexander deified.

The light thus shed by the Alexander legend, on the one hand, and Is. 14:29-32, on the other, on the condition of the Jews, both during the last period of the Persian rule and during the reign of Alexander, justifies us in concluding that what Josephus, *contra Apion.* I, 191 and 193, quotes from Hecataeus of Abdera (a contemporary of Alexander the Great) is genuine, that is, as regards the oppression which the Jews endured from the Persian kings and satraps and from their immediate Palestinian neighbors, and as regards the deportation of the Jews by the Persians.³⁷ The

ὑποστρέφων δὲ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ὀλιγοχρόνιος τελευτήσει. ὁ γὰρ δράκων βασιλικὸν ζῶόν ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ὦν παραπλήσιον τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅθεν ὁ δράκων ἐξῆλθεν. Κυκλεύσας οὖν τὸν κόσμον καὶ βουλόμενος ὅθεν ἐξῆλθεν εἰσελθεῖν οὐκ ἔφθασεν, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησεν."

³⁶ For other references to this notion see Erwin Rohde, *Psyche*, I, pp. 196 (where also the above quotation from Plutarch is given), 242, note 3, 244, note 4, and also 254, note 2.

³⁷ This applies also in all probability to what Josephus, *ib.* II, 43, quotes from Hecataeus of Abdera about the privileges granted to the Jews by Alexander. It may be in place to remark that the view of H. Willrich (*Juden und Griechen*, 1895, pp. 20 ff., and *Judaica*, 1900, pp. 86 ff.) and of others that the entire excerpts in Josephus, *contra Apion.* I, 184-204, II, 43-47, are from Pseudo-Hecataeus is opposed by such distinguished Hellenistic scholars as Elter (*De Gnomologiorum Graecorum Historia atque Origine*, IX, Bonn, 1895, pp. 247 ff.), Mendelssohn (*Aristaeae quae fertur ad*

Persian kings referred to by Hecataeus are no doubt Artaxerxes Ochus, whose oppression of the Jews we have already discussed, and his immediate predecessor Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-358 B. C.). This latter monarch waged war against Egypt during his entire reign, and when Egypt in 368-358 B. C. was joined in her revolt by the whole of Western Asia, inclusive of Syria, we know that Palestine was the scene of bloody battles.

The inference from all this is that, of the Psalms usually held to be Maccabaeian, those speaking of religious persecution and tyrannous rule might just as well have been written, Ps. 74 included, during the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, whose rule was characterized, as we know from his reign of terror in Egypt, by extreme religious intolerance, while those Psalms which sound a note of triumph might easily be a product of the time of Alexander, the outstanding features of whose rule were religious tolerance and regard for the individualities of nations.

As to Ps. 74, W. Robertson Smith³⁸ and T. K. Cheyne³⁹ have pointed out that the references in this Psalm might well apply

Philocratem epistolae initium, Dorpat, 1897), and especially by Wendland (in his review of Willrich's *Judaica* in "Berliner Philologische Wochen-schrift," XX, 1900, pp. 1199 ff.).

It should further be remarked that the treatises of Willrich referred to suffer from a grave methodical mistake. Willrich proceeds from the view that neither the excerpts from Hecataeus nor the Alexander and the Bagoas stories of Josephus are of any historical value whatever for the pre-Maccabaeian times. He looks upon them as mere fabrications of Maccabaeian and post-Maccabaeian writers for the purpose of glorifying Judaism in the eyes of the non-Jewish world. The extent to which he is biased in his historical judgment by this erroneous view-point may best be seen from the fact that he considers the story of Alexander's visit to the Temple at Jerusalem as directly modelled after Agrippa's visit to Judaea (in 15 B. C.) as described in Josephus *Ant.* XVI, 2, 1-4 and Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, § 37 (see *Juden und Griechen*, pp. 9-13). Willrich overlooks the fact that the central feature of the Alexander story in Josephus is Alexander's dream of future world-dominion—a feature which could not possibly be explained if the story were modelled after the account of Agrippa's visit to Judaea. This feature stamps the story as part and parcel of the Alexander legend, which, as we have seen, was already in the process of formation during the lifetime of Alexander the Great. There would be no other conclusion possible, even if we had not Is. 14: 29-32 to show that the Jews shared in common with their times the belief in Alexander's exalted position.

³⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th ed., vol. XX, p. 31; *op. cit.*, p. 207 f. and 428 f.

³⁹ *Introduction to Isaiah*, pp. 360 ff.

to events of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, for the deportation of the people in great numbers, carried out by this monarch, was probably preceded by the capture of Jerusalem and a complete or partial destruction of the Temple. In support of this conclusion Cheyne points to another probable product of this period, Isaiah 63:7-64:11, which likewise speaks of the burning of the Temple and the conversion of Jerusalem and all the country into ruins: "Thy holy cities have become a wilderness, Zion has become a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our sanctuary, our glorious house, where our fathers praised thee, has been burned down by fire, and all our pleasant places have been turned into ruins" (64:9-10; cf. Ps. 74:3 and 7).⁴⁰ Note particularly 63:18, "Thy holy people possessed it but a little while, our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary" (מְקִדָּשְׁךָ is to be construed with יְרֵשׁוּ as well as with בּוֹסְסוּ). This verse, to my mind, while furnishing conclusive proof that Is. 63:7-64:11 cannot be an exilic product, but must have been written after the Temple had been rebuilt, shows just as convincingly that the piece cannot have been written as late as the Maccabaeon times. Had it been written in Maccabaeon times, the statement that the people possessed the sanctuary "*but a little while*" (מִצֵּעַר) would not have been possible.⁴¹

As far as Ps. 83 is concerned, or any one of the psalms in question other than Ps. 74, it is impossible to arrive at an exact date because of the two circumstances expatiated on above, the lack of definiteness in the historical references of these psalms, and the lack of direct historical information about the conditions of the Jews in the fourth and third centuries B. C. Contrary, however, to the view expressed by Baethgen⁴² and others

⁴⁰ שְׂרָפוֹ of Ps. 74:8 is dubious textually as may be seen from καταπαύσωμεν of the Greek. Since נִינִם of Sa is either to be considered as ellipsis for נִכְחִירֵי נִינִם, or in accordance with נוֹכַר אֲנִין of Syr. is to be emended נִכְחִירִים (cf. Ps. 83:5), שְׂרָפוֹ is perhaps, in accordance with the reading of the Greek, to be emended נִשְׁבִּיתָ: to the meaning that we would thus get for 8b, "Let us abolish all the feasts of God in the land," Lam. 2:6 may be compared.

⁴¹ Is. 63:18 refutes Duhm's interpretation of 64:10 (*Das Buch Jesaja*, 1902) that the author had in mind the stately former Temple destroyed by the Babylonians. Duhm's emendation of 63:18 a, לִמָּה יִצְעְרוּ רִשְׁעִים, קִרְשָׁן is the more arbitrary as the construction of this half verse is borne out by the variant reading τοῦ θεοῦ of G for נִם of the Hebrew text.

⁴² *Die Psalmen*, p. 254.

with reference to Ps. 83 that "such a general attack of the neighboring nations on Israel as that related in I Macc. 5 never occurred in any previous period," it is to be pointed out that what Hecataeus of Abdera actually reports about the enmity the Jews suffered from their neighbors during the Persian period, and what we are justified in inferring from his account, as to the control obtained in the country by these neighbors, who even "built themselves temples and altars," permits the conclusion that such a joint attack of the neighboring nations on Israel as that referred to in Ps. 83 might well have occurred during the latter part of the Persian rule.⁴³

To recapitulate—examination of the source-material at our disposal furnishes ample proof that during the closing period of the Persian rule the Jews were reduced to an extremely critical condition, but that under the liberal policy of Alexander the Great they had reason to hope that a new era of political freedom had at last dawned for them.

⁴³ See Jos. *contr. Apion.* I, 191 and 193. Hecataeus' statement (§ 193) that the people who had come into the country built themselves temples and altars, for demolishing which the Jews were fined by the satraps, implies, as indicated above, that these resident strangers must have had a direct share in the politico-social control of the country, else they could not have erected temples and altars in the land, nor would the Persian satraps have punished the Jews for destroying them. This assumption of such a state of affairs for the latter part of the Persian rule is confirmed by another source, *viz.*, the Book of Job, the most probable date of which is the first quarter of the fourth century B. C. Job 15: 19 is a direct statement to the effect that at the time the book was written strangers lived in the country, and evidently in no mean numbers, for Eliphaz implies by vv. 17-19 that their influence is responsible for Job's heresy as betrayed by his challenge of the traditional belief in retributive justice: "To them (the fathers) exclusively the land was given, strangers did not reside among them."

There is then considerable evidence in Biblical sources to support the picture which we get from the records of Hecataeus and from that in Eusebius and his successors about the situation of the Jews during the latter part of the Persian reign. There is nothing to substantiate the web of arguments with which Willrich seeks to prove that neither the records ascribed to Hecataeus nor the account in Eusebius and his successors can be considered authentic, but are, both, outright fabrications. Willrich proceeds from the erroneous presumption that the Persian kings, without exception, practiced religious tolerance, and that the Jews, ever since the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, enjoyed, more than any other people, the favor of the Persian monarchs (see *Juden und Griechen*, p. 21 f. and *Judaica*, pp. 35 ff. and 91 ff.).

However, the freedom and untrammelled development which the Jews enjoyed under Alexander came to an end, as I stated a while ago, with this monarch's death, and this brings me back to my other statement that the wars of the Maccabaeon period were but the closing act in a struggle which lasted through a century and a half. In 320 B. C., Palestine, Southern as well as Northern, was occupied by the armies of Ptolemy I, and in the struggle which ensued a few years later between Ptolemy and Antigonos it was the center of war for a decade or longer. To what extent the Jews were affected by this struggle may be seen from the fact that after the battle of Gaza (312 B. C.), in which the forces of Antigonos were defeated, Jerusalem was captured and razed by Ptolemy, and great numbers of the people, including the High Priest, were deported to Egypt.⁴⁴ Here again we find conditions which might well serve as historical background for Psalm 74.

Nor in the century and a quarter following the battle at Ipsus (301 B. C.) did the condition of the Jews undergo any material change. In the conflict that was carried on during this period between the Ptolemies and Seleucidae for supremacy over the Orient, Palestine was again and again the scene of devastating wars; and scanty as it is, the information which we have of these times is sufficient to show that each of these wars brought untold suffering to the Jews. We need not enter, however, into a review of the scattered references to the condition of the Jews contained in the fragmentary records of the contemporary Greek and Syriac historians, particularly as we have a much more

⁴⁴ This event is well attested. There is a record of it in *Jos. Ant.* XII, I, on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus, and another in *Jos. contr. Apion.* I, § 186, and in *The Letter of Aristeeas*, §§ 12 f. and 35 taken from Hecataeus of Abdera. From the latter record we learn that the capture of Jerusalem and the subsequent deportation of the people occurred after the battle at Gaza, concurrently with the conquest of the other principal cities of Coele-Syria. The genuineness of the excerpts from Hecataeus in the Letter of Aristeeas and in *Jos. contr. Apion.* is rightly upheld by Wendland; and as to the discrepancy between Josephus and the Letter of Aristeeas, he points out that in the report of the latter of the forcible deportation of the Jews we have the true account, and that Josephus purposely altered his source in order to paint matters in more pleasing colors (see P. Wendland, "Der Aristeeasbrief" in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch*, 1900, vol. II, pp. 1 f. and 6, note a).

illuminating fact on which to rest our case. The one event that tells the history of these troublous times more eloquently than could the most detailed records is the passing of Hebrew as a spoken language. This momentous event came to pass, as we have seen, in the course of the century and a half elapsing between the death of Alexander and the early part of the second century B. C. The conditions that brought it about were probably very like those which prevailed in England under Norman rule. The Jews must have lost their social as well as their political independence, and the Syrians constituted the ruling classes and upper strata of society, holding not only all the official positions, but monopolizing all the trade and commerce. The persistence of these conditions for upwards of a century and a half caused Hebrew finally to give way altogether to Aramaic.⁴⁵

The half-century of the Babylonian exile, it will be remembered, had no deteriorating effect whatever on the Hebrew language. During and after the exile Hebrew literature flourished as usual. Moreover, in the period immediately preceding the two centuries in which Jewish history lapses into silence, some of the ripest works of Hebrew were produced, as, for instance, the Book of Job. It was the persistence, it is worth while to repeat, the persistence for generation after generation, of the untoward social and political conditions which became the lot of the Jews after Alexander's death, that finally led to the passing of Hebrew as the language of the people. The main point for our purpose is that by the time of the Maccabees Hebrew had given way to Aramaic, and in the light of this fact it is to be questioned whether there are any Psalms dating later than the middle of the third century B. C.

⁴⁵ In this connection it may be in place to call attention to an erroneous view of the Hellenization of Syria, still frequently met with, though refuted by Nöldeke more than thirty years ago. This is the view put forward by Mommsen (in *Römische Geschichte*, vol. V) that among the cultured classes of Syria, Aramaic gave way altogether to Greek. In his article, "Mommsen's Darstellung der römischen Herrschaft und römischen Politik im Orient" (in *ZDMG.*, XXXIX, p. 333 f.), Nöldeke shows conclusively, not only that Aramaic continued to be cultivated as a literary language throughout Syria down to the third century A. D., but that all through these pagan centuries it was the living language of the people, and that it was this living Aramaic tongue which, in the period of the Roman empire, appeared once more as the official language, even beyond the confines of Syria.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE MOUNTAIN-BULL

Heb. *rêm* does not denote a *unicorn*, or a large *antelope*, but an *aurochs* or *mountain-bull* (see CD 6673, s. *urus*).¹ Similarly the male capercaillie (German *Auerhahn*) is called *mountain-cock*; cf. also *mountain-cat* = *wildecat*; *mountain-sheep* = *wild sheep*, *bighorn*; *mountain-deer* = *chamois*. On p. 173 of the translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible I have shown how the idea of a unicorn originated; cf. EB 5229; Schrader, *Die Vorstellung vom μονόκερως und ihr Ursprung* (Berlin, 1892).

Gustav Freytag, *Die Ahnen*, vol. i, c. 7 uses the term *Bergstier* for *aurochs*; I employed this name in CV 35, l. 6. The original form of the cuneiform ideogram for Sum. *am* = Assy. *rîmu* is the horned head of an ox with the symbol for mountain, and the primary connotation of *rîmu* (= *ri'mu* = *ra'imu*) is *climber* (see *Mic.* 73, l. 7; ZDMG 64, 713, below). In the same way Heb. *ia'él*, ibex (Arab. *uá'il*; cf. BA 1, 170) is connected with *'alâ*, to go up. Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* 6, 28) says that the *urus* was found in the Hereynian Forest. This designation is not identical with the name of the Harz (MHG *Hart*) mountains, but denotes the entire forest-covered mountain-system of Germany from the Black Forest to the Carpathians. According to Caesar (6, 25) it took a good walker nine days to traverse the breadth of the *Hercynia silva*, while the maximum breadth of the Harz mountains is but 20 miles, and the greatest length 57.

The large horns (cf. Num. 23:22; Deut. 33:17) of the *rîmu* figured in Assyrian sculptures show that this wild ox was not a (short-horned) bison, German *Wisent* (KAT² 584; Budde, *Hiob*², 249).² Pliny (8, 38) distinguishes the bison from the

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75.

² Dr. Albright has called my attention to W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910) p. 414. Dr. Ward thought that Assy. *rîmu* denoted a *bison*; contrast DB 4, 835a.

aurochs; he says that there are in Germany *insignia boum ferorum genera, jubati bisontes excellentique et vi et velocitate uri quibus imperitum vulgus bubalorum nomen imponit*. We still make the mistake of calling the American bison a *buffalo*. The *Bos Americanus* is much smaller than the aurochs. The buffalo is fond of marshy places, the bison roamed over the plains, the aurochs climbed the mountains. Cæsar says of the *uri* in the Hercynian Forest: *Magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas. Assuescere ad homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt*. Nevertheless the ancient Germans domesticated the mountain-bull and reduced it to service. The majority of the breeds of European cattle are descended from it (EB¹¹ 2, 926).

In the Book of Job (39:9-11) JHVH asks Job:

- 9 Will the mountain-bull be willing to serve thee,
or will he stay at thy crib?
- 10 Canst thou tie his yoke with cords,
or will he plow *avalesß* behind thee?
- 11 Canst thou throw him despite his great strength,
and leave thy labor to him?

(a) 10 furrows

(ß) 8 The mountains are the ur's pasture-ground,
he cares for every green thing.

(γ) 12 Canst thou trust him to bring in thy grain,
and garner it on thy threshing-floor?

Schlottmann, Hiob (1851) p. 479 says that the opponent of Louis Cappel (1585-1658) Arnold Boot thought of the aurochs. The last aurochs in the forest of Jaktozowka, WSW of Warsaw, was killed in 1627, but the *bos urus* appears to exist still in the forests of the western Caucasus (EB¹¹ 2, 926; 5, 547^b). J. D. Michaelis (1773) and Hufnagel (1781) rendered: *wild ox*, but took it to be a buffalo.

V. 8 does not belong to the preceding triplet referring to the wild ass. The *onager* inhabits the deserts (*cf.* v. 6) contiguous to Palestine, although the Tibetan *kyang* is found in altitudes of about 1400 feet (*cf.* EB¹¹ 13, 713^a; see also Geo. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 1897, p. 115). Assyr. *pûrimu*, wild ass, may mean *ass of the desert* (see GB^{1a} xix, l. 8). The Sumerian name for *wild ass* is *anšu-edina*, ass of the desert

(SGI 14; cf. MVAG 18, 2, p. 7). For Jer. 2:24 see JBL 35, 319.

V. 8 is a gloss to 'āmaqîm, vales (v. 10) which the poet uses for *furrows*. We use *vale* for a little trough, and we call the gutters formed by the meeting of two roof-slopes *valleys*. The same term is applied to the depression between the two ridges of a tooth. Greek αἰλὼν signifies *valley* and *trench*, canal; χάραδρα is used for *ravine* and *trench*. Hahn (cf. AJSL 32, 141) referred 'āmaqîm to the furrows, but he believed that talm denoted a ridge between the furrows (cf. JBL 34, 62, l. 6).

The *scriptio plena* of the *o* in iqrôš and iarôq (a form like aqôm, fem. ādummâ, red) is due to dittography of the *r* (cf. JBL 35, 288, below; JAOS 35, 388, n. 3).

For iētûr, which cannot be combined with Assyr. tâmirtu, environment, we must read ŷē-tôr, and the *ur* or *urus* (cf. GK § 143, a). We need not suppose that the initial *m* and the final *û* of mir'êhû are due to dittography, and that the original reading was rô'ê. Assyr. tâmirtu is derived from amâru, to see, and means originally *that which is in sight*, seeing-distance, range of vision. The reading iatûr, he spies (𐤓 iē'allél) is based on Prov. 12:26 where we may read: iatûr mir'êhû çaddîq, the righteous finds (lit. *searches*; cf. HW 155^b. 632^b) his sustenance (lit. *pasture*). Tôr is the Aramaic form of Heb. šôr, ox. It is used in this late gloss for 𐤓 tûrbâlâ, wild ox (Heb. šôr hab-bâr) in which bâlâ stands for bârâ = bârrâ, wilderness, the *l* instead of *r* being due to dissimilation. 𐤓 (Ps. 50:10) says that the *urus* feeds off every day a thousand mountains (ŷē-tôr-bâr dē-râ'ê hē-kol-iômâ tûrîn âlpâ). The suggestion (AJSL 34, 141) that hârîm in Job 39:8 does not mean *mountains*, but *the reem*, is untenable.

Rêm (v. 9) after hă-iôbê, which is accented on the penult, is not enclitic; therefore the *r* should not be doubled (cf. Est. 49, 13; AJSL 26, 22, n. 32; JBL 34, 49).—For 'ôbdêka read lē-'ôbdêka.—For the original meaning of ialîn see JAOS 37, 254.—For 'al read 'âlê.

For hă-tiqšôr-rêm in the next line we must not read hă-tiqšêrêm (Siegfried) or hă-tiqšêréhû or hă-tiqšêrénnû (Budde): rêm after hă-tiqšôr is a corruption of nîrô, his yoke. Assyr. nîru, yoke, has passed into Aramaic and Arabic (see *Proverbs*, SBOT, 53, 31; AkF 42). In Jer. 4:3; Hos. 10:12; Prov. 13:23

Heb. *nîr* signifies *plowland* (not *fallow ground*). Our *yoke* (Lat. *jugum*) denotes also as much land as may be plowed by a pair of oxen in a day. In Jer. 4:3 and Hos. 10:12 (a secondary passage) we have also the denominative verb *nîr*, to plow. Similarly Arab. *aṭāra*, to plow, is a denominative verb derived from *tāur*, ox. Arab. *ḥaraṭa* means *to plow*, and *ḥārt* signifies *field* (cf. ZDMG 65, 561, 19). Syr. *nîrâ* denotes also the *beam* of a weaver's loom; cf. Heb. *mēnôr ôrēgîm* and Syr. *nāulâ*, Arab. *nāul*, *minūâl* (with *l* for *r* as in *rāil* = *rāir*, saliva). The primary connotation of Assy. *nîru*, yoke (= *naḥîru*) is *collar*, neck-band, and the original meaning of the Assyrian verb *nâru*, to slay (= *naḥâru*) is *to jugulate*, to cut the throat. According to Lagarde we have *nîr*, yoke, in Prov. 21:4, *nîr rēša'im ḥaṭṭât*, sin is the yoke of the wicked (cf. John 8:34; Rom. 6:20).

For *bē-tālm 'āḥôṭô* we must read *ba-'āḥôṭôṭ*; the feminine plural was written '*āḥôṭô*' (AJSL 32, 74). Also for *tālm* we must read the plural *tēlamîm* which may have been written *defective*, so that the omission of the plural ending may be due to haplography; cf. *šākm* in Ps. 21:13 for *šikmām*: we must read *tēšitēmô lē-hafnôṭ šikmām*, thou wilt make them turn their back. **Ⲭ** has for the first hemistich of Job 39:10: *ḏḡseis δὲ ἐν ἱμαῖοις ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ*, i. e. *tiqšôr ba-'āḥôṭôṭ nîrô* or *tiqšôr nîrô ba-'āḥôṭôṭ*. We cannot read '*ullô* instead of *nîrô*, because '*ullô* could hardly have been corrupted to *rêm*; nor is *ζυγὸν* a free rendering of *tālm*, as Duhm supposes. **Ⲭ** has: *da-lēmâ ḥsārt nîrâ 'al-qēḏālêḥ dē-rāimâ*, Canst thou perhaps bind the yoke on the neck of the urus? The '*āḥôṭôṭ* or *môserôṭ* (Jer. 27:2) are the cords or thongs (*ἱμάντες*) by which the wooden forks (*môṭôṭ*; cf. JBL 32, 113, n. 23) of the yoke are fastened under the necks of the oxen (see p. 169 of the translation of *Ezekiel* in the Polychrome Bible; EB 78; DB 4, 958). Oriental yokes are open below, whereas in European yokes the bows enclosing the necks of the animals are fastened above the cross-bar or body of the yoke (CD 7022). In Lam. 1:14 we must read: *ḡai-ḡistāreḡ 'ól 'al-ḡaḡḡârî*, the yoke was interlaced on my neck. **Ⲭ** ἡ ἐλκύσει σου (**Ⲭ**^A σοι) αὐλακας ἐν πεδίῳ read *aŭlakas* (= *tēlamîm*) before '*āmaḡîm* in the second hemistich.—The verb *šiddēḏ* is not derived from *šadê*, field, as Geo. Hoffmann (1891) supposed:

it is connected with Syr. *sáddâ* (or *síddâ*) length of a furrow, and Assy. *šadâdu*, to drag, pull, haul (HW 641; for Delitzsch's *gamguge* read *gurgûrê*; see *Kings*, SBOT, 114, 23; cf. AkF 41; Herod. 7, 24; Diod. Sic. 3, 29). It does not mean to harrow, but to plow.

For *aḥrêka* we must not substitute *lč-fanêka*; it is true, the plowman walks behind the oxen, not before them (see the cut in Benzinger's *Hebr. Arch.*² p. 140) and we find similar confusions of the scribes (cf. *Mic.* 24, n. 3) elsewhere; e. g. we must read in Lam. 1:7 *re'im*, friends, instead of *çârîm*, foes; but the furrows are behind the plowman, not before him.

The *kî* in v. 11 is concessive (GB¹⁶ 343^a).—We must not read '*alâṭ* instead of *elâṭ*; if a man has an old ox and thinks he can no longer leave his work to it, '*alâṭ* would be appropriate; but if he wants to try a new ox and leave the work to it, *elâṭ* is correct: the work is to be assigned to it for the first time; cf. the remarks on the difference between *daḇâq-lě* and *daḇâq-bě* in WF 218; see also *Kings* (SBOT) 161, 42.—The noun *ṣēgî'*, labor, denotes especially *agricultural work*; cf. '*āḥôdâ*, 1 Chr. 27:26. The stem *iaḡâ'*, to weary oneself, to take pains, corresponds to Arab. *uǧǧ'a*, to feel pain.

V. 12 is an explanatory gloss to v. 11. The Qērê *iašîḇ* is preferable. For *uḡ-ḡorněḡá* read *u-bě-ḡorněḡá*, and before *ṣū'sóf* we may insert *asîf* (= *qaçîr*, Jer. 5:17; Joel 1:11; 4:13) which may have dropped out through haplography. The primary connotation of *asîf* is not *ingathering*, but *ingathered*; in the same way the original meaning of *qaçîr* is not *cropping*, but *cropped*; contrast Lagarde, *Nomina*, p. 173.

The Hebrew text of this triplet referring to the mountain-bull should be read as follows:

אם-יִלֵּן עָלַי אֲבוֹסָךְ:	הַיֵּאֱבָה רִים לַעֲבֹדְךָ	9
אם-יִשְׁרַד {a} עֲמָקִים ^β אַחֲרֶיךָ:	הַתִּקְשֶׁר נִירוּ בַּעֲבֹתָיו	10
וּתַעֲזֹב אֱלֹוֵי יִגְעֶךָ:	הַתִּבְטָח-בּוֹ כִּי-רֹב כָּחוֹ	11

10 α תלמים וְתוֹר הָרִים מְרִעָהוּ 8 β ואחר-כֵּן יִרְשׁ:

11 γ הַתִּמְקִין-בּוֹ כִּי-יִשֵּׁב זֶרְעֶךָ וּבִגְרֵנְךָ אֶפֶר יֵאָפֶךָ:

HEB. TĒ'Ô, AUROCHS

Heb. *tĕ'ô* in Deut. 14:5, for which ט° has *tûrbâlâ*, is a corruption of *tôr* (the Aramaic form of Heb. *šôr*, bull) with graphic confusion of *u* and *r* as in *qûrê-'akkabîš*, cobwebs (Is. 59:5) for *qauuê* (GB¹⁶ 709^b). For the Aleph instead of *u* cf. *tôr*, form (not *tô'ar*) from *tûr*, to turn (see *Est.* 20). The Samaritan Targum has in Deut. 14:5 *rhîm*, i. e. *rĕ'êm* for *tĕ'ô*. There is, of course, no connection between Heb. *tĕ'ô* (or *tô*) and Lat. *thos*, as Grotius supposed. *Thos* (Plin. 8, 123; 10, 206) denotes *luporum genus*, probably the jackal; it is the Greek *θῶς* (Il. 11, 417; 13, 103; Herod. 4, 192). The rendering *wild ox* and *wild bull*, given in AV for *tĕ'ô* and *tô* in the two post-Exilic passages Deut. 14:5 and Is. 51:20 are correct. Luther has in Deut. 14:5 *Aurochs*. A *tôr miḵmâr* is an *aurochs caught in a pitfall* (cf. *urus fovea captus*, Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* 6, 28). ס 's rendering *ὡς σεντλίον ἡμίεθρον*, like half-cooked beet-chards (ס *ak sîlqâ qĕ-kĕmîdâ*, like withered beets) is impossible. Luther's *wie ein verstrickter Waldochs* is better than *wie die Antilope im Netz* in Kautzsch's AT³. Luther uses *Waldochs* for *Wildochs*, just as he calls the wild ass *Waldesel* (cf. *Waldmensch* = *Wilder*). The nouns *Wald* and *Wild* are ultimately identical (cf. Heb. *ia'r*, JBL 33, 165). The stem of *miḵmâr*, pitfall, is a transposition of *makar*, derived from a noun *makâr*, from *kûr*, to dig; cf. Arab. *kâra* = *hâfara* and *takâḡḡara* = *sâqaṭa* (see AJSL 23, 247; 32, 65; JBL 34, 55). Arab. *mákara*, to cheat, means originally *to trap*. Graec. Ven. has in Deut. 14:5 *ἀγριόβους* for *tĕ'ô* = *tôr*. The German Pliny Gesner in his *Icones animalium quadrupedum* (Zurich, 1553) called the aurochs *thur*. Also the Polish term for aurochs is *tur* (Old Bulgar. *turŭ*; Boruss. *tauris*, bison). In the Ethiopic Bible *tôrâ* is used for *βούβαλος* = Heb. *iaḥmûr* (Deut. 14:5) which seems to denote a *roe-buck* (cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 160; Hommel, *Säugetiere*, p. 392). The genuine Ethiopic form of Heb. *šôr*, bull, is *sôr* (SFG 20; ZDMG 34, 762).

ARAMAIC BARRĀ, WILDERNESS = SUMERIAN BAR

In Job 39:4 we find the noun *bar*, open field, wilderness (cf. Syr. *barrîṭâ*). Heb. *naššĕqû ḥar* in Ps. 2:12 might mean *kiss*

the ground (AJSL 19, 134; JHUC, No. 163, p. 90^b) but it is better to read *naššēqû lē-raġlāy bi-rē'adā*, kiss his feet with trembling (GB¹⁰ 113^a) for *uē-ġilū bi-rē'adā, naššēqû ḥar*. Aram. *ḥaiiāt* (or *hēuāt*) *bârâ* is the rendering of Heb. *ḥaiiāt ḥas-šadē*, the beast of the field (Gen. 3:1) i. e. wild beast. Heb. *šadē*, field, is the Assy. *šadû*, mountain (WF 212) and Assy. *xuršu*, mountain, appears in Hebrew as *ḥorš*, forest. Amiaud combined Assy. *xuršu* with Arab. *xuršûm*; see Pognon, *Bavarian* (1879) p. 186. The *tarnēġól bârâ* is not a *hoopoe*, although S has *tarnāġûl bârrâ* for Heb. *dūkîfât* in Lev. 11:19, but a *mountain-cock*; cf. Cassel, *Esther* (Berlin, 1891) p. 250; Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 52, 74. Both *tarnēġól* and *bârâ* = *bârrâ* are Sumerian loanwords. Sum. *ur-bar*, lit. *dog of the field*, wild dog, denotes a *wolf* (NE 44, 61; contrast SGI 48). Sum. *bar* means also *outside* (cf. Syr. *lē-bâr*). For Sum. *dar-lugal*, cock, lit. *king of the piebald birds*, see ZA 7, 339; AkF 51 (cf. also JAOS 33, 365. 391; 35, 397; JBL 33, 156). The initial *t* of HW 303^b is unwarranted. This Sum. *dar* appears in Syriac as *târrâ* which seems to denote a *pied wag-tail*. The *n* in Heb. *tarnēġól* instead of *tar-legol* is due to dissimilation. Also Eden is a Sumerian loanword: *uāi-ūiṭṭā' gan bē-'edn* (Gen. 2:8) meant originally *He planted a garden in a desert*, Sum. *edīn* (SGI 31; AkF 43). The interpretation *delight, pleasure* (cf. JAOS 35, 388, n. 7) is a secondary adaptation. The earthly paradise of the Arabs is Damascus which is a *gan bē-'edn*, a garden in a desert (cf. JBL 36, 94). DB 1, 547 says of Damascus that it rests in the midst of a beautiful oasis on the edge of the desert and is surrounded by desert hills.

ŠŌR, BULL, AND ŠŌRÉR, FOE

The primary connotation of Heb. *šōr*, bull = Arab. *tāyur* is ἐπιβήτωρ (Theocr. 25, 128) and *šōrér*, foe, corresponds to the Assy. *šâ'iru*, hostile (Knudtzon, *Amarna*, p. 1518) and Arab. *muṭāyir*, assailant (syn. *muṭātīb*, onsetter). *Assailant* is derived from Lat. *assilire*, and Lat. *salire* signifies *to leap* = *to cover*, *to copulate with* (BL 74, n. 24). In Arabic, *qātara* is used in this sense of a male camel; but *ušar* in the hemistich in the Descent of Istar: *imêru atâna* (OLZ 18, 204) *ul ušâra*, the

ass did not cover the she-ass (HW 647^b; KB 6, 86, ll. 77. 7) must not be derived from a stem primæ *u*, but from the stem of *šûru*, bull. Assy. *šâru*, calumny, denotes originally an *assault* upon one's reputation. From the same stem *šâru*, *išûru*, to leap, we have in Assyrian the noun *mašâru* which does not denote a *wheel*, but the *floor*¹ of the body of a chariot, lit. *leaping-place*. The warrior, who stood beside the charioteer, leaped off and on while the chariot was in motion (cf. ἐπιβάτης and ἀποβάτης). Syr. *šēuār*, to leap, and Arab. *sâra*, *iasûru* (= *uātaba uā-târa*) must be regarded as loanwords. The genuine Arabic form is *târa*, *iatûru*.

SÎRÎM, THORNS, AND SÎRÔT, POTS

In Eccl. 7:6 we find the gloss *kî-kě-qôl has-sîrîm taht-has-sîr, kén šēhóq hak-kěsîl*, for as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of a fool, which is an illustrative quotation (BL 26, n. *) to the preceding verse. The paronomasia in *has-sîrîm taht has-sîr* is generally imitated by rendering: *nettles under kettles*; Heb. *sîrîm*, however, does not denote *nettles*, but *thorns*, especially the thorny burnet (*Poterium spinosum*). We may therefore translate: *Like burning burnets 'neath a pot*. Dr. Post says (DB 4, 751) that this shrub is a most combustible fuel; a large part of the lime produced in Palestine is burned with it; it is transported in huge bundles on the backs of men or animals to the kilns (cf. BL 116, l. 6; contrast Barton, *Eccl.* 140). For *sîrôt*, hooks (Am. 4:2) see JBL 32, 117, n. 42.

The original meaning of both *sîr*, pot, and *sîr*, thorn, is *boiler*. The noun *sîr*, pot, denotes a vessel in which anything is boiled, and *sîr*, thorn, is the fuel with which it is boiled. A *pot-boiler* is something which keeps the pot boiling. *Boiler* may denote also fowl, meat, or a vegetable, that is *suited for boiling*, just as a chicken fit for broiling is commonly called a *broiler*. Also Heb. *qôç*, thorn, means originally *broiler*; it is connected with *qâç*, summer, lit. heat; we call a hot day a *broiler* or a *scorcher*. Assy. *qîç libbi*, anger (HW 590^b) means originally *heat* (cf. Heb. *hemâ*, *harôn*; Assy. *agâgu* = Arab. *ajja*). Assy. *qûçu*, NE 45, 74, does not denote *thorns*, but *disgust*; cf.

¹ Heb. *hêq* (1 K 22:35) = Assy. *sûnu, utlu* (AJSL 26, 226) = Sumer. *ur* (SGL 48, iv).

Heb. *qûç*, to loathe (= Syr. *qěnât*, to shrink from). The line KB 6, 170, 74, *ša qûçi elpêtu kutummûnî* (for *kuttummûnî*) should be translated: *qualms* (cf. Heb. 'ullêfû, Is. 51:20) of *nausea overcome me*. For Assy. *qûçu*, cold = Heb. *qâiç*, summer, see AJSL 32, 66.

Heb. *šîr*, pot, thorn, must be combined with Arab. *šâ'ala*, to kindle, inflame. The *s* is phonetic spelling for *š* as in *sêtâu*, winter (*Cant.* 72). For the softening of the 'Ain cf. *môrâ*, razor = *ma'râ* and *Môšê* = *Môšî'* (JBL 31, 125). Heb. *šîr*, song, seems to be identical with Arab. *šî'r*. For the *l* = *r* cf. Arab. *tâmala* = Heb. *šamâr* (JBL 36, 140; JSOR 1, 91) and Arab. *sârরাহা* = Heb. *šillâh*, also Arab. *nâtara* = Heb. *našâl*, and Arab. *nâtlah* = *nâtrah* (GB¹⁰ 370^a).

Šîr, pot, is not connected with *masrêṭ*, vat (JBL 36, 144. 147). But *še'ôr*, leaven, and *miš'ärt*, dough-trough, as well as *měšûrâ*, measure, are derived from the same stem. The Biblical *šê'ôr* must not be read *šôr*; the vowel of the first syllable should be a Çerê; *še'ôr* = *ši''âr* is an intransitive adjective (*Barth*, § 134) meaning *fermenting*. For the *e* cf. *me'ânû*, they refused = *mi''anû* (GK § 64, e; VG 102, ε). In the Talmud this word is often written plene *šê'ôr* or *sê'ôr*; it is also spelled with 'Ain (see Jastrow's dictionary, p. 1556^a). The original meaning of *še'ôr*, leaven, is *ferment*. Lat. *fermentum* is a contraction of *fervimentum* from *fervere*, to boil. The original meaning of *miš'ärt*, dough-trough, is *fermenting-trough* in which the dough is left to rise. At the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 12:34) these troughs were covered with clothes to keep the rising dough warm (cf. JBL 34, 66). *Miš'ärt* should be spelled with *š*. We have *š* for *š* also in *těšûqâ*, desire, and in *šîr*, song (GB¹⁰ 815^b. 823^a).

Měšûrâ, measure, means originally *pot*. Our *pot* denotes also a *quart*, and we use *cup* and *wineglass* as measures of capacity. On the other hand, in England a *measure* of corn is a Winchester *bushel*, and in Connecticut a *measure* of oysters is *five quarts*. In Bavaria *Mass*, measure, is used for *quart* or *liter*. Similarly the original meaning of German *Mess*, *Metze*, Lat. *modius*, Greek μέδιμνος and μετρητής is simply *measure*. There is no connection between *měšûrâ*, measure, and *Masora*. If *měšûrâ* denoted a measure of length, it might mean *rule*, *canon*, but it is a liquid measure (Ezek. 4:11. 16). *Mâsôrâ*, which means originally *deliverance* = authoritative utterance (cf. GK § 3, b, n. 1, *ad*

fin.) or *decision*, must be combined with *maššôr*, saw; cf. Syr. *mağzârâ*, ax, saw, and *gëzîrtâ*, decree, from *gëzâr*, to cut. In Hebrew we have *mağzerâ*, ax (also *garzén* = *gazrinn*) and in Dan. 4: 14, 21 Aram. *gëzerâ* means *decree*. Cf. also Sum. *kut* and *tar* (SGL 126, 155). I shall discuss the term *Masora* in a special paper.

THE ORIGINAL MEANING OF SHEOL

Heb. šē'ôl should be written še'ôl with *Qerê* in the first syllable: it is a form *qiṭṭâl* (cf. the Ethiopic form *Sî'ôl*) from the stem *ša'al*, derived from the root *šal* which we have in Arab. *nátala-r-rakḥata* and *talla-l-bi'ra*. In Syriac we have this stem in *tallil*, damp, moist, wet, while Syr. *tillâ*, hill, is an Assyrian loanword. In Assyrian this root *tal* appears in *šalû*, to sink; see *Kings* (SBOT) 175, 2 and cf. Heb. *šûhâ* and *šaht*, pit, from *šûh*, to sink (Arab. *sâxa*, *iasûxu*). From the same stem we have *šîlân* (= *šîlûanu*) sunset (KAT³ 636; cf. AJSL 33, 48).¹ Arab. *nátal* is said to mean *pit*, and *tillah* signifies *annihilation*, *death*; so Heb. *še'ôl* is a synonym of *šaht* (GB¹⁶ 821^a; cf. JBL 34, 81). For the *Aleph* in *še'ôl* cf. AJSL 21, 205 and the remarks on Heb. *nahâg* = Arab. *nâ'aja* = Assy. *nagâgu* in *Nah.* 46. Hit-zig's combination of *še'ôl* with *šû'âl*, fox (see his *Jesaia*, 1833, p. 52) is not impossible: the original meaning of *šû'âl* may be *burrower*, and the middle *'Ain* may be secondary (see AJSL 23, 245; contrast 34, 210).

TORÂ = TAHRIRTU

Twenty-three years ago I pointed out in *Chronicles* (SBOT) 89, 48 that Heb. *tôrâ* corresponded to Assy. *têrtu*, oracle (HW 51; AkF 68). For the Heb. *ô* = Assy. *ê* see *Proverbs* (SBOT) 33, 51; *Est.* 7; JBL 36, 90. Assy. *têrtu*, however, is not identical with Ethiopic *temhért*, instruction (JBL 19, 58): the original meaning of *têrtu* is *entrails*; cf. Syr. *têrtâ*, internal parts of animal bodies, especially *midriff* (see AJSL 4, 214, l. 218) which is used also for *mind* (cf. Heb. *me'îm*, Assy. *kabittu*, GB¹⁶ 333^b). Assy. *têrtu*, oracle, denotes originally *interpreta-*

¹ Heb. *šalâ*, to be quiet, is not connected with Assy. *šalû*, to sink; this Hebrew stem has not a š, but a š, (JAOS 28, 115).

tion of the will of the gods, based on the inspection of the entrails of sacrificial victims. The Assyrian equivalent of Sumer. *uzu*, flesh, body, butcher-meat, *širu* (HW 635^a) = Heb. *šêr* (not *šê'ér*) signifies also *haruspication*, prognostication (HW 655^b; AL⁵ 16, 124; 79, 7; cf. JAOS 35, 393, l. 6; AJP 17, 489, n. 3). Syr. *têrtâ* is not etymologically identical with Heb. *šêr* (ZR 89, n. 3) but an Assyrian loanword. Syr. *ta''âr*, to suggest, intimate (cf. Heb. *naṭān bē-libbô*) and *tarrâ'*, to instruct, discipline, are denominative Paels derived from *têrtâ*; cf. also Syr. *târûṭâ*, discipline; *turrâ'â*, erudition; *mēṭarr(ē')ânâ*, instructor, and the Talmudic *aṭrî*, to warn, Heb. *hiṭrâ*. This Syriae stem cannot be combined with *θεωπία* (contrast Brockelmann's lex. 401^b. 392^b). In Levy's Talmudic dictionary *hiṭrâ* was derived from *tôrâ*.

I believe now that Assy. *têrtu* must be derived from the stem of *irru*, intestines, and *irrû*, opium, lit. *intestinal* medicine (JBL 36, 81). Assy. *arâru* = *harâru* (ZA 30, 63) and *têrtu* = *tahrirtu*, a form like *tašqirtu*, lie, or Arab. *tāḍkirah*, note (WdG 1, 115, B). *Tahrirtu* = *tahrîratu*, fem. of *tahrîru*, a form like *tamšîlu*, likeness (BA 1, 38; AG² 181). The prefixed *t* is the feminine *t* (JAOS 28, 115). There is no causative prefix *t* (JBL 34, 78). *Tahrirtu* became *tâirtu*, *têirtu*, *têrrtu*, *têrtu* (constr. *têrit*, pl. *têrêti*) and this term passed into Hebrew as *tôrâ*. The synonym of *têrtu*, Assy. *urtu*, from which Aram. *ôrâitâ* and Ethiop. *ôrît* are derived, is syncopated from *urratu* = *hurratu* (cf. *martu*, gall = *marratu*).

I shall show elsewhere that not only the Jewish *bēdîqûṭâ* (JBL 19, 80, n. 120) was derived from Babylonia, but also the Jewish *šēḥîṭâ*. The Assyrian name of the slaughter-house, where the throats of the animals were cut, seems to have been *manârtu* or *manâru* = Arab. *mānḥar*, a form like *narâmu*, fem. *narâmtu*, love (BA 1, 177) from *râmu* = Arab. *rāḥima* (cf. NE 45, 77 and above, p. 252) and the Assyrian name of the assistants of the *šôḥêṭ*, who throw down the ox, so that he may cut the throat of the prostrate animal, seems to be *tallalu*; cf. Arab. *talîl* = Heb. *rabûṣ* (e. g. *Aḥod. zar.* 54^a; *Hull.* 40^a = BT 7, 987, l. 6; 8, 923, l. 10). The original meaning of Assy. *tillatu*, grapevine, vine (HW 707^b) is *prostration*, procumbency, trailing.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.



PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1916

The fifty-second meeting of the Society was held at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., on December 27-28, 1916. The Society was called to order by the President, Dr. Jastrow, on Wednesday, December 27 at 2.30 P. M.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The report of the Corresponding Secretary was presented and ordered filed. The report of the Recording Secretary was presented and ordered filed. It was moved by Dr. Haupt and adopted to accept the Recording Secretary's recommendation that the Congregational Library, Boston, should be asked to continue as the Depository of the Society.

Dr. Cobb made some remarks in memory of the late Dr. Thurston. The Chair appointed Drs. Peters and Cobb a committee to present memorial resolutions on the late Drs. Ward and Brown.

The Treasurer's report was presented by Dr. Maynard. The Recording Secretary presented his financial statement. The Chair referred these reports to Dr. Sanders as an Auditing Committee.

The Chair appointed Drs. Fowler, Heffern and Wood a committee to nominate officers.

Dr. Cadbury, Chairman of the Local Committee, made announcements of arrangements for the meeting.

At 3.00 Dr. Jastrow gave his Presidential Address, on "Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament."

After a brief recess the following papers were presented:

By Dr. Stearns: "A Collation of Some New Testament Fragments on the Basis of the Textus Receptus."

By Dr. Haupt: "Alcohol in the Bible."

By Dr. Peters: "The Worship of Tammuz."

By Dr. Barton: "The Evolution of the Ashera."

By Dr. Moulton: "A Carved Palestinian Tablet Inscription." (Illustrated.)

At 5.30 the meeting adjourned. Haverford College entertained the Society at dinner.

At 8.00 the Society assembled. Dr. Benzinger gave an illustrated talk on "Life in Palestine, Past and Present." Dr. Moulton presented a number of views of Caesarea, under the title, "Gleanings from Caesarea." Dr. Fullerton presented a number of photographs of Syria and Palestine, taken by himself.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28. The Society assembled at 9.30 A. M. The Recording Secretary presented the report of the Council. On motion of Dr. Peters the persons recommended by the Council were elected to membership in the Society, the Secretary casting the vote. The persons elected are:

Miss Beatrice Allard, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Prof. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy, Pa.
 Prof. Immanuel G. A. Benzinger, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
 I. M. Casanowicz, Ph.D., National Museum, Washington, D. C.
 Charles G. Cumming, B.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
 Prof. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
 Prof. Robt. F. Gribble, 100 W. 27th St., Austin, Tex.
 Rev. Louis H. Holden, Ph.D., Utica, N. Y.
 Miss Cornelia Montgomery, A.M., B.D., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
 Prof. Julian Morgenstein, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.
 Prof. Albert T. Olmstead, Ph.D., 901 S. Busey Ave., Urbana, Ill.
 Rev. Julius J. Price, Ph.D., 495 Palmerston Blvd., Toronto, Canada.
 Rev. Sartell Prentice, D.D., Nyack, N. Y.
 Rev. John H. Raven, D.D., Theol. Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Israel Schapiro, Ph.D., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
 Prof. Paul R. Stevieck, 870 E. Cleveland St., Guthrie, Okla.
 Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

The following recommendation of the Council was then considered: "That the Editorial Committee be instructed to enter into negotiations with Yale University with a view to the latter acting as the distributing agency and depository of the Society, and to report the results of the negotiations to the Society." On motion, the recommendation was approved.

Dr. Fowler reported the following nominations from the Nominating Committee:

Prof. W. J. Moulton,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. J. A. Montgomery,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Prof. H. J. Cadbury,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>

Prof. J. A. Bewer,	}	<i>Associates</i> <i>in</i> <i>Council.</i>
Prof. H. Hyvernau,		
Prof. M. Jastrow,		
Miss E. H. Kendrick,	}	<i>Representatives on the Manag- ing Committee of the Jerusalem School.</i>
Prof. C. C. Torrey;		
Prof. K. Fullerton,		
Prof. W. J. Hinke,		
Prof. G. L. Robinson,		

On motion the Secretary cast the vote for these officers and they were declared elected.

To the above officers are to be added, as elected by the Council: *Corresponding Secretary*, Prof. M. L. Margolis, and his associates on the Editorial Committee, Professors F. C. Porter and H. T. Fowler.

Dr. Peters presented the report of the committee on Memorial Resolutions. These resolutions were adopted by a standing vote. The resolutions were as follows:

“William Hayes Ward and Francis Brown were among the founders and originators of this Society, and indeed Dr. Brown’s is the second name on the first alphabetical list of the members in 1880.

“Both of them were also pioneers in Assyriology. Ward was the first American scholar in that field, Brown the earliest to teach Assyrian to classes in this country.

“Dr. Ward was an Amherst graduate and an enthusiastic supporter of his Alma Mater. He gave to Amherst, of which he was trustee, the tablet of Sennacherib at Lachish, one of the treasures of that institution. Dr. Ward’s oriental education began in his childhood, at home, when his father taught him Hebrew. His attention was early attracted by excavations and explorations in hither Asia, and he was among the first to study and discuss the Hittite inscriptions. He headed the first American expedition, in 1885, and began at that time his collection of the seal cylinders of hither Asia. From the scholarly point of view his great work was the publication, thru the Carnegie Institute, of his volume on the seal cylinders, the foundations for which he had really begun to lay by his study of the Hittite inscriptions. In Bible study his principal permanent work was his commentary on Habakkuk in the Briggs-Driver International Commentary. These volumes, it must be remembered, together with an immense number of papers on biblical and oriental themes, were the work of an enormously busy editor and man of affairs, and represent only a small corner of his life’s activities and interests. Incidentally it may be said that his editorship made the *Independent* for many years an essential part of the equipment of the Bible scholar. In addition to his own editorials and to numerous valuable contributed articles on all new discoveries and theories, he conducted a biblical column, which to many of us older ones was our chronicle of the course and progress of biblical scholarship. He was a man

of phenomenal industry and phenomenal learning; interested and well informed in the whole sphere of human interests from botany to politics. Thoroly grounded in the old learning, he was hospitable to all things new, always progressing, alert in soul and body and mind almost to the very last minute of a very long life. We have lost in him a pillar of strength and a pillar of sympathy.

"President Brown belonged by heredity to Dartmouth College. As a student in Union Theological Seminary he came under Prof. Briggs, from whom he received his impetus to Biblical and Semitic studies. He took the first foreign scholarship given by that institution, and after a period of study in Berlin at once entered the faculty of Union, which he served until the day of his death in spite of many tempting and flattering offers from other places. By choice a student and teacher, his eminent executive and administrative ability forced him ultimately to accept the presidency of Union, whose magnificent new buildings are in a real sense his monument, but a still greater monument is found in the life and learning of the many students to whom he has given an inspiration. We know him best for his many and long activities in this Society, and for his work as a lexicographer. Precisely such work as that Francis Brown was ever ready to undertake, not merely from love of study, but from love of service, laying on a rock the needed foundations, that others might build thereon. Such men are so rare, who are both able and willing to lay foundations! In him the community of Bible scholars has lost a rock of safety and of sanity, and we who knew him are bereaved of one of the most noble and manly personalities that graced our gatherings."

It was ordered that the afternoon session should begin at 2.00. The Chair appointed Dr. Cobb to present a resolution of thanks for the hospitality of Haverford College.

Dr. Sanders reported that he had examined the accounts of the Treasurer and Recording Secretary and found them correct.

At 10.00 the President asked Vice-President Moulton to take the chair, and the following papers were presented:

By Dr. Bacon: "The Quotation in Mt. 1: 23."

By Dr. Cobb: "Some General Considerations on the Text of Hosea 4: 14."

By Dr. Heffern: "The Text of Acts 5: 13."

By Dr. York: "The Composition of Judges 6: 8."

By Dr. Lane: "The Meaning of *δosis* in the New Testament."

By Dr. Maynard: "The Home of the Second Isaiah."

By Dr. Bowen: "Further Synoptic Comments on John the Baptist."

By Mr. Rabinowitz: "Did Psalm 110 originally belong to the Psalms of Degrees?"

The Corresponding Secretary read a communication from the 3d Assistant Postmaster General of the United States, refusing

to give the JOURNAL second-class rates on the ground it was not scientific. (Laughter.)

Dr. Prentice gave a series of views, plain and colored, taken by himself, of the Sik at Petra.

Dr. Peters presented a note on "how long" in Ps. 74: 9.

Dr. Kent gave an invitation to the members of the Society to attend the meeting of the Conference of Bible Students, to assemble in the evening in New York.

Dr. Cobb presented the following resolution: "That we return hearty thanks to Haverford College and the Committee of Arrangements for the bountiful accommodations furnished to the Society, and especially for those social fellowships which have so large a place in the benefits attending our meetings." This resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Secretary instructed to convey it to the President of Haverford. The Society adjourned at 12.45 for lunch.

The Society assembled at 2.00, the President in the chair. The following papers were presented:

By Dr. Montgomery: "A Palestinian Mortuary Amulet on Silver Foil."

By Dr. Margolis: "The Purport of Forgiveness; an Emendation in Ps. 130: 4."

By Dr. Prentice: "The Angels of God at Mahanaim."

By Dr. Fullerton: "Some Comments on Current Criticism of Is. 7: 14-17."

By Dr. Haupt: "Ur of the Chaldees."

By Dr. Moulton: "A Nabataean Inscription from Petra."

By Dr. Barton: "Two Babylonian Religious Texts from the Time of the Dynasty of Agade."

By Dr. Haupt: "The Language of the Sumerian Penitential Psalms."

Adjournment at 4.30.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

The present membership of the Society includes eleven Honorary Members and 241 Active Members. The latter figure is two less than the report for last year. The new members added at the last meeting number 15 (seven others who were elected never qualified); and the offset to this consists in the loss of five members by death, and of twelve by resignation or being dropped

by the Treasurer. We are probably fortunate in having the membership remaining as a body so loyal to the Society in the past two years during which there was an entire cessation of publication of the JOURNAL until the end of the term.

The first two Parts of the volume for 1916 have appeared as one number, arrangements for printing having been made at home. Parts 3 and 4 are now in press. The volume for 1915 is in print in Germany, and I understand that two copies have appeared in this country. We shall probably have to wait until the end of the War before the issue is distributed.

As Secretary I have come to realize more than ever the invaluable services rendered to the Society by the late Secretary, Dr. Cobb. In one practical point we sorely miss his coöperation, because during his incumbency the Congregational Library in Boston was practically the permanent office and depository of the Society. While the printers in New Haven distribute the new edition, we can hardly expect them to handle the hold-over copies for further distribution. I therefore recommend that the Society enter into negotiations with the Congregational Library to the end that the latter may remain the Society's depository, for holding its stock of volumes of the JOURNAL, and for receiving the exchanges.

It is my duty to note the deaths of the following members: The REV. JOHN MILLER, M.A., died December 30, 1915. An active clergyman he retained his devotion to Semitic studies to the end of his life, remaining throughout a keen and modest student.

PROF. JOHN R. MARTIN, PH.D., of New York City, died about a year ago. I have not been able to obtain particulars of his career.

In the death of the REV. JOHN R. THURSTON, D.D., the Society has suffered the loss of one who was a faithful member of the Society and a constant attendant at its meetings. He contributed an important paper on *The Place of the Crucifixion* to the JOURNAL, vol. 18, p. 203. Born in 1831, his life was signalized by a pastorate of 40 years at Whitinsville, Mass. He died at Worcester, October 20, 1916.

The Society shares with all American and international scholarship in the loss of two eminent men. DR. WILLIAM HAYES

WARD died August 28, 1916. A notable editor and a guide in religious thought, he is known to us as a Semitist, trained in the Hebrew Bible from his youth, and particularly as an archaeologist. He was a pioneer in the American archaeology of the Orient, was the leader of that initial American undertaking, the Wolfe Expedition, and became the authoritative specialist in the obscure field of antique glyptics. While archaeology was his avocation many who make it their profession will despair of rivaling him. Dr. Ward was an interested member of the Society from its inception, taking an illuminating part in its debates, serving for many years on its Council, and contributing to its JOURNAL.

PRESIDENT FRANCIS BROWN died October 15, 1916. An eminent teacher and the successful head and administrator of one of our great seminaries, his departure leaves a vacancy in our public life. He was a wise and conservative interpreter of the new Biblical science to American religious life. As a scholar we boast of him as taking his place in the noble succession of Gesenius and Robinson, wherein he devoted his abilities to the altruistic duty of giving the English-speaking people an adequate Hebrew lexicon. This will be his monument to scholarship. He was a faithful member of the Society from its beginning, served as its President 1895-6, and was a contributor to the JOURNAL. He represented us as Director of the American School in Jerusalem in 1907-8.

The selection of the place of the 1916 meeting of the Society was delegated to the Council. A most hospitable invitation was received from Haverford College, and the Council unanimously decided to accept the invitation.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, *Recording Secretary*.

Dec. 23, 1916.

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

As has been announced in the printed circular under date of December 11th, the thirty-fourth volume which the librarians of the country are now eagerly inquiring for has made its appearance, so far as the seat of printing at Leipzig, Germany, is concerned; one copy I understand has reached our Treasurer. Our

members and the other subscribers will have to be asked to be patient until the time when the peace for which belligerents and neutrals long shall have been consummated and the seas be permitted to carry an inoffensive scientific publication to the homes of American students. I know the authors of the learned contributions are still more impatient, especially for long-lost reprints not only of the year 1915, but also of the preceding year. In the language of the prophet, 'though they tarry, wait for them; they will surely come.' In the mean while the Editorial Committee placed the printing of volume XXXV in the hands of the same New Haven firm which is printing the Journal of the American Oriental Society. The first double number appeared on the first of this month, and considering that things had to be done with a certain measure of haste, the typography calls for commendation. Of course, we cannot expect Drugulin facilities in this country; on the other hand, both authors and editors know how our German friends have wrestled with the English—I mean the language and in particular the script—and how long distance proof reading is not exactly a pleasure. The second double number of which a substantial part has reached me in page proof will be out in the near future, probably by the end of January. In conclusion, it is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the coöperation of my colleagues on the Editorial Committee and of the learned authors who upon request expedited the correction of proofs. We have repeatedly asked our members to favor us with Brief Communications; I repeat the request.

Respectfully submitted,

MAX L. MARGOLIS, *Corresponding Secretary.*

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1916

ASSETS

Carried forward	\$796.93
Dues	609.00
Initiations	136.00
Subscription, W. R. Warren	3.75
Interest	12.52
Balance	<hr/> \$1,558.20

DISBURSEMENTS

Jan. 3, '16, Dr. Cobb's expenses	\$16.00
Jan. 5, '16, Steward of Columbia Faculty Club	3.00
Feb. 8, '16, 180 stamped envelopes, J. D. Prince	2.10
Nov. 18, '16, 400 stamped envelopes, J. D. Prince	8.40
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Total	\$ 29.50
Cash in hand	1,528.70
<hr/>	
Balance	\$1,558.20

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

OF-

RECORDING SECRETARY

RECEIPTS

1916	
Balance, Jan. 1	\$15.07
Sales of Journal	4.35
<hr/>	
Total	\$117.43

DISBURSEMENTS

Jan. 15, Thomas Todd, printing	\$10.65
Jan. 15, L. K. Rogers, printing	2.00
Apr. 17, M. A. McDermott, refund of subscription	2.00
Sept. 8, Insurance	10.20
Sept. 8, Chicago University Press, printing	5.50
Nov. 29, Dec. 16, L. K. Rogers, printing	11.05
Dec. 19, J. C. Winston Co., printing	10.00
Dec. 22, Recording Secretary, postage, clerical help	6.29
Balance in Colonial Trust Co., Philadelphia	59.74
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Total	\$117.43

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, *Recording Secretary.*

Dec. 22, 1916.

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¹ This list has been corrected up to Dec. 1, 1917. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, Haverford, Pa., of any change in address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually

choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution supplementary to the By-Laws with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884:

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THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

FROM THE
FUNDAMENTALS OF
THE CONSTITUTION
TO THE PRESENT
STATE OF THE UNION

BY
J. M. SMITH

NEW YORK
1850

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THE DATING OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS*

WARREN J. MOULTON

BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The question of the date of the Synoptic Gospels is one of much importance for the student of Christian origins. These records are the chief sources of our information regarding the life and ministry of Jesus. Obviously it is not possible for us to rest content until we have discovered so far as may be whether they are in any sense contemporary documents, or whether they are the products of a later generation.

The significance of this chronological question should not be gauged by the scant attention that is often bestowed upon it by New Testament scholars. Their apparent neglect is not due to failure to realize its importance, but rather to the paucity of clear and unmistakable data from which to deduce a trustworthy conclusion. For this reason, more than for any other, treatises on New Testament Introduction are as a rule extremely meager and unsatisfactory at this particular point. That this should continue to be the case may seem somewhat strange in view of the fact that we are in possession not of a single, isolated booklet, but of three related and by no means brief writings. With material of such variety and extent at our disposal, it might be expected that the question of date would have been definitely determined long since. It is, of course, true that some factors in the problem have been settled in a broad and general way. For example, it is widely agreed (1) that our written gospels proceed ultimately from oral tradition; (2) that the language of this primitive tradition was Aramaic; and (3) that the transmutation of this oral Aramaic tradition into the Greek Gospels that have come down to us must have taken place, at the latest, within a period of some seventy or eighty years after the crucifixion.

The measurably widespread unanimity in these conclusions, however, falls very far short of giving us a satisfactory solution

* Presidential Address at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature at Dropsie College, December 27, 1917.

of the entire problem. For, unlike so many questions in Old Testament criticism, a brief interval of time is here a matter of much importance. A difference of fifty, or even of thirty years, may result in carrying us out of the days of the apostles' activity to the age of their successors, from those who could speak from experience to those who were entirely dependent upon tradition.

It will be found upon examination that previous efforts to determine the dates of the synoptical writers have moved out along one or more of four distinct lines: (1) external evidence for the existence and use of the gospels; (2) ancient traditions regarding their origin; (3) the study of their mutual interrelationship and of the historical allusions which they are thought to contain; and finally (4) their relation to the Book of Acts.

I

As for the first of these points,—external testimony—it gives us most welcome protection against extravagant views, but fails to yield data for any exact determination. It is somewhat surprising that outside the historical books themselves there are no allusions in the New Testament to written records of Jesus' life. Further, Bishop Westcott did not hesitate to say that "no evangelic reference in the Apostolic Fathers can be referred certainly to a written record." This judgment is of course challenged by many eminent authorities, but at best we can hardly claim more than the possible indication of the use of written records by 110 A. D. We are on more certain ground when we come to Justin Martyr, Marcion, the Papias Fragments, the Muratorian Canon and to the unquestioned testimony of Irenaeus. But valuable as all this is for other purposes, it avails little in our present quest.

II

Tradition affords more important assistance. Unfortunately, however, the earliest and, consequently, the most valuable recorded memories contain very little that is at all definite or unambiguous regarding the time when the Gospels were written. The oldest and most important statement is the oft quoted passage from Eusebius which reports the testimony of Papias. This Father, who was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia and who may

have written about the middle of the second century or even earlier, gives a tradition with which he had evidently been long familiar and which may well represent what was widely believed in Christian circles at the opening of that second century. He states that from a presbyter or elder of his acquaintance he had learned that Mark was Peter's interpreter and that he wrote accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things that were either said or done by the Messiah. For he neither heard the Lord nor did he follow him but afterwards he attended Peter who adapted his teachings to practical needs, but without making any orderly arrangements of the Lord's sayings. Papias adds that Mark did no wrong in thus writing some things as he remembered them, for he was careful neither to omit anything that he had heard nor to set down any false statement. Of Matthew he says that he composed the oracles in the Hebrew language and that each one interpreted them as he could (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 39).

It is evident that Papias' main concern is to authenticate the contents of the Gospels by establishing a direct connection between them and apostolic testimony. He is not thinking particularly as to when the narratives were actually written. The most that we can infer is that, at the time in question, Mark was definitely, and perhaps finally, separated from Peter, and that there was no further opportunity to consult with him. The whole mode of statement leaves the impression that the second gospel was thought of as coming from a period when relationship to the apostle was altogether a thing of the past.

Much the same is likewise true of the later witness of Irenaeus, who, as regards the first and second gospels, may be only reporting in amplified form what he had found in Papias. He writes as follows:

"Matthew then among the Hebrews put forth (also) a gospel in their own tongue while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the church. Moreover after their decease (or departure) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also has handed down to us in writing the things that were preached by Peter. Moreover, Luke, also, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel preached by him" (*Adv. Haer.*, III, 11, 8). A new study of these words made some years since by Rev. John Chapman resulted in the conclusion that

Irenaeus does not intend to affirm that Matthew wrote at the time when Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome, but only that, whereas Matthew published a gospel among the Hebrews besides preaching it, Peter and Paul preached their message without writing it. However, their testimony was not lost because it has been handed on in written form by Mark and Luke respectively. Accordingly while there is here no statement as to when Mark's gospel was actually composed, the evident implication is that Peter's preaching was preserved after his death by having been written down by Mark before that time (*Journal of Theological Studies*, VI, 563-569). In this manner Chapman is able to bring the statements of Irenaeus into harmony with an Alexandrian tradition which we first meet in Clement of Alexandria at the end of the second century and which was accepted by other Fathers, to the effect that Mark wrote at Rome during the lifetime of Peter. Clement tells us that his authorities for this information were presbyters or elders from whom he learned further that the gospels with the genealogies were written first, meaning presumably that Matthew and Luke preceded Mark. (Chapman would say preceded John.) Without pursuing this topic of tradition further, it may be said that clear and decisive evidence for an exact dating of the Synoptic Gospels is probably not to be expected in this quarter.

III

Accordingly it is to the writings themselves that we must turn for our surest indication of the time of their origin. As might be anticipated, the idea of carrying on such an investigation did not emerge until the dawn of the modern era of critical study in the eighteenth century. So long as the gospels were thought of as representing eternal types of divine truth, dates could have little significance. Under such circumstances the matter of actual writing and of mutual relationship could hardly become a subject of serious reflection. There was, to be sure, a certain open-mindedness regarding critical questions on the part of some of the early Church Fathers, notably Augustine, but this scholarly outlook was speedily dimmed by a rigid theory of inspiration that took away every incentive for scientific research. The same thing continued to be true at a much later period, when theologians, both Roman and Reformed, were concerned chiefly

with smoothing away difficulties and eliminating seeming conflicts between parallel accounts. When in the eighteenth century questions of origin and relationship at last began to receive serious consideration, new interest was given to such discussions by the publication of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments and particularly by the one entitled "Vom Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger," which appeared in 1778. In this same year Lessing, who had given out the Fragments, propounded a theory as to the origin of the gospels that was destined to exercise an important influence upon subsequent investigation. It was his belief that our Synoptists are all dependent upon an original Semitic gospel. This suggestion was speedily taken up and worked out with various modifications by Eichhorn, unfortunately without due acknowledgment of indebtedness. Thus it has come about that the hypothesis of the evolution of our present Synoptic Gospels from a primitive written gospel is associated particularly with Eichhorn's name. He believed that an original Aramaic gospel, written by a disciple of the apostles possibly as early as 35, was variously recast during the next twenty-five years, first in Aramaic and then in Greek. From this original there came a large number of evangelical writings, and out of these our present gospels emerged and were accepted by the Church toward the end of the second century.

While this theory of a primitive written gospel was under discussion, a competing hypothesis which advocated a close inter-relationship between the gospels was being elaborated. This has come to be associated especially with the name of Griesbach, to whom perhaps more than to any other scholar belongs the credit for placing Synoptic investigation upon a scientific basis. The idea, however, that one synoptist had borrowed from another was by no means new. It had been suggested by Augustine about the year 400. This Father found no difficulty in assuming that Mark was consciously dependent upon Matthew, but he did not at all realize the consequences that would logically follow from such an important observation.

The hypothesis of mutual dependence seeks to solve the Synoptic problem for the most part on the basis of the documents as they now lie before us. Griesbach supposed that Matthew wrote his gospel in Greek from his own knowledge of the facts. This gospel was in turn known to Luke and used by

him to supplement the information gained from oral tradition, whereas Mark came last of all and compiled his narrative mainly from Matthew, but not without some dependence upon Luke. In this way a compendium was prepared for readers who were unacquainted with Jewish conditions and views. Mark's own additions, however, prove that he was familiar with Jerusalem, and was in a position to add vivid touches. Other advocates of this theory have postulated a different sequence for the evangelical writers, but usually there is a tendency to date the present gospels earlier than is done by the adherents of the previous hypothesis. Griesbach's conclusion as to the secondary character of Mark and as to its relatively late date has continued to reappear at intervals during the last one hundred years.

Still another proposal for explaining the relationship between the Synoptic Gospels received its classic formulation during the selfsame years of the early nineteenth century. Gieseler developed the theory that our gospels proceed not from written sources, but that they arose in dependence upon an oral gospel which very early took on a more or less fixed and ordered form. He believed that when this gospel passed out from Palestine it necessarily assumed a Greek dress, but that even then the need for writing would perhaps first be felt during the period of conflict with heretical teachers.

The decade of the thirties in the last century proved to be an extremely important epoch for synoptic study. By this time the three hypotheses mentioned above had been fully developed, and all was in readiness for a fresh advance. At this juncture (1832) Schleiermacher pointed out that the Matthew of which Papias spoke, and which he said was written in Hebrew, must be distinguished from our first canonical gospel, which can only be regarded as a later rescension of this earlier work. In the same way he believed that the Mark of Papias was less complete, less well ordered, than our present gospel. His contention regarding Matthew has continued to find increasing favor, whereas his conclusion regarding Mark was soon disproved, first by Lachmann, three years later (1835), who maintained successfully that of the present Synoptic Gospels the best ordered historical tradition is to be found in Mark. Presently (1838) Weiss went still further in showing that Papias' allusion could apply to our second gospel as we have it and must be

understood as referring to this document. This position was defended in the same year by Wilke, who in a voluminous work espoused the priority of Mark on the basis of literary relationship. He directed especial attention to the style of the evangelists and to the particular motives that were traceable in each. Weisse believed that besides Mark a collection of Jesus' sayings had been used by the authors of the first and the third gospels, and thus the modern Two Source Theory emerged in its full form. Meanwhile Strauss in 1835 so developed the oral hypothesis as to make the gospels to be in large measure the late products of a myth-forming ecclesiastical consciousness.

The fresh stimulus that was given to New Testament study through the rise of the Tübingen school promised for a time to work a marked change in opinion as to the dates of the Synoptic Gospels. There were indications that they were to be swept away from their old moorings and carried far down into the second century. Mark was looked upon by Baur as the latest of the Synoptists, while Luke was regarded not as the source of Marcion's Gospel but as a Catholicized version of the same, composed about the middle of the second century. Matthew, the oldest of the Synoptists, was believed to be the outcome of a long process of literary development and was held to have attained its present form during the Jewish rebellion under Hadrian.

These extreme conclusions were soon considerably modified by the adherents of the Tübingen school itself. First of all Luke was restored to his rightful position, and Marcion was made to be dependent upon him. Then Mark was given his accustomed place between Matthew and Luke, or was even made to be the earliest gospel (Volkmar and Ritschl). Hilgenfeld, a distinguished member of the Tübingen school, so far departed from the original positions of Baur as to bring back Matthew and Mark into the first century and to date Luke from 100 to 110.

The effect of the Tübingen movement outside its own immediate circle was to call forth a re-affirmation and recombination of the several hypotheses that have already been reviewed. Meanwhile notable progress was made in the recognition of the priority of the second gospel and in the increasing acceptance of the theory that our three Synoptists rest upon two main written sources, one of which was the canonical Mark, or a

document substantially identical therewith. During the remaining years of the century one can trace a growing unanimity in these conclusions, as well as in the belief that all three Synoptic Gospels were written during the last thirty years of the first century, although a few scholars still continued to keep the first decade of the second open for Matthew and Luke.

In the present century we are witnessing important developments in Synoptic study that have a very direct bearing upon the question of date. In some ways the activity of the last ten years has a striking resemblance to what was taking place eighty years ago. Once more the time seems to have come for the taking up of new problems and the retesting of old conclusions. Up to 1901 few believers in the priority of Mark had been inclined to make him depend upon written sources, not, at least, aside from the apocalyptic section in the thirteenth chapter, and there was no general agreement that it was necessary to do so even here. It is true that for fifty years Bernhard Weiss had steadfastly asserted Mark's dependence upon an earlier discourse source and that Prof. Wendt of Jena had for some time advanced the theory that the second evangelist made use of several independent documents representing distinct groups of Petrine tradition, and that the late Prof. von Soden felt that a Petrine source could be separated from later material. On the other hand, such scholars as Jülicher and Wernle in their widely used books defended the essential unity and originality of Mark as regards written sources, and Prof. Schmiedel, in his famous *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article, gave it as his opinion in 1901 that the use of such sources in Mark could not be raised above the level of conjecture except at a few points.

In that very year, however, a book appeared that impelled New Testament workers to investigate afresh the historical character and origin of this gospel. I refer to Wrede's "*Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*" (1901). One of its first results was to hasten the publication of "*Das Älteste Evangelium*" by Johannes Weiss. In this book it is maintained that while Mark represents the earliest attempt to present the Apostolic gospel in the form of a narrative of Jesus' life, and while it must be dated from 64 to 67, still it affords clear evidence of being based on traditions that had already to some extent assumed written form. In the same year in which Weiss's

monograph appeared, Wellhausen began the publication of a series of compact little volumes on the gospels, that have attracted wide attention. His position is characterized by a particularly high estimate of Mark. This writing he believes owes its preservation to the sanctity that had come to attach to it by reason of its age. Otherwise it would have disappeared when the other Synoptic Gospels, which were more to the mind of the times, came into existence. Its narrative material gives evidence of having taken shape after a considerable course from mouth to mouth and was probably first written down in Aramaic at Jerusalem. Wellhausen thinks that there are sections in the gospel that are secondary as regards their historical character, but he doubts whether it is possible to carry out any literary analysis or trace stages of revision.

At that very time, however, this task was being undertaken by Wendling in a novel and very elaborate manner (1905, 1908). A little later Loisy worked out a different analysis in the two stout volumes of his commentary, while Prof. Bacon quite independently undertook the same task in his briefer work entitled "The Beginnings of Gospel History." Both these latter writers agree that the final edition of the gospel is to be put shortly after the year 70.

Possibly Wellhausen's greatest service to synoptic study was the setting forth in a manner that was altogether new of the evidence for the Palestinian and Aramaic background for our Synoptic Gospels. Resch and Dr. E. A. Abbott had for some time previously been seeking to establish the existence of an original Hebrew document back of our first three gospels, and others had championed similar theories. But their work was not influencing opinion to any marked degree. Dalman's "Worte Jesu" left the situation largely unchanged. So much was this true that it was possible for Wernle to say at the close of the last century that the evidences of an Aramaic original in the Synoptic Gospels were negligible, and at the opening of the new century Schmiedel could still claim that the evidence in Mark sufficed only to show "that he wrote a kind of Jewish Greek that he had derived from reading the LXX." The fuller knowledge of the Koinē Greek that had come through the study of papyrus fragments of early date seemed to corroborate this conclusion. Prof. Wellhausen, however, interposed his

veto, and he has been sustained by subsequent publications from other eminent Semitic scholars. He bases his view not so much on single phrases and isolated examples as upon a combination of facts that prove the presence of an underlying Semitic syntax and style. He admits that this might possibly come through oral tradition but believes that it can be better understood as resulting from the use of a written document. Thus what had often been conjectured in the past was at last given a really scientific standing. It will be a distinct advance in synoptic study if it shall be possible, as I believe it eventually will, to add to the fact of Mark's priority the no less certain conclusion of his dependence on or use of Aramaic sources. The theory of an early date for this gospel will naturally be favored by such a consideration.

IV

Up to the present it may be said that the dates of the Synop-
tists have been determined as a rule in the first instance by theories regarding their origin, and secondly, on the ground of internal evidence. In the latter case most reliance has usually been put upon allusions in the apocalyptic sections that seem to presuppose the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish state. Such items of evidence are, however, always beset by the difficulty that the sections in question are largely couched in the ambiguous language of older prophecy. Again, it is not easy to make out a clear and convincing case if one puts his dependence upon single isolated passages that are supposed to mirror the life and practice of later days. No more can this be done when the conclusion is grounded upon such general considerations as the supposed Paulinism of Mark or, in the case of the other gospels, the supposed evidence for the presence of a spirit and atmosphere that could be found only in the post-Apostolic age. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the most notable contributions to the discussion of synoptic dates have come of late from those who put their chief reliance upon the data afforded by the Book of Acts. It is evident that if assured conclusions can be attained here, our problem will be largely solved so far as a *terminus ad quem* is concerned, since Acts was certainly written later than the third gospel and in all probability later than Matthew. Some surprising deductions

have resulted from the following out of this line of research during the last six years.

Just when Moffatt was writing in his New Testament Introduction "that the roots of the historical literature (of the New Testament) lie in the same period with the correspondence of Paul, though the flowers bloom side by side with the later homilies," Harnack was penning the last lines of his small volume entitled "Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der Synoptischen Evangelien," in which all the gospel literature, blade, ear and full grain in the ear, is carried back into the period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. That is to say, it is his belief that, whereas Matthew may have been written shortly after or before this event, the other Synoptic Gospels antedate the death of Paul.

In England, at about the same time, Archdeacon Allen maintained a like theory for Luke-Acts and a still earlier date than Harnack's for Mark and Matthew. Meanwhile here in America Prof. Torrey was engaged in studies that have resulted thus far in two publications, one being a monograph issued last year, in which he advocates 64 as the date of Acts and 60, or sometime prior to 61, for the third gospel. (*Harvard Theological Studies*, I. "The Composition and Date of Acts," Harvard University Press, 1916.)

In themselves such views are by no means without precedent, but they possess an entirely new importance because of the scholarly investigations of which they are the direct outcome and by reason of the fact that in the case of the Book of Acts two distinct lines of approach converge toward the same goal. Harnack in his earlier writings continued to assign Acts to the reign of Titus or the opening years of Domitian, but in 1911, not without some previous intimation that a change was impending, he carried it back to the closing days of Paul's Roman imprisonment. Our present purpose requires only that we should note the consequences of this decision for synoptic chronology. Once Harnack felt that Luke's prologue, with its reference to many predecessors in the field of evangelical history, demanded that at least fifty years must have elapsed since the crucifixion. He now believes that thirty-three would answer equally well. Only two difficulties of any moment seem to him to hinder an early dating of Mark and Luke, namely, the supposed allusions

to the destruction of Jerusalem in the eschatological chapters and the legendary developments in the accounts of the resurrection and ascension. As for the first, he now doubts whether any passage goes beyond an announcement of what is impending, and as for the second difficulty, he is convinced that divergent accounts of the resurrection appearances may well have had their origin in an early period, indeed that they can be better explained on such a basis. Harnack feels the further necessity of bringing his conclusions into accord with the earliest tradition regarding the origin of the gospels. This he is enabled to do by accepting Rev. John Chapman's interpretation of Irenaeus, which makes that Father give no information as to when the Synoptic Gospels were written. In this manner all hindrances to the dating of Mark in the sixth decade and the Discourse Source about 50, or earlier, are removed.

At first Harnack's revolutionary reconstruction was looked upon by many as a *jeu d'esprit*, and doubtless is so regarded still by not a few. Especially is this true of his efforts to remove the ancient landmarks for the Book of Acts. By Archdeacon Allen, on the other hand, the pronouncement was welcomed as confirming views to which this scholar was already advancing in his own study. As has been stated, he outdoes Harnack in the early dating of Matthew, and consequently of Mark as well. Abandoning the view that he had advocated in earlier editions of his commentary on Matthew, he now makes that gospel represent the Jewish Christian standpoint of 49-50, the period of the controversy in Antioch regarding the admission of the Gentiles into the church. In this way one of Matthew's main sources is carried back into the fifth decade, or more specifically to Jerusalem shortly after Peter's release from prison in 44. The Aramaic original of this primary document, he believes, may have been translated within a few years into Greek, possibly at Antioch, by the original author of the gospel, who may have subsequently issued a new edition of the same at Rome.

Prof. Torrey in his published work on the gospels has thus far concerned himself chiefly with Luke's use of Semitic sources, and more especially with the theory that an Aramaic source, written in Palestine in 49 or early 50 after the Council at Jerusalem, has been employed in Acts 1-15. He supposes our

present Book of Acts to have been composed in Rome in 64, while the Gospel of Luke may have been written in 60, on the basis of material gathered by that evangelist while Paul was kept prisoner at Caesarea. Torrey anticipates two objections to his conclusions that seem to call for refutation. The first is the one already touched upon in speaking of the view of Harnack, namely, Luke's supposed allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem (21:20-24). It is replied that nothing here goes beyond the predictions of the Old Testament (for example, Zech. 14:1 ff.; Dan. 7:25 and 12:1, 7) and Jerusalem's previous experiences with besieging Roman armies. The second is the not infrequent contention that Luke knew and used the *Antiquities* of Josephus, a work which cannot have been written earlier than 93 or 94. Torrey shows anew in a concise but convincing way that such a conclusion is unfounded.

V

It will appear from this recapitulation that two lines of investigation have come to the front in synoptic study which promise to have a very immediate and a very vital bearing upon the dates of the gospels. The use of Semitic sources in the first three gospels has been established with a degree of certainty that had not been previously attained, and this in itself is a matter of first importance. Hardly less significant is the weighty setting forth in an entirely new way of the case for the early date of Acts. If these recent advances can be maintained against counter attacks, what further readjustment will be necessary? Without attempting to estimate the value of the detailed arguments touching Acts, we may go on and ask what are some of the important consequences that would result from such an early dating of the Synoptic literature? To raise this question is to suggest grave difficulties that may not be insuperable but that as yet have not been removed.

(1) In the first place, it is evident that an entirely new appraisal and new interpretation of the events of the apostolic age will be demanded. We have become accustomed to the assumption that there was little disposition during apostolic days to draw up written records of the life and teaching of Jesus and that no real motive for doing so could exist until one by one the apostles and other living witnesses began to drop away.

How often has it been reiterated in standard treatises that the lively expectation of the Parousia made the early Christians indifferent to historical records! Such a need, it is said, could only be felt with the rise of a new generation that was less influenced by these ardent expectations. Accordingly the years from 30 to 60 are ordinarily held to have been in large measure an era of oral tradition. How essentially changed is the situation if we are to project back into this very period all the literary activity to which Luke's prologue bears witness, and if we are to establish there, not only his unknown sources of greater or less extent, but at least one known source, namely, our Gospel of Mark! And not only will this be true, but Matthew must be put back into the same period, unless we are of the number of those who believe him to be the latest of the Synoptists. Ramsay's hypothesis of a discourse source written before the crucifixion may not hereafter appear to be so much of an exaggeration. If the gospel literature did indeed arise in the apostolic age, and if it had its beginning so early in that period, then the first Christians were not so devoid of historical interest and literary ability as has been commonly assumed. They must rather have possessed far more of such historical appreciation and much greater capacity for literary production than we have imagined. Their expectation of Christ's speedy return did not have the supposed effect of making them indifferent to the events of his earthly ministry. On the other hand, they must very early have felt the importance of carefully chronicling all these things, possibly not so much for their own edification as for the use of converts who should be added to their number.

(2) Then secondly, the question of Paul's knowledge of written or oral evangelical tradition and of his attitude toward it is also raised anew. That the allusions in his writings to the ministry and teaching of Jesus should be so few has long seemed to call for explanation, even when all our present gospels were dated later than his day. How much more will this be the case if they are put back into the very heart of his missionary activity! Can it be that even then a Discourse Source, Mark, and perchance Matthew, were in existence and more or less widely known? Who of all the Apostolic and Christian circle might be supposed to take a livelier interest in the second gospel, which

is so obviously intended for non-Jewish readers? Assuming that it was written originally in Jerusalem, it must have been translated with little delay into Greek, if we are correct in holding that it served in this form as a source for both Matthew and Luke. And yet in all the apostle's letters there seems to be no slightest hint that he had any knowledge of written records or was at all dependent upon them. What is true of Paul in this regard holds likewise for the other New Testament writers. That such a situation presents a real difficulty cannot be questioned. At the same time we do not forget the precariousness of every argument from silence. It is possible that we are here led astray by presuppositions of our own creating and by our inclination to gauge the knowledge of the Apostle too exclusively by what has been transmitted to us in his surviving epistles. Who can say that his missionary preaching did not concern itself with the more important events of Jesus' ministry and teaching? Harnack has pointed out that if we knew Luke only through the Book of Acts, we should little dream that he was the author of a gospel revealing deepest interest in the life of Jesus and filled with evidences of a most intimate knowledge of the details of that life. We might assume rather, if we followed the method that has been adopted not infrequently in dealing with Paul, and not without disastrous results, that Luke likewise was completely out of touch with Synoptic tradition and knew hardly more of Jesus' ministry than had come to him through Christological dogmas. Would it, after all, be so necessary for Paul to appeal to written records, even though it were true that Mark and the many others of Luke's prologue were busied even then with the preparation of such narratives? His own knowledge of the facts might well seem to him equally authoritative, and with good reason, for why may not the compass of his information be extended to include everything that was accessible to these writers? Furthermore, is the reticence of Paul regarding written records any more enigmatical than that of the writers of the Patristic period? The arguments that are often advanced to explain their silence, namely, the availability of oral tradition and preference for it, will hold even more for the apostolic age. It may be urged in addition that the Apostle does make allusions to evangelical history; they are introduced in such a way as to suggest a large background

of information on the part of himself and of his readers. These considerations will probably lessen, though they may not altogether remove, the objections to the early dating of the Synoptic Gospels that arise from Paul's seeming independence of evangelical tradition.

(3) It may be asked, in the next place, is it possible that the gospel literature came to such a state of perfection in twenty-five years? Was there sufficient opportunity within this comparatively brief period for all the development that seems to lie back of the second gospel? This book is often spoken of as a first attempt which served to fix the norm that was followed by later evangelical writings, but its mastery of proportion, method and order is so complete as to lead us to inquire whether the experimental stage in such composition has not been left behind. We can understand how Papias might find Mark faulty in arrangement in comparison with either John or Matthew, but to-day we believe that the second gospel furnished the standard of order for the other records of Synoptic tradition. There is an evident intention on the part of the evangelist to maintain a general chronological sequence, in spite of the fact that he often adopts a topical arrangement in the grouping of his material. While none of the elaborate analyses of the gospel that have been worked out hitherto seem likely to win any wide acceptance, it does appear probable that we must be ready to grant the use of older sources in other parts besides chapter 13. I have in mind especially the section extending from 6:45 to 8:36, where the parallelism between the two feedings of the multitudes and the incidents immediately following in each instance is so striking that it is not easy to explain the situation unless we assume the use of duplicate narratives.

(4) Not only must a sufficient interval be provided for miscellaneous jottings of oral tradition to have developed into a carefully articulated gospel, but a considerable period is likewise required for the founding and growth of the community, or communities, outside of Palestine that should call for such a gospel. For, whatever may have been the original intention, the present Mark gives evidence of adaptation to the requirements of non-Jewish readers. Of this we have sufficient indication in the employment of the Greek language and in the editorial comments. We seem compelled to suppose that Chris-

tianity extended very rapidly in the forties and early fifties. Such indeed must have been the case if not Mark alone, but the fuller and more elaborate gospel of Luke, as well as the writings of his many predecessors, are to be assigned to the period of Paul's ministry. To our surprise it will thus be discovered that there was no lack of zeal or enterprise in providing literature for the new propaganda. The life of the churches in these years must have been richer and more varied than we have been wont to think. The Apostle to the Gentiles will not be that lonely figure that we have imagined. And if Matthew be added to the list of early narratives and be made to precede Luke, then the literary development of primitive Christianity becomes truly astonishing. Even more is this the case when Acts is put back into the same Pauline epoch and made to be a history brought up to date. It would then turn out that the major part of the New Testament books, historical and epistolary, were written before the Jewish war and the fall of Jerusalem.

So far as we have to do with Aramaic documents, it is probable that they will seem to be more in place before than after the triumph of Titus, though Wellhausen is disposed to think that a Christian community may have continued to keep its seat in the Holy City and may have lived on there in the old way, producing Aramaic traditions, even after Roman occupation. Such a postulate is not, however, a necessary factor in the theory that our Synoptic Gospels proceed from Semitic sources. Nor, again, should this theory be made to depend at all upon conclusions regarding the date of Acts. These subjects have been associated in this present address because they have chanced to be thus coupled together in recent discussions and because both have a direct and very important bearing upon the question as to when the Synoptic Gospels were written. Any difficulties, however, that may be felt about the one position are not chargeable to the other. As a matter of fact, at the present time, the claim for an early dating of Acts has by no means the same measure of certainty that we are entitled to feel regarding Mark's direct dependence upon written or oral Aramaic tradition.

(5) Many will find the most serious objection to the early dating of Acts, with all that this involves for the Synoptic writings, in the contrast between the points of view of that book

and the statements of Paul's epistles. It has not seemed necessary to elaborate this topic in the present discussion since it has received so much attention in recent critical studies of Acts. That this last named book should conceive of the Apostle's relation to the Jerusalem church and to Gentile missions in a manner so unlike his own portrayal of the facts seems explicable only on the basis of a late date and remoteness from the actual historical situation. Much the same can be affirmed regarding many of the narratives of the early chapters of Acts.

To these considerations there must be added the not infrequent indications of Luke's use of sources in his second as well as in his first treatise. All of which can be accounted for much more readily in the period following than in that preceding the fall of Jerusalem.

VI

Two topics seem to call for a brief word in closing.

Sometimes these recent theories regarding early dates for the Synoptic Gospels have been hailed as a return to tradition. If this statement were true, it would have no particular bearing on the question at issue, but as a matter of fact it misses the point. In the first place, there is no disposition to-day to return to the *methods* of tradition, and, in the second place, there is no uniform tradition to which we could return if we would. If by tradition one means the usual interpretation of Papias and Irenaeus, to the effect that all our gospels are later than 60, then recent conclusions are in conflict with tradition. No more is there a disposition to go back to the Alexandrian tradition that Matthew and Luke preceded Mark, and still less to the supposition that Mark was written at Rome in 43. There is only a return to such tradition, early or late, as chances to accord with conclusions that may be established in other ways.

The second observation that I would make is that the assertion that one's view as to the date of the gospels will in no way affect his estimate of their contents, has obvious limitations. To prove that an author is not far removed from the events that he chronicles does not, to be sure, establish the fact of his reliability. It does, however, vastly increase the likelihood that he could and would report that which was currently received in the Christian circles of his day. We cannot rightly impute to

him the radical and far reaching transformation of primitive tradition that might conceivably be possible 50 or even 30 years later, when few survived who had any immediate acquaintance with the events with which he deals and so could speak from any degree of personal knowledge. All extravagant "Tendenz" methods of criticism and interpretation will find their progress greatly hampered by an early dating of the gospels and by the evidence of their dependence upon written or oral Aramaic sources.

The chronological question is not one of primary importance in synoptic investigation, but it is one that must receive a due measure of consideration. For, in the last analysis, our estimate of the gospels is bound to be determined in no small degree by our decision as to the period from which they come. Just what is to be the outcome of the newly awakened interest in this theme is not as yet evident. Probably one result will be a lesser inclination to be content with merely restating, without examination, time-honored but inconclusive arguments. Even though we may not be prepared at present to modify our former views in any essential way, it still remains true that the earlier dates proposed are bound to receive serious consideration. The discussion of the problems that are involved in their acceptance will in any event stimulate research and thus help to a better understanding of the Apostolic Age.

THE 'ORDER' OF THE LUKAN INTERPOLATIONS

III THE LONGER INTERPOLATION, LK. 9:51-18:14

B. W. BACON

YALE UNIVERSITY

Our survey of the shorter Lukan Interpolation¹ is not encouraging to the hope of finding pre-Lukan connections in the embodied source material. In Lk. 6:20-8:3 we could discover little as to sources beyond the bare fact that in \mathfrak{S} as elsewhere a series of incidents illustrative of the Effect produced by Jesus' work as a teacher and healer probably followed upon the account of his preaching. The anecdotes of Lk. 7 appeared to be a selection not in the original order, but in a sequence formed by $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ for pragmatic reasons of his own. Such a result in a section descriptive of the results of Jesus' ministry could hardly be reached if $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ had before him a narrative of the ministry like Mk.'s and respected it. We have indeed seen reason to believe that \mathfrak{S} had its outline of Jesus' career and fate; but neither Mt. nor Lk. has preserved any considerable trace of it. This might be due to an exaggerated respect for the outline of Mk., leading to the destruction of conflicting orders, or it might be due to the absence of well-defined order in \mathfrak{S} . It might be due to both causes in varying proportion. Whatever the reason, the fact is apparent in Lk. 6:20-8:3, and predisposes us to expect little from 9:51-18:14.

In point of fact the few and brief statements interspersed in this long section ostensibly to orientate the reader as to time, place and circumstance, are for the most part notoriously of a character both superficial and artificial. A journey to Jerusalem begins at 9:51, apparently the journey referred to in Mk. 9:30-32; 10:1, 32-34, 46, for it ends with the Triumphal Entry. But the journey has no real effect upon the contents of the section. All the incidents and sayings down to the point

¹ See the preceding articles: I "General Survey," Vol. XXXIV, pp. 166-179; and "The Smaller Interpolation," Vol. XXXVI, pp. 112-139.

(18:15) where connection is resumed with the Markan outline, would have just the same course if no journey were taking place, and could be related in about the same words if the occasion were understood to be some other part of the supposed journey, or outside it altogether. From time to time the journey-rubric is perfunctorily repeated. In 10:38 we have "Now, as they went on their way"; in 13:22, "And he went on his way through cities and villages, teaching and journeying on to Jerusalem"; in 17:11, "As they were on the way to Jerusalem." But the supposed change of place has no effect on the progress of thought, which advances quite irrespective of the rubric. Indeed the very phraseology of the rubric is discovered to be drawn from the incorporated material when we compare 13:22 with ver. 33 on the one side, and with the preceding data (9:52, 56; 10:1, 10, 12) on the other.

The verdict of critics accordingly is practically unanimous that the so-called "Peraean Journey" of Lk. 9:51-18:14 is a mere artificial framework, constructed by \mathfrak{L}^k on the basis of Mk. for the purpose of stitching together the great mass of \textcircled{Q} material here collected in an order which certainly has no intrinsic claim to be considered historical. Moffatt declares that Lk. 9:51-18:14

is not a travel narrative; although it contains some incidents of travel (9: 51-56, 57-62; 10: 38 f.; 13: 22 f.; 14: 25 f.; 17: 11 f.), these do not dominate the general situation. . . . The setting and juxtaposition of the contents are topical and literary, not chronological. . . . Thus the section is neither (so Schaarschmidt, *SK.*, 1909, 12-28) a fragment of some independent gospel, which covers (though with more definiteness in its setting) the same ground as Mt. 12:15-24:51 = Mk. 3:7-13:37, nor an independent source (P. Ewald, Renan, Burton), nor (Wendt) a block of material from \textcircled{Q} which Lk. has inserted here (as in 6:20-8:3), but (cf. Wright, *N. T. Problems*, 23-39) a collection of sayings and stories, partly drawn from the Judean ministry of Jesus, partly from \textcircled{Q} , and partly even from Mk.²

Wernle, who gives keen consideration to the question of sequences in Lk. 9:51-18:14 can see a missionary motive more

² *Introd. to N. T. Lit.*², p. 273 f. Moffatt's verdict is in general sound, but his reference to *Markan* elements in the Longer Interpolation should be reconsidered in the light of the careful study of this question by Sir J. C. Hawkins in *Oxford Studies* ("St. Lk.'s Use of St. Mk.'s Gospel," pp. 41 ff., 53).

or less dominant in 9:51-10:42, and thinks 12:54-13:35 may be grouped as Warnings to Repent addressed to the Jews. In 14:1-24 we have a Banquet-group. But Wernle soon gives up the attempt to find reasons for the collocations, and frankly pronounces 17:1-19 a mere catch-all of remainders.³ Professor Burton, of Chicago, though he desires to regard this section of Lk. as derived much as it stands from a single source, and though he would even employ the designation "Peraean Document" for the source, admits that the designation would be to this extent a misnomer, since we have no reason to think the journey anything more than a literary device of $\mathfrak{R}^{Lk.}$ of the nature and derivation above defined. In Burton's own language

The position assigned to it by Lk. is perhaps sufficiently explained by a lack of any definite designation of it as the narrative of a particular period, together with the fact that both this document (Lk. 18: 35[?]; 19: 1) and Mk. (10: 46) recorded an arrival at Jericho, which it was obvious to identify. . . . The simplest view is that Mt. and Lk. both possessed a document substantially identical with Lk. 9: 51-18: 14; 19: 1-28, lacking, however, any indication of the precise period to which the events belonged.⁴

Even the bare outline of the 'Peraean Journey' permits, however, a certain degree of subdivision. After the scene at the village where Jesus is received by Mary and Martha (10:38-42), there is a complete change of subject to discourses which have more and more of the polemic and denunciatory character, ending with eschatological warnings which extend to 13:21. Here a new transition is marked by the resumption of the journey-outline covering material of a varied character down to the story of the Samaritan Leper (17:11-19). After this third and final mention of the journey the Interpolation closes with another Eschatology (17:20-18:8) and a parable (18:9-14) which links it on again to the interrupted story of Mk.

In general outline we may thus use the journey rubric to subdivide the Interpolation into three parts which have each its own distinctive pragmatic value: (§1) The Mission section (9:51-10:42); (§2) the Polemic (11:1-13:21); (§3) the Hortatory and Apologetic (13:22-18:14). These three sub-

³ See below p. 45.

⁴ Lu. 18: 35 is from Mk. 10: 46, so quoted wrongly here by Burton?

⁵ *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem*, 1904, p. 42 f.

divisions may be surveyed in succession for the purpose of determining such principles as may appear to govern the arrangement of the material, distinguishing so far as possible between intrinsic connections implied by the material itself, and agglutinations of \mathfrak{Lk} .

1. After 10:42 \mathfrak{Lk} has scarcely maintained even the pretence of adjusting his material to the assumed geographic framework. But the phraseology of this closing incident of the Mission Section when compared with that of 9:52 f., 58; 10:5-10, shows what is in the evangelist's mind in §1.

As they went on their way he *entered into a certain village*: and a certain woman named Martha *received him* into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at the Lord's feet and *heard his word*.

Down to this point the conceptions with which the "Peraean" section began still dominate. The narrator is still mindful that he had begun to relate how Jesus and his messengers were "received," or "not received," in the "cities and villages" to which they came. In 9:57-62 he had related how Jesus and his followers had sought (often vainly) "a place where to lay his head," and in 10:1 ff. how the seventy had been sent two and two "into every city and place whither he himself was about to come." In 10:10 importance still attaches to the direction

Into whatsoever city ye enter and *they receive you* eat &c. . . .
and if *they receive you not* shake off the dust &c. . . . *He that*
heareth you *heareth me* and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.

The same motive is still apparent in 10:16, though now the *hearing of the message* begins to be more emphasized. With the Return of the Seventy (10:17-20) the thought swerves still further toward the Authority of the Message, permitting a combination of the Thanksgiving for the Revelation to Babes (\mathfrak{Lk} 10:21 f. = Mt. 11:25-27) with the Congratulation of the Disciples on their Revelation (\mathfrak{Lk} 10:23 f. = Mt. 13:16 f.).⁶ The parable of the Good Samaritan (10:25-37) seems at first

⁶Connections *ad vocem* are a constant feature of \mathfrak{Lk} . and especially prominent in the Longer Interpolation. In many cases the relation is more than a matter of pure assonance, but assonances are so common as to make the inference certain that in the formation of the group the compiler

irrelevant, but is doubtless considered by \mathfrak{R} to illustrate the hiding of the truth from the wise and prudent and its revelation to "babes," inasmuch as the questioning "lawyer" is bidden to "Go, learn" what is really pleasing to God at the feet of the humane Samaritan rather than from the unfeeling priest or Levite. Priests and Levites, the traditional exemplars of right conduct, are inferior as teachers of the law to a very Samaritan, if they lack the gospel motive of loving-kindness. Such is the point of connection with the Thanksgiving for the Revelation given to Babes and Congratulation on the Message (10:21-24).

The original theme of the missionary, his message and his reception comes markedly to the front again in the closing anecdote of the group, Reception by Martha and Mary (10:38-42). The example of Martha who "received Jesus into her house" and especially of Mary who "sat at the Lord's feet and heard his word" are intended to carry a lesson to such as begin to be forgetful to "show hospitality to strangers" and even more to those who begin to "grow dull of hearing." Throughout the division the compiler displays a pragmatic bent which vividly recalls that of the Shorter Interpolation. He is still anxious to commend the example of those who "hear the word of God and do it," though now with special reference to the activity of the travelling evangelist.

We may well agree, therefore, with Moffatt, who voices the opinion of a group of critics in calling Lk. 9:51-10:42

A mirror for Christian missionaries centring round the mission of the seventy; how they are to behave to incivil people (9:51 f.), how they must be whole-hearted (9:57 f.) how they are to carry out their mission (10:1 f.) and how they are to be received.

We are not prepared to admit, however, that

10:25-37 (parable of the Good Samaritan) has no connection with what precedes and very little with what follows.⁷

Moreover we must add a word to explain why the "mirror for Christian missionaries . . . and how they are to be received" should be inserted at this particular point of Mk.

was influenced by purely verbal resemblances. In the present instance note in ver. 17, 20, 21 "with joy," "rejoice not," "rejoice," "he rejoiced." In ver. 21 "hide . . . reveal" as against hiding and revealing in ver. 23 f.

⁷ *Introd.*, p. 273; see above, p. 23.

A reference to 9:46-50 (= Mk. 9:33-40) will show that **℣** Lk. takes his point of departure from the Markan agglutination on Receiving (δέχεσθαι) *vs.* Stumbling (σκανδαλίζειν). From 9:1-10 (Mission of the Twelve) onward, its **Q** parallel (Mission of the Seventy, 10:1-24 = Mt. 10:6-23, 40-42; 11:20-27) had been awaiting employment. **Σ** too included the motif "receiving" (Mt. 10:40 f. = Lk. 10:8-11). Mk. 9:37 was therefore the natural point of attachment for this, while its foil in Mk. 9:38-40 (Forbidding the Strange Exorciser) is also quite naturally included in Lk. 9:49 f., because the example of the Intolerance of James and *John* toward the Samaritans who "did not receive him" (Lk. 9:52-56) formed so unmistakable a pendant to it. This anecdote, while it may not have stood first in the source, obviously forms part of the group on "receiving" the preachers of the gospel.

2. At the end of Lk. 10 there is an abrupt change of subject. The journeyings of Master and disciples play no further part, nor is there any further mention of their being "received" or not "received." Not until 13:22 does **℣** Lk. suddenly bethink himself again of the Journey, reminded (it would seem) by the material he incorporates a few verses further on; for a comparison of the editorial rubric 13:22 with ver. 33 will show the origin of its new phrases.⁸ But the geographical outline leaves the contents of the new section untouched. The rubric recurs at 17:11 in the form

And it came to pass as they were on the way to Jerusalem.

It seems to be suggested here too by the contents; for the rubric scarcely agrees with the statement in the same verse that

he was passing between Samaria and Galilee.⁹

But we need only continue the sequence of the embodied material to find convincing evidence of an underlying *topical* order, which in spite of interruptions maintains itself quite independently of the Journey order.

The subject of receiving the Lord and his messengers with hospitality and a devout hearing is no sooner completed at the

⁸ Cf. "went on his way" with "must go on my way"; "unto Jerusalem" with "out of Jerusalem."

⁹ On the rendering and meaning, see Plummer, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, *ad loc.*

end of Ch. 10 than we launch out with 11:1 upon the wholly unconnected subject of Effectual Prayer.

And it came to pass, as he was praying in a certain place that when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples.

The mode of entrance upon the new subject reminds us of a number of similar beginnings in this section to which Mk. affords but few parallels, and which also fail to appear in Mt., whether because they are constructed by $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$, or because Mt. in embodying the discourses they introduce as parts of his Sermons finds no room for the narrative outline. Thus in Lk. 12:13, a still longer discourse, again only partially taken up by Mt. into his first Sermon, is introduced by the following brief description of the occasion:

And one out of the multitude said unto him, Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me.

A long series of parables and discourses follows on Possessions *vs.* Life, or Wealth that Faileth Not (12:13-34), forming an enclave between the eschatological warnings of 12:1-12 and 35 ff. In Lk. 13:1 warnings of the fate of the unrepentant are introduced by the statement:

Now there were some present at that very season who told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.

So in Lk. 11:27 the interpellation is that of "a certain woman." In 11:45 it is made by "one of the lawyers," in 13:23 by an enquirer who "said unto him, Lord are there few that be saved?" in 14:15 by "one of them that sat at meat¹⁰ with him." Each becomes the occasion of a longer or shorter discourse. Whether this be the habit of $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$ personally, or a method derived from the source, it is at least a sufficiently stereotyped literary form to afford a recognizable characteristic. Moreover the introductions which thus aim to throw light upon the ensuing discourse by brief reference to its occasion are manifestly of a completely different type from the rubrics which aim to bind all the parts of the Longer Interpolation into one

¹⁰"Sat at meat" is a phrase dictated by the situation described in 14:1. Before the formation of the "Banquet-group" the phrase will have been merely "stood by," or the like. See below, p. 37.

structure as successive incidents of the Markan Journey to Jerusalem (Mk. 10:1 = Lk. 9:51). The two structural plans follow independent lines, as an instance or two will show.

The theme Effectual Prayer introduced in Lk. 11:1 ff. by the method just illustrated had, as we saw, nothing intrinsically to do with the theme of the preceding chapters. Its preface is equally independent of **℔**'s postulated situation of a Peraean journey. But Effectual Prayer is a topic which we might reasonably expect to be discussed at some length in **Σ** if we are correct in believing this source to be related to the Wisdom literature of Palestine and Alexandria; for the Epicurean tendencies so strongly antagonized in Wisdom of Solomon and the editorial portions of Ecclesiastes were fatal to prayer of any vital kind. Even Stoic pantheism afforded none too favorable an atmosphere for real supplication. The Hymn of Cleanthes represents the devoutest summit of pure Stoicism. It is doubtless because of the general tendency of Stoic pantheism to stifle prayer that Diogenes Laertius records of Posidonius of Apamea, the Platonizing reformer of Stoicism, that in his treatise on *Duties* he maintained that "the wise man is continually asking good gifts from God."¹¹ If so influential a philosopher as Posidonius made the continual supplication of good gifts from God part of the Duties of the Wise Man the question of the efficacy of prayer is not likely to have been left unconsidered among Jewish teachers in Syria and Alexandria who came under his influence. We know it in fact to have been the case with Philo, and it is likely to have been so with others. The intense theism of Judaism could hardly come into contact with Stoic pantheism without collision at this point. Sir. 35:13-17 and Jas. 5:13-18 afford further evidence of the occupation of the Wisdom writers with the theme of prayer and its effect.

Be this as it may, the subject thus introduced in Lk. 11:1-13 appears much more fully than in Mt. 6:9-15; 7:7-11. The writer also adopts an argumentative tone quite foreign to the Matthean teaching. The theme ends somewhat abruptly with ver. 13, and quite unexpectedly a new theme begins, for which the way is paved by a textual alteration in this verse. For the context obviously requires the words "good gifts" in the conclusion, and this is the actual reading in Mt. 7:11. But Lk. has

¹¹ Ο σόφως αἰτούμενος τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. *Ap. Diogen. Laert. vii. 124.*

How much more shall your heavenly Father give *the Holy Spirit* to them that ask him?

With this change of reading coincides a change of subject. At 11:14 we suddenly pass from that of Effectual Prayer to that of Jewish Opposition. The evangelist proceeds to relate the Blasphemy of the Spirit by those who said "He casteth out by Beelzebub," and this becomes the occasion for a long denunciatory discourse directed first against a generation possessed by "the unclean spirit." In 11:27 f. there is a momentary digression due to a woman's exclamation and the blessing elicited by it on "those that hear the word of God and keep it"; but after this the denunciations continue upon the Unrepentant Generation (11:29-32) and upon those whose eye is evil (33-36). The long polemic closes with Woes upon Pharisees and Scribes (11:37-54), and an Encouragement of the Disciples to Fearless Confession in the face of Persecution with promise of "the Spirit" (12:1-12).

It is worth while to observe that the writer who thus subjoins a long section on the Gift of the Spirit to the section on Effectual Prayer is the same who amends Mk.'s description of Jesus' Baptism with the Spirit by adding (Lk. 3:21) that the Spirit came upon him "as he was praying."

The subdivision extending from Lk. 11:14 to 12:12 may clearly be regarded as a single sequence. It has a consistent polemic aim throughout, and parallels the Woes on Scribes and Pharisees and Doom of the Sanctuary of Mt. 23, 24, in a large part of its contents. In Lk., however, the agglutination as a whole is dominated by the thought of "the Holy Spirit" as the gift of God to the Church. This divine endowment is envied and blasphemed by the scribes, because their eye is evil and their boasted inward light darkness. It is denied by the evil generation that seek a sign (the Jews). But they are now possessed by a seven-fold spirit of evil. The denunciation ends with an Encouragement of the Church to Fearless Confession and the promise of the Paraclete in 12:10-12:

And everyone who shall speak a word against the Son of man it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven. And when they bring you before the synagogues and the rulers, and the authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.

The compiler who attaches this Warning and Encouragement to the subdivision beginning at 11:14 with the Blasphemy of the Scribes, and who after the enclave on Wealth that Faileth Not (12:13-34) passes to further Eschatological Warnings (12:35-13:21), can only be the same who paves the way for it in 11:13 by changing "Good gifts" to "the Holy Spirit." He is easily recognizable as the writer who in the Book of Acts takes such obvious pains to prove the Church the real people of God by virtue of its endowment with the Spirit. In Acts "gifts of the Spirit" are the divine seal upon the Church's initiatory rite; the power and wisdom of the Spirit are the special investiture of its apostles and evangelists, making them able to "stand before governors and kings." The sources of the book reflect, of course, in this respect the profoundest conviction of the primitive Church, as marked in the Pauline Epistles as anywhere (Rom. 8; Gal. 3:1-4:7). The compiler is of course the same \mathfrak{L}^k as here. Moreover in Acts also \mathfrak{L}^k has improved upon his sources, introducing clauses in Acts 1:2 and 4:25 which bring in the action of "the Holy Ghost" even to the complete confusion of the grammatical construction. He seems to be intent on showing that Israel is no longer the people of revelation. So in Lk. 11:1-13:21, those who have the sign of Jonah, the preaching of the Son of man, and have repented at it put to shame the "evil generation," whose boasted cleanness is mere outward observance. The new people of God are the followers of the martyred Prophet. The proof appealed to in both cases is that

The Spirit and the gifts are ours
Through him who with us sideth.

We judge, then, that the appending of the long polemic agglutination Lk. 11:14-12:12 after the Θ discourse on Effectual Prayer in Lk. 11:1-11, is due to \mathfrak{L}^k . The motive for the present arrangement is (as in the Shorter Interpolation) pragmatic and apologetic rather than historical. \mathfrak{L}^k is preacher first and conservator of sources only incidentally. After the theme of Hearing the Word he passes naturally to that of Praying and Receiving (or Rejecting) the Spirit.¹²

¹² Cf. the interjection of prayer before Jesus' reception of the Spirit in 3:21 = Mk. 1:11.

Much of the subdivision beginning with 11:14 (Blasphemy of the Scribes) is paralleled in Mt. 12:22-50 and Mt. 23 f., to say nothing of connections with Mk. 7 and Mk. 12:38-13:37.

As noted above, the Beelzebub section (11:14-12:12) is one of those most exposed to relocation because of the transposition effected by Mk. Unfortunately its removal from after Lk. 11:13 does not restore the sequence of \S^{13} ; for Lk. 12:13 only introduces the new subject of Wealth that Faileth Not. This new theme is introduced after the plan of which examples have already been cited:

And one out of the multitude said unto him, Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me. But he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge, or a divider over you? And he began to say unto them, Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth.

But what to the compiler was the connection of this discourse on Wealth with the Warning to Fearless Confession (12:1-12) on the one side, and the Eschatology (12:35-13:9) on the other?

To \mathfrak{Lk} . the setting of the discourse on Wealth that Faileth Not between the Exhortation to Fearless Confession (12:1-12) and that to Watchfulness for the Coming (12:35-48) doubtless seemed appropriate because the whole sequence had an eschatological application. Those who had been warned that their life and liberty would be assailed (12:4-12) were now to be warned to "take joyfully the spoiling of their goods." Moreover the reference to the treasure laid up in heaven "where no *thief draweth near*" (12:33) recalled the warning to watch as for the *coming of a thief* (ver. 39). This subject of Watchfulness for the Coming is continued by a series of kindred eschatological warnings down to the pair of parables likening "the kingdom of God" to a Mustard-seed and the Leaven (13:18-21). For these two parables, removed by Lk. from their Markan connection in the section on Hearing the Word and Doing it (6:12-8:21), are regarded by him, after Mk.'s example, as eschatological in bearing. He writes the closing words "till it was all leavened" with thoughts in mind like those of Paul

"On the probable continuation of the subject Effectual Prayer in the parable of the Importunate Widow (18:1-8) a pendant to that of the Importunate Friend (11:5-8), see below, p. 50.

when he speaks of the triumph of Christ over the last enemy and the ultimate universal and eternal reign of God (I Cor. 15:24-28).

But why interjeet the incident of the Loosing of the Daughter of Abraham (13:10-17) between the parable of the Barren Fig-tree and the parables of the Mustard-seed and Leaven? At first sight the anecdote appears alien to this eschatological connection; but it probably forms no real exception. Just as Mk. inserts after the Transfiguration the story of an epileptic boy elaborating details with the apparent design of symbolizing the long resistance of Israel to the apostolic preaching, a resistance broken only by the second Coming,¹⁴ so here with the "daughter of Abraham" bound by Satan, "lo, these eighteen years." The liberated woman of Lk. 13:10-17 is probably used by \mathfrak{Lk} . to symbolize the church in Judaea (cf. Mk. 13:14), perhaps even with the date of the Apostolic Council (Acts 15) in mind.

We thus obtain as the probable logical nexus in the mind of \mathfrak{Lk} . when forming §2 of his Longer Interpolation the following outline which follows §1 on Those who Received (or did not receive) the Preachers of Glad Tidings:

§2. The Spirit Given to Sons *vs.* the Unclean Spirit.

1. The Good Part not to be Taken Away.
 11: 1-4, Jesus teaches his Disciples to Pray
 5-13, He assures them of the Gift of the Spirit.
2. The Fate of those who Blaspheme the Spirit.
 11: 14-19, The Charge He casteth out by Beelzebub
 20-26, The Last State of the Unrepentant
 27-28, Blessing on those that hear and keep the word of God.
3. Denunciation of the Evil Generation that seeks a Sign.
 11: 29-32, The Sign of Jonah
 33-36, Inward Light
 37-44, Woes on Pharisees, whose Religion is of the Outside
 45-52, Woes on Scribes, the Blind Guides
 53-54, Editorial Colophon, Traps of the Pharisees.
4. Warnings, and Promise of the Holy Spirit.
 12: 1-3, Beware of the Leaven of Pharisaism
 4-9, Fear not the Persecutor, but confess Christ.
 10-12, Blasphemy *vs.* Aid of the Holy Spirit.
5. Eschatology.
 12: 13-21, Treasure that Fails
 22-34, Treasure in Heaven that Faileth not

¹⁴ See *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, *ad loc.*

- 12: 35-40, Watch for the Coming of the Son of Man
 41-48, Special Responsibility of Those who 'Watch for your Souls'
 49-53, The Coming brings Divisions
 54-59, Signs of the Times
 13: 1-5, Fate of Galileans and Men of Jerusalem a Token
 6-9, The Barren Fig-tree
 10-17, Satan's Bond-maid Released
 18-21, The Grain of Mustard-seed and Leaven of God.

From the point of view of \mathfrak{R}^{Lk} , accordingly, 11:1-13:21 appears to form a continuous eschatological whole.

But intrinsically the discourse on Wealth that Faileth Not is *not* eschatological. It merely follows the accustomed lines of Stoic teaching, regarding life or happiness as superior to external conditions. The general theme as expressed in 12:15 and developed in the successive illustrations is paralleled at many points by the Stoic doctrine of the inner life as the substance, externals incidental and adaptable, in the form which this doctrine assumed in Jewish Wisdom. The 'Epicurean'¹⁵ Solomon of Ecclesiastes appears in the discourse as the highest example of unwisdom. He is the "fool" who knew no more of that wherein "a man's life consisteth" than to build greater and greater store-chambers and barns, and to say to his soul, "Soul, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." In fact the fool who heapeth up riches and knoweth not who shall gather them is quite a favorite character with the Wisdom writers (*cf.* Sir. 11:18 f.; 10, 12; 5:1; Jas. 4:13-5:6). The discourse of Lk. 12:13-34 as originally conceived is as independent of the adjoining eschatological context, as it manifestly is of the editorial scheme of the journey to Jerusalem. Had this been in the mind of the original writer we might expect the opening scene-setting to run somewhat as follows: "And Jesus with his disciples came to a certain city, and on the sabbath he was teaching in the synagogue, as his custom was." There is no evidence in either Mt. or Lk. that the writer of the discourse had any special situation, or course of *events* in mind.

¹⁵ The Jewish conception of the *Epikouros* is simply that of the godless hedonist. Ecclesiastes, the book in which Solomon is represented as following this philosophy, had great difficulty in obtaining its place in the canon, and obtained it only in view of a drastic revision contradicting the main teaching of the book (Eccl. 11:9b; 12:10 f.).

The only sequence is topical. We may indeed be fairly sure that Lk. is more true to the source in preserving the opening scene and parable of the Rich Fool than Mt. in discarding these; for the real theme of the discourse is given in perfectly authentic (non-eschatological) form in 12:15, and the parable itself is clearly presupposed in the subsequent references to "Solomon in all his glory" (cf. Eccl. 2:1-11), and the ravens "which have neither *store-chamber nor barn*; and God feedeth them." The whole block 12:13-34 may well be assigned to **S** in view of its Matthean parallel. But from what connection **R**^{Lk.} derived the discourse which he thus weaves into his eschatological group it is as yet impossible to say. We only note that the long sequence begun at 11:1 reaches its climax with the Release of Satan's Bondmaid (13:10-17)¹⁶ and its close with the pair of Parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven of the Kingdom. The final words "till it was all leavened" carry an echo of triumphant faith. After these a new theme (3) begins with the much-debated question: Are there Few that be Saved? Only a few touches of **R**'s hand remain for consideration before proceeding to §3.

We have seen (I, p. 178) that the interjection of half of the **Q** Wisdom-plaint in Lk. 11:49-51 (=Mt. 23:34-35) is certainly due to **R**^{Lk.}. The symmetry of 46-52 is so violently broken by it that we marvel no less at his disregard here for aesthetic form, than in 7:1-10 and 36-50 for chronological sequence. Lk. 11:49-51 must at all events go to join its other half in 13:34-35 whether the two belong there or elsewhere.

Again Lk. 11:53-4 is obviously an editorial link, parallel to (perhaps having literary relation with) Mk. 12:13. But what purpose does link *a* serve, seeing the sayings of 12:1^b-12 already have their editorial introduction in link *b* = 12:1^a? It should be followed, as in Mk. 12:13 ff., by some account of the success or failure of the plot; but nothing happens. Moreover link *b* (which merely counts the audience in connection with verses 13 and 41 much after the plan of Acts 1:15; 2:41; 4:4 &c.), if we may draw an inference from Mk.'s curious interpretation of the warning against the Leaven of the Pharisees (Mk. 8:14 ff.), really separates link *a* from its intended connection. According to Mk., the "leaven of the Pharisees" is their secret plotting

¹⁶ On the motive for this location, see above (p. 31).

(with "the Herodians") against Jesus' life.¹⁷ **R** Lk. however has a different interpretation of the *logion* which he inserts quite explicitly in the gloss "which is hypocrisy" (12:1^b), an explanation as obvious as it is incorrect; for Jesus was surely not warning his disciples against hypocrisy (!) Mk. would seem to have had before him a text which did not include the estimate of numbers in 12:1^a but passed directly from 11:53-4 (Traps of the Scribes and Pharisees) to 12:1^b, "And he began to say unto his disciples: First of all beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees." After this followed in **Q** the *logion* on the Revelation of Things Hidden (ver. 2-3 = Mt. 10:26 = Mk. 4:22 = Lk. 8:17); for Mt. also clearly attests its connection with the Exhortation not to fear Persecution (cf. Mt. 10:16-33 with Lk. 12:2-12).

3. At 13:22 **R** Lk. indicates his transition to a new theme by the rubric:

And he went on his way through cities and villages teaching and journeying on to Jerusalem.

The data and phraseology of the rubric (so far as new) are drawn from ver. 33 ("go on my way, . . . Jerusalem"); but the placing of the milestones at this point and again at 17:11a, where they recall the journey-scheme, suggests that **R** Lk. is as it were framing together the intervening material. The sequence is opened by the anti-Jewish sayings on the Rejection of the Sons of Abraham in Favor of Gentile Believers (13:23-30). It is closed by the incident of the Samaritan Leper (17:11b-19). In reality, as we shall see, the opening discourse, so fully in line with the **Q** passage on the Baptist's Preaching "Think not to say unto yourselves, We are Abraham's Children" (Mt. 3:8 f. = Lk. 3:8 f.) actually does lay down the dominant theme of the new section. For in the main, apart from some apparent additions and transpositions which it must be our endeavor to explain, the course of thought throughout is controlled by the idea: Rejection of the Self-styled Elect, Salvation of the Despised and Outcast. To designate this dominant *motif* we may appropriately borrow the language of the opening discourse (ver. 30), calling it the 'Last-first' theme. It is resumed after an interval in 14:15-24.

¹⁷ See *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, ad loc.

The interruptions of the sequence are at first puzzling. When we find such apparent transpositions as 16:1-9 from after 12:13-34, and 18:9-14 from after 16:14-16, we cannot wonder that many critics resort to the theory of a third source peculiar to Lk., the interweaving of which might occasion such dislocations. Moffatt's *Introduction* gives in abstract several theories of the kind. But Moffatt himself abandons hope of restoration. He prefers to apply to the agglutinated anecdotes of Lk. in both the Lesser and Greater Interpolations the language of Blair, who speaks of them as consisting of

beds of transplanted flowers, arranged with some degree of skill, and fragrant in their beauty; but as no observer can argue from the appearance of a flower to the soil in which at first it grew, so also the desire of the critic to find for the *logia* their original context appears to be utterly hopeless.¹⁸

It is not wholly insupposable that **R** might prefer to divide and distribute long discourses in a single source on the more abstract subjects, if he were intent on depicting a varied journey. His aim, then, would doubtless be to fill out the Markan framework by some readjustment of material and thus avoid monotony. But the deliberate breaking up of logical connections in the interest of so very imperfect a narrative scheme must be admitted to be a harsh supposition.

Have we no alternative save the postulation of a third source?

For the present it will suffice to indicate that some dislocations have occurred through supplementation or otherwise, and that in spite of this, a deeper logical connection still survives.

The evangelist's own scheme of arrangement we have already seen to be characterized by a very superficially applied historical and dramatic progress borrowed from Mk., viz., the Peraean Journey, beginning with the Mission of the Seventy (9:51-10:42; 13:31-35; 17:11-19). The Journey scheme is also characterized (as we have just seen) by a deeper-going pragmatic interest which leads to supplementation (by transposition or otherwise) to guard against antinomian misuse (14:25-35; 16:1-13) and moral laxity (12:35-59). Finally **R** Lk. seems also to emphasize an anti-Jewish apologetic (11:14-12:12). Of this we have just observed a further instance in

¹⁸ *Op cit.*, p. 276, quoting Blair, *Apostolic Gospel*, p. 157.

13:23-14:35. A differentiation of the underlying logical connection in the Θ material from connections which seem to be made in the interests traceable to the compiler $\mathfrak{K}^{\text{Lk.}}$ is our present task.

We have seen two instances in which the source-theme appears to be adopted in its own setting, quite unmodified, only to be diverted later by \mathfrak{K} into channels of his own making. A third and conspicuous example would appear in 13:23 were it not that the modifying hand of \mathfrak{K} has here intervened with more than the usual degree of transposition and supplementation. In reality the question "Lord, are they few that be saved?" is intended to propound the subject for discourse after the method employed in the previous cases of Effectual Prayer (11:1-4) and Possessions *vs.* Life or Wealth that Faileth Not (12:13-21). This theme too (the relatively small number of the redeemed) is one of the stock questions of Jewish theodicy, as can be seen from Second Esdras where a large element of the problem is that

The Most High hath made this world for many, but the world to come for few.¹⁹

Esdras cannot therefore refrain from many "questions concerning the multitude of them that perish." In Lk. 13:23-30; 14:15-24; 15:11-32 the theme is indeed continued, much as in Second Esdras, only that the many that perish are now the self-righteous element of Judaism who reject the invitation, and the few that enter in are the penitent outcasts; so that the keynote becomes a warning not to depend on anything save repentance. Repentance reverses conditions as they are, so that "the last become first."

But this standard theme of Last-first, so consonant with other Θ material (Mt. 3:8 f. = Lk. 3:8) is twice interrupted. (1) The thread is broken after 13:30 by the coming in of two groups of alien material. We have (a) two incidents in which "certain Pharisees" show a veiled hostility to Jesus (13:31-35); (b) two parables concerning banquets (14:7-14). It is no wonder, therefore, that attempt after attempt is made to reconstruct the order. Moffatt, following Wernle, recognizes in 14:1-24 the classical Greek literary device of the symposium-

¹⁹ II Esdr. 8:1.

dialogue. Its three anecdotes were grouped by **R** simply because all spoke of banqueting.²⁰ A theory that the **Q** parable of the Great Banquet (14:15-24 = Mt. 22:1-10) attracted to itself the three minor anecdotes in 14:1-14 because in each there was mention of banqueting (verses 1, 8, and 12 f.) might account for the prefixing of 14:1-14, and the editorial touch "sat at meat with him" in 14:15. But there is not only difficulty with 14:1-6 (Healing on the Sabbath) whose location here Wernle despairs of interpreting,²¹ but with 13:31-35 also; for the parable of the Great Banquet (14:16-24) is *not* entitled to the place Blair would give it "between 13:24 and 13:25."²² It should follow 13:30. We must of course consider that the words "that sat at meat with him" in 14:15 are dictated by the requirements of the Banquet-group. Cancel this editorial phrase, or substitute "stood by" or the like, and both the reason for the ejaulation "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God" and the point of Jesus' reply become transparently clear. The warning "Strive to enter in by the narrow door" (*i. e.* the brief opportunity of repentance, *cf.* 12:54-59) had issued in Jesus' picture (13:25-30) of the shutting out of those who count on their descent from the patriarchs; while others

come from the east and west, and from the north and south and recline (at banquet) in the kingdom of God. And behold there are last which shall be first and there are first which shall be last.

To this there can be no more natural sequel than 14:15:

And when one of them [that stood by?] heard these things he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.

The parable of the Great Banquet (16-24) then follows with perfect appositeness

But he said unto him, A certain man made a great supper &c.

For the real point of the parable is of course that the guests who were *first* to receive the invitation were displaced by outcasts to whom it was extended *last*.

²⁰ *Introd. to N. T. Lit.*, p. 273.

²¹ *Synopt. Frage.*, p. 100.

²² Approved by Moffatt *ibid.* "The transference of 14:16-24 to a place between 13:24 and 13:25 (*cf.* Blair's *Apostolic Gospel*, pp. 212 ff.) has several points in its favor. The table-talk, which is a feature of Lk., reflects the Greek symposium-dialogues."

(2) This primary application of the parable is obscured not only by the insertion before it of Lk. 13:31-14:14 but by editorial supplements after it in both Mt. and Lk. Mt. attaches to the parable, as we have seen, a supplement to guard against antinomian misuse (Mt. 22:11-14). But Lk. also meets the same requirement by following it up with saving clauses in 14:25-35, interrupting the connection with 15:1 ff. Moreover Lk. as well as Mt. allegorizes. There is no need, as the Matthean parallel shows, for Lk.'s *two* supplementary sendings of the servant to find new guests. Neither does the point of the parable require that the new comers should be "poor and maimed and blind and lame." These words are copied from the preceding parable (14:13). $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$ has in mind (a) the remnant of Israel and (b) the ingathering of the Gentiles. Mt. 22:9 f. (save for the redactional clause "both bad and good," which leads over to Mt.'s supplement) gives the authentic form of the parable and makes still more clear its close relation as a whole with 13:23-30.

Why, then, has $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$ allowed this close relation of 13:23-30 with 14:15-24 to be interrupted by the series beginning with Herod's Threat (13:31-35) and continued by the Sabbatarian Controversy (14:1-6) and the two Banquet Sayings (14:7-11, 12-14)? If we say that he was merely forming a 'symposium-group' we obtain but a partial and inadequate answer. Possibly the prefixing of the two Banquet Sayings might be thus accounted for,²³ but the anecdote of sabbatarian controversy in 14:1-6 has no intrinsic connection with banqueting. It has on the contrary so close a relation through the parable of the ox or ass fallen in a pit with Mt. 12:9-14 = Mk. 3:1-6 that there is strong reason to regard the Lukan banquet setting as a mere editorial replica of Lk. 11:37, replacing an original *synagogue* scene corresponding to Mk. 3:1 f. Why, then, is this anecdote made part of the symposium series, to the great detriment of the Last-first connection?

The most reasonable explanation will be found at the point of interruption, if we recall the habitual mode of narration characteristic of this evangelist. We must assume that $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$ is attempting to arrange his material according to a course of

²³ On the prior connection of these and other elements removed see the writer's forthcoming Commentary.

events which he infers from it. In considering the rubric 13:22 we have seen that his scheme is a historical and geographical order, for which the warning of the Pharisees, "Get thee out, and go hence, for Herod would fain kill thee" (13:31) gives the cue. After a warning of the 'turning to the Gentiles' such as 13:28-30 we can expect from \mathfrak{L}^{Lk} nothing less than plots of the Pharisees to drive the preacher out, for this is with him a stereotyped form (*cf.* 4:25-29, Acts 22:21 f. &c.). Moreover in 11:53 ff. this theme had already been suggested in \mathfrak{S} . Now as understood by \mathfrak{L}^{Lk} the saying 13:31-33 (to which he attaches the Wisdom quotation ver. 34 f.) implies precisely the situation required after 13:23-30, a situation of outward friendliness on the part of the Pharisees²⁴ covering inward hostility. A similar situation appears in the story of the Healing of the Dropsy on the Sabbath (14:1-6), a parallel to the Plot against Jesus' Life by the "Pharisees and Herodians" of Mk. 3:1-6, thus all that was required to make of this story of how "they were watching him" (14:1) a link to connect with the Banquet-group (14:7-24) was an editorial touch, making the occasion similar to that of 11:37, where Jesus was a guest in the house of a Pharisee.

The arrangement of 13:22-30, 31-35; 14:1-6 ff. is therefore only a typical instance of the stereotyped Lukan progress of thought. We have first in 13:23-30 Enunciation of the theme Last-first, ending

And they shall come from the east and west and from the north and south and recline at banquet in the kingdom of God. And behold there are last which shall be first and there are first which shall be last.

Thereupon follows Herod's Threat, and the hostile "watching" of the Pharisees (14:1).

Thus the historically authentic incident of Herod's Threat (\mathfrak{S} ?) becomes a link to draw in a parallel to Mk.'s story of the plots against Jesus' life (Mk. 3:1-6). This in turn is adjusted to the Banquet-group by the editorial touch in ver. 1,

²⁴ The curious addition repeatedly made by Mk. to the plots of "the Pharisees" (so the \mathfrak{Q} warning 11:53, 12:1) of "the Herodians" (Mk. 3:6; 8:15; 12:13) is perhaps explained by Lk. 13:31. Mk. understands this to imply collusion between the Pharisees and members of Herod's court.

making of the whole group 13:22-14:35, the starting-point for a new historico-geographical outline controlling the second half of the Longer Interpolation.

As regards the source of this unique datum of Herod's Threat, and its location in the source we are still in the dark. The Wisdom-quotation which Lk. divides (11:49-51; 13:34 f.) but Mt. holds intact (23:34-39) appears in **Q** and is connected by both evangelists with the Exhortation to Fearless Confession (Mt. 10:16-39, Lk. 12:2-12). The incident itself looks forward to a briefly impending close of the Galilean ministry. Wellhausen and other critics are doubtless correct in associating it with Mk. 6:14²⁵, and (as we have seen) Mk. 8:11-21 brings it into the same sequence as **Q** (Pharisaic "cleanness" 7:1-23, Generation that Seek a Sign, 8:11-13). In due time the *τάξις* of **S** may be discussed. In the meantime it is clear that the *topical* order of the material in Lk. 13:22 ff. is the Last-first theme, which passes from 13:30 to 14:15 ff. The first two of the intervening sections (13:31-35 and 14:1-11) are introduced here to continue **R**'s historico-geographic outline; the second pair (14:7-11 and 12-14) are merely banquet-sayings expanding the symposium group.

The second break by **R**^{Lk.} is that between 14:15-24 and 15:1 ff. caused by the attachment after the parable of the Great Feast (14:15-24) of the sayings on Counting the Cost (14:25-35). Its motive is identical with that of **R**^{Mt.} for attaching to the same parable with its dangerous suggestion of promiscuous admissions, the supplement regarding the man cast out because he had not on a wedding garment (Mt. 22:11-14). To say "If any man cometh unto me and doth not . . . he cannot be my disciple" with Lk., is only to put in the form of direct address the caveat which Mt. appends in the form of a supplement to the parable. Similar saving clauses are introduced by **R**^{Lk.} again in 16:17 f. after the radical saying on the passing of "the law and the prophets." Since the topical sequence Last-first continues in ch. 15, the location here of 14:25-35 may be attributed to the effort of **R**^{Lk.} to forestall antinomian misuse. We may call it a parantinomian interest.

Before continuing with the analysis of Lk. 15-17 it may be

²⁵ See *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, ad loc.

well to recall a further clue to the original \mathcal{Q} sequence derived from the comparison of Mt.²⁶

In Mt. 20:1-16 the theme already designated Last-first and pursued thus far in Lk. 13:22-14:35 is fully and explicitly set forth in the parable of the Discontented Laborers (cf. 19:30 and 20:16). Now a connection between this parable and that of the Two Sons (Mt. 21:28-31a) results automatically so soon as the intervening Markan material (Mt. 20:17-21:27 = Mk. 10:32-11:33) is removed. Mt. and Lk. thus really coincide in continuing the Last-first theme with the parable of the Repentant Younger Son, the principal difference being that Lk. has formed a triad under the rubric (15:1):

Now all the publicans and sinners were drawing near unto him for to hear him. And both the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them.

Moreover we need look but a little further on to find in the \mathcal{Q} fragment Lk. 16:16 = Mt. 11:12-14, a reference to the Repentance of the Publicans and Outcasts at the Preaching of John, corresponding more or less closely with the mention in Mt. 21:31b, 32 which follows upon the parable of the Repentant Younger Son.

But, as more than one critic has noticed, the formation of the triad of parables in Lk. 15 is more likely to be editorial than primary. As Wernle observes

Chapter 15 is composed by Lk. for the justification of the publicans and sinners. Hence the introduction, ver. 1 f., which according to Lk.'s idea is adapted to all three parables.²⁷

Streeter in his essay on "The Original Extent of \mathcal{Q} " in *Oxford Studies* likewise notes as probably editorial the arrangement in Lk. 14:7-15:32 of (a) three sayings on banquets (b) three sayings on the cost of following Christ (c) three parables on God's readiness to forgive sinners. As against the well-known \mathcal{Q} phenomenon of the pairing of parables Streeter writes

It is quite clear that we are in contact with a case of conscious arrangement: is this due to St. Luke or to his source? Or did Lk. find them in his sources as pairs, and by his additions make them into triads?

²⁶ See the forthcoming article in *Expositor*.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

For we notice that each triad of sayings will split into a pair closely located, with a third less closely connected, i. e.

14: 7-11 + 12-14 and 15-24.

14: 28-34 + 31-33 and 26-27.

15: 3-7 + 8-10 and 11-32.

In chapter 14 we have already found occasion to retain the third member of the first triad as standing in its original place, the two preceding elements having been prefixed by \mathfrak{R} . If without attempting as yet to differentiate between \mathfrak{R}^S and \mathfrak{R}^{Lk} we follow the same method in chapter 15 we shall not only find a correspondence with the sequence of Mt., as already shown, but will find that the prefixed parable-pair on the Lost Sheep and Lost Coin really gain in significance by removal. For intrinsically this pair are not adapted to the support of Jesus' message of grace to the repentant, but to the defense of his conduct in associating with the outcast. The parable of the Repentant Younger Son attaches by intrinsic affinity to the story of the Penitent Harlot (7: 36-50). Like the parable of the Two Debtors (7: 41 f.) it defends the glad tidings proclaimed to the poor. The parables of the Lost Sheep and Lost Coin attach intrinsically to the story of Zacchaeus (19: 1-10) ending with Jesus' reply to the Pharisees who murmured "He is gone in to lodge with a man that is a sinner." It defends the preacher's mode of approach:

The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.

If we defer for the present the question to what original connection should be assigned the two prefixed parables, of which only that of the Lost Sheep (15: 3-7) is paralleled in Mt. (Mt. 18: 12-14), and continue to trace up the Last-first sequence in Lk., it will be apparent that 16: 1-13 takes the reader quite off the train of thought; for the only connection of the Unfaithful Steward with the Prodigal Son is that both wasted the householder's goods. The appended *logia* in 16: 10-13 seem in fact to take this as the real point, or else to be appended purely *ad vocem* "mammon." We may also take the clause of ver. 14 "who were lovers of money" (a complete libel on the Pharisees, who made almsgiving the queen of virtues) as a touch of redactional adjustment. Let us then remove 16: 1-13 and the editorial clause "who were lovers of money." At once the theme Last-first comes again to the surface. Ver. 14 ff. connects with the

parable of the Prodigal. The "scoffing" of the Pharisees could not really be evoked by the teaching of 16:1-13 on laying up "treasure that faileth not" in "the eternal tabernacles"; for no teaching could be more congenial to Pharisaism. The scoffing can only appear psychologically probable if we take as its real object Jesus' message to the penitent outcasts. Let it come after the parable of the Repentant Younger Son (especially if we may venture to insert the Matthean elements which fail to appear at this point in Lk., such as the parable of the Discontented Laborers and the utterance preferring the Penitent Publicans and Harlots to the Pharisees) and the "scoffs" become intelligible. Not only so; Jesus' reply to it becomes also intelligible. For he does not take his opponents to task for avarice, but for *self-righteousness*.

And he said unto them, Ye are they that justify yourselves in the sight of men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God.

Many have been the critics who anticipate Moffatt in the verdict that at this point (16:15) "18:9-14 would follow better" than after 18:8. It is quite true that intrinsically 18:9-14, the parable of the self-justifying Pharisee and the Penitent Publican, belongs to this connection. But it is not the whole truth. We may also affirm that the succeeding context of this Rebuke to the Pharisees (16:14 f.), the *Q* *logion* on Entering the Kingdom by Violence (16:16), belongs to the *Q* sequence; for the Matthean parallel (Mt. 11:12-14) proves this also a part of the Defense of the Penitent Publicans and Sinners.

Mt. and Lk. thus agree in connecting references to the Repentance of the Masses at the Preaching of John (Mt. 21:31^b-32 = Lk. 7:29 f.) with Jesus' Defense of the Publicans and sinners. In Lk. we find the Incident and Parable of the Penitent Harlot appended in 7:36-50 to Jesus' comparison of his own ministry of grace with John's and defense of his Association with the Outcasts (7:24-35). *℔*'s recast of the reference to the Penitent Masses (7:29 f.) has been thrust into the midst of this²⁸ while the saying on Entering the Kingdom by Violence since John (Lk. 14:16 = Mt. 11:12-14) is reserved for the Last-first sequence, following almost immediately the parable of the

²⁸ Art. II, p. 118.

Penitent Younger Son. In Mt. the parable of the Younger Son is followed immediately by the reference to the Penitent Masses (Mt. 21: 28-32), while the *logion* is connected with the Defense of the Ministry of Grace.

The theme of the ¶ parable of the Rich man in Hades (Lk. 16: 19-31) is still quite obviously that introduced in 13: 22-30—the Last become first; but the interjection in 17 f. of two *logia* on the permanent validity of the law, and the sanctity of marriage, constitutes another interruption. Fortunately we have seen enough of the evangelist's method in earlier sections to appreciate the reason. The insertion may be attributed with great probability to the parantinomian caution of ¶ already exhibited in 14: 25-35. Ver. 17 is manifestly attached to the radical saying "The law and the prophets were until John" (ver. 16), for the same reason that Mt. attaches the same *logion* in 5: 17-20. Ver. 18 goes a step further in employing the *logion* on Divorce (Mk. 10: 1-12 = Mt. 19: 3-9 = 5: 31 f.) to contrast the strictness of Christian teaching with the laxity of the Pharisees. ¶^{Lk.} considers the indissolubility of the conjugal relation set forth in Mk. 10: 1-12 and I Cor. 7: 10 to be Christian, divorce Pharisaic. The Mosaic basis of scribal enactment (Mk. 10: 3-5) is simply (and very characteristically) cancelled. The Last-first theme continues at least to 16: 25, if not to the end of the chapter.

It is with 17: 1-19 that we encounter the chief difficulties in endeavoring to follow up the Last-first theme to its ending. Is it to be assumed to come to a close with the Eschatology of 17: (20 f.) 22-37; or are some of the fragmentary and disconnected elements of 17: 1-19 to be attributed to the source as part of this pragmatic sequence?

The closeness of the relation of the group of sayings on the Day of the Son of Man (Lk. 17: 22-37) to the parable of the Rich Man in Hades (16: 19-31) and its real function as a wind-up of the Last-first series, is obscured by several minor redactional changes as well as by additions both before and after. Of these we must speak only to such extent as may serve clearly to disengage the underlying source-connection, leaving for later treatment the question of the derivation and interrelation of the interjected or appended material.

At first sight the problem of accounting for the tangle of sayings and incidents in Lk. 17: 1-19 seems hopeless. Moffatt

designates 16:1-17:10 "a loose collection of sayings upon various social relationships."²⁹ To A. Wright 17:1-10 consists of "four disconnected logia." Soltau holds to a theory of accidental displacement of leaves. According to his view 17:3-4 continues chapter 15, verses 1-2 and 5-6 being insertions from Mt., made by transcribers of the text (!).³⁰ Other attempts to find a logical relation are even more unsatisfactory.

The first two of the "four disconnected logia" on Stumbling the Weak (17:1 f. = Mt. 18:6 f. = Mk. 9:42 f.) and Forgive thy Brother (17:3 f. = Mt. 18:21 f.) are found in the same antithetic relation in Mt., separated from one another only by a short section from Mk. (Mt. 18:8 f. = Mk. 9:43-47). This interconnection may therefore be attributed to the common source. In Mt. the theme appears greatly expanded including the Θ parable of the Lost Sheep (Mt. 18:12-14 = Lk. 15:4-7) and another parable peculiar to Mt. on the Unforgiving Servant (18:21-35). The example of Lk. 16:18 in comparison with Mk. 10:1-12 should at least warn us of the possibility of condensation on Lk.'s part. But were the section long or short in the source, why should Lk. introduce it here?

If we fall back on merely verbal resemblances it is possible to imagine the two sayings as having been attached after the parable on the Rich Man in Hades because the series which the parable concludes is also a defense of the "little ones"; moreover there is mention in the appendix to the parable (ver. 26-31) of five "brethren" who are to be brought, like the "brother" of 17:3 f., to "repentance" and "repentance" occurs again in 17:4 and 5 as the object to be gained. Again the penalty for stumbling the weak in 17:2 is that the offender be "thrown into the sea," and this fate more or less recalls that of the sycamine tree of ver. 6 f., especially if the variant forms of this Θ logion in Mk. 11:22 = Mt. 21:21 = 17:20 be also borne in mind; for in Mt.-Mk. it is a mountain that is "thrown into the sea" by the power of faith. Such connections *ad vocem*, trifling as they seem, are in reality very common in Lk.

But even *ad vocem* connection fails at the fourth *logion* in 17:7-10. As Plummer justly remarks

²⁹ *Introd.*², p. 273.

³⁰ *Z. ntl. Wiss.*, X (1909), pp. 230-238.

The attempts to find a connection between this and the preceding saying are poor and unsatisfactory.

The only appropriateness it seems possible to imagine for its editorial setting is that ver. 10 with its reference to "all the things that have been commanded you" would form a suitable close to a series of precepts such as might be deemed to form the bulk of the Great Interpolation down to this point. Inasmuch as after the incident of the Samaritan Leper (17:11-19) only the Eschatology (17:20-18:8) and a closing parable remain, it is conceivable that the position occupied by 17:7-10 might be due to this backward look of ver. 10, and the parantinomian interest of **R**.

Intrinsically, however, the parable treats of the Thanklessness of Servile Toil. Moreover, unique as it is, its teaching has close intrinsic affinity with some of the **Q** material. The point of the question "Doth he thank³¹ the servant because he did the things that were commanded?" is very close to that of the Sermon on the Higher Righteousness, "What thank have ye?" (τίνα χάριν ἔχετε). The contrast really intended is like that of Jn. 15:14 f. between the service of slaves and sons. It is the distinction of the Jewish teachers between *Kedushah* and *Chasiduth*, the righteousness of holiness and the righteousness of goodness. The parable expounds the doctrine of "grace," and expounds it in a defensive sense against those who stand for legality. It forms thus a true pendant to the Matthean parable of the Discontented Laborers (Mt. 20:1-16) and forms a logical link in Jesus' defense of his doctrine of forgiveness and grace. The defense, however, is aggressive, and consists of a counter-attack upon the legalistic ideal. Now we have already noted how in Mt. the parable of the Discontented Laborers is explicitly told in support of the principle Last-first (Mt. 19:30; 20:16). Moreover mere subtraction from Mt. of the intervening Markan material leaves this parable to be automatically followed by (1) the parable of the Penitent Younger Son (Mt. 21:28-30), (2) the reference to the Penitent Masses (21:31 f. = Lk. 7:29 f.). Further still we have already found strong reason for identifying fundamentally the Matthean parable of the Penitent Younger Son with the Lukan (Lk. 15:11-32), which

³¹ Note the *ad vocem* connection with ver. 16, "giving him thanks."

was uttered, like the Matthean, in defense of "the publicans and sinners" who "were drawing near unto him for to hear him." Finally we have also had occasion to observe a disposition on the part of $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ to soften the anti-legalism of the source; for he leaves a mere remnant in 16:16 of the radical utterance more fully conveyed in Mt. 11:12-14. If, then, we now reconstitute from the Matthean parallels the original context of the saying on John's opening "by violence" the doors of the kingdom we shall find it to include the following:

- a. Penitent Younger Son, Mt. 21:28-30 = Lk. 15:11-32.
- b. Penitent Masses, Mt. 21:31 f. = Lk. 7:29 f.
- c. Pharisaic self-righteousness, Lk. 16:14 f.; 18:9-14.
- d. John forces the doors of the Kingdom, Lk. 16:16 = Mt. 11:12 f.

This sequence furnishes (as $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Mt.}}$ has perceived) a parallel to Mk. 11:27-33, to which he attaches his \mathfrak{Q} version of the appeal to "the baptism of John" as constituting the great "sign of the times." It is to such a context that we should naturally resort if seeking a connection for the antilegalistic utterance of Lk. 17:7-10. That $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ should remove it from after 16:16 to a slightly later position, substituting the parantinomian *logia* of 16:17, 18, and that he should give it a place where "all the things commanded you" would seem to look back over the series of teachings embodied in the Greater Interpolation, is no more than we ought to expect of an evangelist whose avoidance of "anti-Pharisaic material" has been frequently observed.

With the rubric of 17:11a and the ensuing incident of the Samaritan Leper (17:11b-19) we reach another of the milestones of the Peraean Journey. Relation of the incident to the preceding there is (intrinsically) none. The usual *ad vocem* relation of \mathfrak{R} 's connections may perhaps be found in the "thanks" rendered by the "stranger" though neglected by the Jews, and the thanklessness of the servile relation (*cf.* verses 9 and 16). With or without this superficial reminder in ver. 16 the retrospect in ver. 10 over "all things commanded" might well suggest to the compiler of the "Travel-document of the Lukan Gospel" that it is time his Longer Interpolation neared its close. With 13:22 he had begun a long parenthesis, introducing the Last-first theme of his source by sayings which look

forward to the gathering of believing Gentiles "from the east and the west, the north and the south" while the sons of the kingdom are cast out. Now he closes the parenthesis with a pendant to the opening anecdote of the Shorter Interpolation. Like the Believing Centurion, the Thankful Samaritan who "returned to give glory to God" puts to shame the thankless Jews of his company. In handling and in pragmatic application the Q incident and that of $\text{P}^{\text{Lk.}}$ are identical. The basis of the story may well be the same as the Markan taken over in 5:12-16 (= Mk. 1:40-45). If so it is the more unlikely that the special development is that of $\text{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$. Mt., as we should certainly anticipate, has given no room to the Thankful Samaritan; but he admits the Believing Centurion, *including the pragmatic application*. We are here concerned, however, only with the motive of $\text{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ for locating the story at this point, and the motive cannot well be any special geographical or historical information of his own. On the contrary the implied situation ("passing between³² Samaria and Galilee") is one which should carry us back to the very outset, where the border of Galilee and Samaria is crossed at 9:51f. The geographical datum of 17:11b merely means that the group of nine Jews and one Samaritan is taken by $\text{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ to imply a location on the border of Jesus' usual field of healing activity. Ver. 11a is the editorial rubric, supplementing 11b, as 12:1a supplements 11:53f. $\text{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ has not composed, but compiled. This appears from locations of a type familiar to us in $\text{P}^{\text{Lk.}}$ (note the address "Jesus" as compared with 23:42 and the emphasis on "giving glory to God" 15, 18 as compared with 2:20; 5:26; 7:16, 29; 13:13). To $\text{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ the anecdote owes little more than its present location. In any case we have no reason to suppose that in the source it interrupted the sequence of thought between the parable of the Rich Man in Hades and the Eschatology of 17:(20f.) 22-37. For in reality this relation is very close.

It is true that the appendix to the parable beginning "And beside all this" (*ἐν τοῖς τοῖς πάντων*, ver. 26; cf. 24:21) is of the nature of a redactional supplement unconnected with the intrinsic teaching. But while this supplement has no close connection with the parable to which it has become attached, it has a close and important relation to the context both preceding and fol-

³² On this rendering see Plummer, *Intern. Crit. Comm.*, *ad loc.*

lowing. Moreover this relation is none of $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{Lk.}}$'s making, but is rather violated by him.

The appendix to the parable of the Rich Man in Hades (16:26-31) deals like the saying on Entering the Kingdom by Violence (16:16) with the Jewish expectation of the Coming of Elias to effect the Great Repentance. It is in substance a denial of this Jewish expectation of the return of Elias from Paradise to prepare Israel for the Day of the Son of Man, and is meant to throw back the Jewish objector with his demand, "How then doth not Elias first come" (Mk. 9:11), on the *written* testimony of Moses and the prophets as in Jn. 5:33-47. If, then, this addition be not a primary element, it is at least so early a supplement to the parable, as to fall fully in line with the course of thought of which the parable forms part; and this is no other than the theme which we have followed throughout under the designation Last-first. Not only so. If this reference to the apocalyptic expectation of the Coming of Elias to effect the Great Repentance looks back in its original connection to the group of sayings we have found reason to place immediately before the parable, the group centering upon the utterance regarding "the law and the prophets" as no longer availing since the baptism of John, it also looks forward to the Eschatology (17:22-37); for the central theme of the Eschatology is the hopelessness of escape from the Day of the Son of Man. The intervening material of 17:1-19 is thus excluded. The present arrangement, then, is not that contemplated by the Last-first sequence. The interjected anecdote of the Samaritan Leper is a premature conclusion. The original course of thought proceeds from the sayings on Elias and the Law to the Eschatology. It remains to be seen what traces of redaction are observable in this final section of the Greater Interpolation.

The connection of the two verses 17:20 f. with the discourse on the Day of the Son of Man (17:22-37) is once more mainly *ad vocem* ("Lo, here, or there"!; cf. "Lo, there! Lo, here!" ver. 23). The saying is prefixed to the discourse for the same reason that the parable of the Importunate Widow (18:1-8) is appended at the close. The final sentence of the parable in its present form: "Howbeit if the Son of man came³³ would

³³ On the correctness of this translation see Bacon, Expositor VIII, 46 (Oct., 1914) "Will the Son of Man find Faith on the Earth?"

he find the faith on the earth," is intended to explain the *delay of the Parousia*; and it explains it in the usual manner: The missionary propaganda must first be accomplished (*cf.* Mk. 13:10 and parallels, Acts 1:6-8). Jewish apocalypse has a parallel explanation: The number of the elect must first be completed (II Esdr. 4:35 f.; *cf.* Eth-En. xlvii. 4). In the midst of the discourse (17:25) a similar *caveat* is interjected

But first must he (the Son of man) suffer many things and be rejected of this generation.

This, however, is only an indication of editorial revision, to be classed with the alteration of "day of the Son of man" (*i. e.* of the intervention of God by His Judge and Redeemer) to "*one of the days of the Son of man*" in ver. 22, and the change from singular to plural ("days of the Son of man") in ver. 26.³⁴ *Per contra* the intrinsic motive of the discourse is closely akin to the eschatology of 12:35-13:9. There is no mitigation of the immediacy of the impending doom or deliverance. Thus framework and contents are somewhat at odds. In 17:20 f., 25, and 18:1-8 the question raised is that of the *delay* of the Parousia, and it is answered by deprecation of "observation" (*παράτησις*). The main discourse begins with a warning not to be deceived by the supposed signs which lead the multitude astray, but to be ever on the alert, free from the entangling cares of the world, which engulfed the contemporaries of Noah and brought destruction even to the wife of Lot. The force of this is not increased but weakened by prefixing a saying on the Coming being inward (17:20 f.), by interjecting a reference to the rejection by "this generation" (ver. 25), and by appending a parable which explains that even importunate prayer cannot advance the Day until "the faith" has been established on the earth. It has already been noted that intrinsically the parable of the Importunate Widow is not adapted to explain the delay of the Parousia, but rather belongs with the section on Effectual Prayer forming a close pendant to that of the Importunate Friend (11:5-8).

For the editorial revision and supplementation of the Eschatology 17:22-37 we cannot hold $\mathfrak{R}^{\text{Lk.}}$ individually responsible.

³⁴ We may also question the location of the \mathfrak{Q} *logion* 17:33 = Mk. 8:35 = Mt. 16:25 and 10:38. This, however, does not affect the tone.

The additions and transpositions may have preceded; for the motive is a common one, equally apparent *e. g.* in Mk. 13. The case is otherwise with the transfer of the parable of the Self-righteous Pharisee (18:9-14). The better connection of this parable with 16:15 is so patent as to have evoked repeated comment.³⁵ The real problem is to account for the transfer, and adequate motive can hardly be found outside the exigencies of \mathfrak{L}^{Lk} , who here resumes the thread of Mk. at the point where our second evangelist contrasts those who receive the kingdom in the humility of little children and those who turn away because the sacrifice is too great (Mk. 10:13-31). The two anecdotes of the Little Children Received and the Rich Man who Turned Away are those with which Lk. resumes the course of Markan story in 18:15-30. A transfer of the parable of the Penitent Publican and Self-Righteous Pharisee to stand at the close of the Longer Interpolation introducing the Markan contrast would be not unnatural for \mathfrak{L}^{Lk} . There would be all the more occasion if in addition the all too anti-legalistic tone of the paragraph on the Passing of the Law and the Prophets could by the transfer be further mitigated.

Our survey of connections in the Longer Interpolation is far from complete, but even now it is possible to distinguish two factors. \mathfrak{L}^{Lk} has attempted no small amount of rearrangement, primarily in the interest of his Markan journey-scheme, but not without aims of practical edification and apologetic as well. Drastic as this reconstruction has been it has not sufficed wholly to obliterate a topical connection which from its deeper-lying position, its occasional coincidence with the order of parallel Θ material in Mt.,³⁶ and its frequent violation by \mathfrak{L}^{Lk} , we can but regard as older, if not the actual primary order of \mathfrak{S} . This almost purely topical sequence was easily destroyed; for its connections were of the loose character exemplified in Lk. 11:1, 53 f., 13:1, 10, 23; 17:11b. Whether among the anecdotes which Mt. does not reproduce, such as the Crooked Woman Healed (13:10-17), the Dropsical Man (14:1-6), the

³⁵ On the hopelessness of the present "stringing together" of Lk. 16:15-18 see *e. g.* Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Oxf. Stud.*, p. 124 note, and Streeter, *ibid.*, p. 201. Soltan, *Z. ntl. W.*, X, 3, p. 234 proposes to insert 18:9-14 after 16:15.

³⁶ Also with certain Θ elements of Mk

Samaritan Leper (17: 11-19), Zacchaeus (19: 1-10) and the like, we have elements of **S** or fragments of another source or sources, oral or written, is a question which can be answered only after comprehensive consideration of **¶** and **R** in Lk. In the same connection enquiry should be made whether the remarkable disruption of what we see reason to regard as the original topical order has come to pass through supplementation or by combination. Is it an effect of the insertion of individual *logia*, parables and incidents; or has it come to pass through the interweaving of a connected special source or sources? These questions still await an answer; but the most far-reaching of all concerns an arrangement which can hardly be due to any other hand than **R**^{Lk}, and to this we must devote a closing word.

Between the discourse on Effectual Prayer (11: 1-13) and that on Wealth that Faileth Not (12: 13-34) **R**^{Lk} inserts the Denunciations which in Mt. are found partly at the close of the Galilean ministry, partly at the close of the Judaeian (Mt. 11: 20-24; 12: 22-45 and ch. 23). The distribution by both evangelists is obviously determined by Mk., who has a collision in Galilee, with the "scribes from Jerusalem" in 7: 1-23 and another in Jerusalem in 12: 38-40. But Mt. and Lk. vary greatly in their distribution of the various elements of the **Q** material.

On one point it is possible to speak with practical certainty. Mt. is certainly truer to the source in giving the citation from "the Wisdom of God" as a whole instead of in two parts, as Lk. does in 11: 49-51 and later in 13: 34 f. Moreover to place the whole where Mt. places it in 23: 34-39 as a warning to guilty Jerusalem, murderess of the prophets, that the day of her visitation is now past, and that her heavenly visitant (Wisdom in the source) will no more be seen of her until she welcomes messengers that come in the name of the Lord, greeting them with hosannahs, instead of abuse and murder, is far more in keeping with the sense in which in **S** the Wisdom citation must have been placed in the mouth of Jesus. It is his parting word to the unbelieving city, and looks forward to another Coming and a different reception.

Why then, has Lk. transferred the citation and the connected Woes on Scribes and Pharisees to Galilee (Lk. 11: 42-52), and

attached the lament, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets" &c. to Herod's Threat, ending "It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem"? Not, of course, *merely* because of the *ad vocem* connection. Principally, no doubt, because the description in Mk. 11:1-10 of Jesus' triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, ending with the shout of the people,

Hosanna; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;
Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David;
Hosanna in the highest,

seemed to \mathfrak{L}^k . the fulfilment of the saying of Jesus "Ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." If so, he could not allow the prediction to stand *after* its fulfilment. It *must* be connected with an earlier leave-taking, and this could only be the farewell to Galilee which in the Markan account follows upon a conflict with the Scribes (Mk. 7:1-23). \mathfrak{L}^k . connects it accordingly with the Collision with the Scribes in Capernaum and the Threat of Herod which in his other source was described as leading to Jesus' expulsion.

If this be the explanation of \mathfrak{L}^k . 's singular placing of 11:49-51 and 13:34 f. it throws light also upon the arrangement of the adjoining material, which was seen to interrupt the topical order. This applies to the whole Denunciation and Eschatology of 11:14-12:12 linked together, as we have seen, by the apologetic and practical interest of \mathfrak{L}^k . It applies as well to the further nexus of 12:13-13:21; for, as already noted, \mathfrak{L}^k . merely makes of 12:13-33 a convenient supplement to his exhortation to Watchfulness, begun at 12:1-12, and continued in 12:35-13:21. In like manner we may judge from the insertion of the Lament in 13:34 f. at this point in the Peraean Journey that to \mathfrak{L}^k . it interprets the group which lay before him in the form of a series of teachings on the theme Last-first, and which he adjusts to his own conception of the 'order.'

THE MEANING OF THE "ROYAL LAW", MATT. 5: 21-48

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

In the Epistle of James, ch. 2: 8, the Levitical law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself", is called the "royal law". Some interpreters have applied this title to the portion of the Sermon on the Mount contained in Matt. 5: 21-48. The designation was, in the case of Matthew, of course, not given in order to imply that it is a law for kings alone, but to indicate that it is the law laid down by the Messiah-King. However, whether one be Jew or Christian—whatever one's attitude toward the Messianic claim of Jesus—the unquestioned place held by Jesus among the greatest religious teachers of the world, as well as the nature of this law itself, makes the name appropriate. When it is understood by the intellect it commands the moral approbation of men. Kant's categorical imperative compels men to give it their admiration—to confess that among laws it holds a position truly royal—even if flesh and will be too weak to enable one to live up to its standards. The obligation to understand a law which holds such a place is great at all times; in times like the present scientific exegesis has a particular duty to perform. In the interest of clear thinking it ought, if it can, to endeavor dispassionately to determine just what the teaching of Jesus in this great passage means.

It is not necessary, and it would not be appropriate, to go into the criticism of the text of the passage. That has been done in such commentaries as those of Bernhard Weiss, W. C. Allen, and Alfred Plummer. Detailed discussion of the exact meaning of Greek words may, for the present purpose, be left for the most part to those commentators.

It must be noted, however, that the "Sermon" as it stands is a product of editorial compilation. Professor Burton¹ has

¹ *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Vol. V, 1904, p. 228 f.

made this clear for chapter 6, and one has only to compare the passages in Luke that are parallel to chapter 5, to be convinced that the same is true of this chapter also. One has to recognize that sayings of Jesus, uttered perhaps on different occasions, were brought together by the first evangelist and grouped here. It has long been recognized that at least in the first half of this Gospel a topical method is followed. Sayings of Jesus are grouped in chapters 5-7, miracles in chapters 8, 9, and parables in chapter 13. It is probable, therefore, that the sayings in the passage before us were uttered on different occasions.

The consideration is, from one point of view, of little practical value. If the sayings were all uttered by Jesus—and they certainly bear the stamp of his mint—the kinship of most of them justified the evangelist in grouping them together here as one law, though some of them are out of harmony with the context in which they stand.²

From another point of view the consideration is important. Its importance has been well expressed by Plummer: "We have to remember that we have not got the exact words that Christ said, nor all the words that he said. We must also remember that it was often his method to make wide-reaching statements, and leave his hearers to find out the limitations and qualifications by thought and experience. Ruskin has said that in teaching the principles of art he was never satisfied until he had contradicted himself several times. If verbal contradictions cannot be avoided in expounding the principles of art, is it likely that they can be avoided in setting forth for all time and all nations the principles of morality and religion?"³

The first part of this quotation from Plummer sets forth an important fact—a fact that ought to put us on our guard against taking the words of Jesus too literally. If we had all that he said, the teaching might appear in quite different perspective. This consideration ought to prevent us from taking the "Royal Law" as an external law the letter of which is to be followed, and make us gird ourselves to catch and follow its spirit. Plummer's quotation from Ruskin may, however, seem to us,

² See e.g. Plummer, *Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel ac. to St. Matthew*, p. 80 ff.

³ *Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, London & New York, 1910, p. 75.

when we have finished our study, of less value than it seemed to him.

When we take Matthew 5:21-48 broadly, its general drift is that the Christian ideal is immeasurably higher than the Jewish. To say this is not to underestimate the value of the Jewish ideal. The bearing of the remark will become clear as we proceed.

Commentators have been divided as to whether the references of Jesus to the Jewish law have regard to the written law of the Old Testament, or to the current oral interpretation of that Law, which was in the time of Jesus in the early stages of its formation, and which was afterwards embodied in the Mishnah. The latter view has been held, for example by Lange, Cook, Meyer, and Zahn. It conveniently preserved for them their theory of inspiration by avoiding the necessity of supposing that the divine author of the Old Testament reversed himself in the New. The former view has been held by B. Weiss, Bruce, Bacon, Plummer, and Slater, to mention only a few. Allen belongs also apparently to this group, although he is not very specific in his words.

There seems to be general agreement among interpreters of the group last mentioned that Jesus in this discourse places *his* teaching in contrast to that of the written law, for the purpose of carrying the demand for ethical conduct to the inner life. The Pentateuch, like legal enactments the world over, deals with outward conduct. One may think what he chooses, but the law touches him only when he commits some overt act. This is in government a right principle. It is the basis in all democracies of the right of free speech. The Pentateuchal law differed from the ordinary laws of states in prohibiting coveting, but no penalties were attached to the infringement of this law, and there is no record that any Jewish government ever put a man on trial for breaking the tenth commandment. Naturally the Jewish law as the law of a state dealt in external acts.

While a state can deal with external acts only, a religion which deals with externals alone fails in the most vital office which a religion should perform. It does not cleanse the stream of life at its fountain. It is for this reason that Jesus in this "Royal Law" takes up five different instances in which religion then current failed to purify the springs of conduct. He pointed

out in each of these instances that a real sin lay securely hidden in the heart, back of the outward conduct, and that the law of the kingdom of God, as he had come to proclaim it, demands that the secret lurking places of sin in the inner life be invaded and cleansed.

Although there is general agreement that this was his purpose, there is great difference of opinion as to whether he was laying down a new law for the external conduct of life, the precepts of which his disciples should literally follow.

Among influential teachers who hold that his words must in all cases be literally followed, Tolstoy may be taken as a notable example. We are all familiar with the passage in Tolstoy's *My Religion* in which he tells how the words "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil. But whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also", became to him the key, not only to the Sermon on the Mount, but to life.⁴ It is unnecessary to go in detail over the exposition which Tolstoy proceeds to give of the Sermon on the Mount using as a key the passage quoted. It is sufficient to bear in mind how he regards these key words as a new external law to be literally followed, and how he makes of every word of the discourse a new external law. He is in this respect a noble example of a large class, people who bemoan that most of the Christian world do not know their Christ.

When, however, we face the issue raised by Tolstoy or attempt to follow in his steps, we discover that neither he nor any other pacifist ever took the words "resist not evil", or, according to another rendering, "resist not him that is evil", literally. Every man who undertakes to achieve any social reform resists him that is evil. It is impossible to champion a child labor law, a law for the limitation of the liquor traffic, or to attempt to stamp out white slavery, without resisting him that is evil. No woman can repel the advances of a lustful brute without resisting him that is evil. Men who are good enough to wish to take this word of Jesus literally are usually champions of one or more of such reforms as have just been mentioned. They work in sublime ignorance of their inconsistency. Usually, too, they lock their doors at night and avail themselves in time of danger

⁴ Tolstoy, *My Religion*, ch. I. Cf. especially, Tolstoi's *Works*, New York, 1899, Vol. VI, p. 85.

of police protection, happy through the arm of organized government to "resist him that is evil." One who knows the character of Jesus and how his wrath burned against the strong when they preyed against the weak, has but to read these words and reflect upon what would happen, if they were literally obeyed by everyone, to be convinced that Jesus never meant them to be taken literally. It must be remembered that Jesus lived in the Levant, and that for many centuries forms of speech have there been of a much more graphic, picturesque, and, if you please, exaggerated character than they are either in the Occident or in the Far East. Take for an example the addresses of letters from Syrian rulers to an Egyptian king in the El-Amarna correspondence. Thus Rib-Adda of Gebal, writing to Amenophis IV, begins his letter:⁵

"To the king, my lord, my sun, say: Rib-Adda, thy servant; at the feet of my lord, my sun-god, seven times and seven times I prostrate myself."

The El-Amarna letters from Syria abound in such greetings. The habit of speaking in this extravagant fashion has persisted through the centuries. There are many examples in the Bible. Some occur readily to every one. Such are, from Jesus' own words,

It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God (Mk. 10:25);

If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove (Matt. 17:20).

Such methods of expression persist in the East still. Rev. A. H. Rihbany, who now occupies the pulpit of the late James Freeman Clark in Boston, and who is a native of the Lebanon, says in his *Syrian Christ*:⁶ "A Syrian's chief purpose in a conversation is to convey an impression by whatever suitable means, and not to deliver his message in scientifically accurate terms. He expects to be judged not by what he *says*, but by what he *means*."

⁵ Cf. Knudtson, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 286 or G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 345.

⁶ *The Syrian Christ*, Boston, 1915, p. 115.

It seems clear, then, that Tolstoy and all similar interpreters go astray in attempting to take literally the words "resist not evil" and to make them the key to the interpretation of the chapter.

The duty is therefore laid upon one who would think clearly to find to the passage some other key than that which afforded Tolstoy such comfort. The Christian scholar will make this attempt with hesitation and distrust, fearful that in the attempt he shall in some way impair the high ethical standard erected by Jesus—fearful (to paraphrase a line of Lowell) lest his tender spirit flee the rude grasp of Jesus' great impulse. If, however, we find our key to the meaning in the words uttered by Jesus in the climax to the passage itself, we cannot go far astray.

Such a key is afforded in the words "That ye may be the sons of your Father who is in heaven"—"Be ye therefore perfect, as your father in heaven is perfect"; (Mt. 5:45, 48). These words are given point by those that intervene, which appeal to God as he is revealed in nature. He makes his sun to shine on the evil and on the good. He sends rain on the just and on the unjust. No petty grudge or ignoble vengeance controls his dealings with men.

This appeal to God as he is revealed in nature and in man is one that can mean infinitely more to this scientific generation than it could mean to the first generation of Christians. God works dispassionately, but he punishes sin. He works with a desire to redeem, not to avenge, but nevertheless destroys evil and him who identifies himself with evil. He is sympathetically present with the dying sparrow, but nevertheless for the accomplishment of his beneficent purposes sacrifices many individuals that the type may persist. He gives life, but he takes life. He has brought into existence the present order of things through a process of evolution carried on by struggles in which many of his creatures have been his agents in taking life. If we believe the prophets and Jesus, we cannot believe that the process is complete; we must believe that he is working toward a goal in which all men will be controlled by the realization of their brotherhood; when each will do to the other as he would have the other do to him; when they shall beat their swords into ploughshares; when none shall hurt or destroy. That age has

not yet arrived as every thug, individual and national, and every criminal lunatic prove. Meantime, the most that Jesus asks of us is "to be as perfect as God is perfect"—to carry on the evolution toward the desired goal of brotherhood without anger, free from a spirit of vengeance, but not to shirk its tasks, even, if at times, they are gruesome.

If now we go over the five examples which Jesus takes up in Mt. 5:21-48, applying the key that Jesus gives us at the end of the passage, we shall naturally reach quite a different conception of the "Royal Law" than that reached by Tolstoy.

Jesus takes up (Mt. 5:21-26) the command "Thou shalt not kill." Tolstoy (*op. cit.*, ch. xi) takes this command as God's universal law, which makes it wrong for one human being to take the life of another under any circumstances. One could name many less distinguished people who conscientiously hold the same view. Doubtless when the world is filled with ideal individuals, and nations have become as ethical as Jesus demands that individuals shall be, it will be safe to make such an extension of the command not to kill. Meantime it must be noted, that neither in the Old Testament nor in the Teaching of Jesus or his Apostles is such an extension of it made. The Decalogue in Ex. 20 and Dt. 5 was addressed to Israelites only. It regulated the conduct of man to man in Israel. No pre-Christian Hebrew ever supposed, so far as we know, that it regulated his conduct toward Gentiles. Certainly it was not understood to prohibit war. The saints of the nation cheerfully fought, as they believed, at the command of Yahweh. It was not even addressed to all the individuals within the nation, but to the heads of households only. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife" is addressed to a grown man. It is not applicable to children. The failure to forbid the coveting of a neighbor's husband shows that it was not addressed even to grown women. "Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother" was also addressed to adults. The child honored his parents as a matter of course. If he did not, the parent by use of the rod saw to it that he did. Aged parents, however, might, in their helplessness, not be honored by grown men. So the fifth command was addressed to them. The Decalogue through the head of the family was designed to regulate the life within the nation. It prohibited killing for private ends—for the purpose of personal

revenge.⁷ It was never understood in the Old Testament period as preventing society from ridding itself of criminals who threatened its integrity. The putting of these to death by stoning was definitely provided for; cf. Dt. 13:10; 17:5; 22:21, 24.

If now we return to the words of Jesus in Matt. 5:21 ff. we find that he says nothing about the scope of the application of the law. He is interested solely in pointing out that it is not the outward act only that constitutes sin, but that hate is sin. He cites the law in order to carry the thought from the realm of law to the realm of the spirit, and to cleanse the fountain at its source. By citing the example of God at the end of the passage, he leaves the matter of such taking of life as may be necessary for the preservation of society just where it was before. This is true of such taking of life as may be necessary to restrain criminal individuals or robber nations. Whatever is necessary in such unfortunate work must be done, however, without hate in order to fulfil his law.⁸

The next section of the "Royal Law" (Mt. 5:27-32) takes up the command "Thou shalt not commit adultery". In treating this Jesus first, as in the case of murder, carries the sin back into the inner life. Not simply the act of adultery, but lust is sin. He then asserts that the marriage bond is indissoluble save by death.⁹

In the next section, Mt. 5:33-37, Jesus speaks of oaths. In the older dispensation, the law had demanded that an oath should not be broken. Jesus enunciates the command "Swear not at all; let your Yes be Yes and your No, No." What was his meaning? Did he intend to make a new external rule or to

⁷ On this whole subject see W. F. Badè, *The Old Testament in the Light of Today*, Boston, 1915, p. 94 f.

⁸ Vss. 25, 26 are probably not a part of the "Sermon," but were put here from a different context; so Plummer, Bruce, and Allen. Cf. Luke 12:58, 59, where the words appear in a different context.

⁹ This is clear when we compare an earlier Gospel, Mark 10:11. The words "saving for the cause of fornication" in Matt. 5:32 are an editorial addition by the First Evangelist; so De Wette, Weiss, H. C. Holtzman, Plummer, and Allen. It is unlikely, however, that Jesus intended here more than in other parts of the "Sermon" to lay down rigid external rules; he rather aimed to create a strong aversion to the dissolution of the marriage tie; so Bruce.

"convey an impression"? If we may extend to this section the revelation of his purpose which has been found in the study of the two preceding sections, his purpose was to carry the sin from the outward to the inner life. If this be true, his words were designed to convey that impression in a vivid manner. His meaning would then be that the real sin consists in having two standards of honor—in feeling under greater obligation to tell the truth when one has specifically prayed God to damn him if he does not than on ordinary occasions. That this was the meaning of Jesus in this section becomes clear when we remember his citation of the example of God at the end of the passage. God has but one standard of truth. One cannot suppose a divine utterance strengthened by an oath. True, the Old Testament, like other early religious literature, employs anthropomorphic terms, and speaks of God as swearing. It is also true that the Epistle to the Hebrews (6:13) quotes with approval the idea that God swore, but no modern educated man who has faith in God at all can believe in a deity whose word cannot at all times be trusted. Jesus would have men in this respect aim "to be perfect even as their Father who is in heaven is perfect."

In the next section, Mt. 5:38-42, Jesus takes up the law of revenge, a law deeply ingrained into all Semitic life, a law that underlies many a penalty in the Old Testament, giving rise to the institution of cities of refuge, a law which underlies a large portion of the penalties imposed by the Babylonian Code of Hammurapi, and which rules in the Arabian desert to the present hour. According to this law one who injured another in any way must be compelled to suffer a like injury. It was a law that not only justified the harboring of grudges and hate, but made them a religious obligation. One has but to read in II Samuel 21:1-14 of the way the men of Gibeon nursed their hatred of the house of Saul until it could be gratified by a terrible vengeance, to be convinced of this.

Jesus evidently mentions the law here in order to teach that the desire for vengeance is a sin. His object was to impress that fact in a way so graphic that it could not be forgotten. This conviction is produced in one's mind by his treatment of murder, adultery, and swearing in the sections which precede. Analogy with those sections indicates that what he is primarily

concerned with here is the eradication of the spirit of vengeance, which sweeps men first into uncontrolled passion and then settles into abiding hate. This he did by the paradoxical statement "Resist not one that is evil"—a statement which we have already seen it is impossible for one to take literally and be a worthy citizen or a decent person. Jesus, however, adds the epexegetical statement, "But whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also"—a statement but little less paradoxical than the first. This statement at once raises the question: Did Jesus intend by it to lay down an outward law to be literally followed by his disciples? It seems impossible to suppose that he did, for, if we may trust the tradition in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus himself when smitten did not turn the other cheek, but demanded justice. He is reported to have said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?" (Jn. 18:25). If "Resist not evil" is not a literal rule, what then is intended? The intention seems clearly to be to convey in a striking way the lesson that, so far from being swept away by the passion that springs up when one receives an ignominious insult, one should always be master of his own spirit. He should keep himself so under control as to be able to receive the insult again without being mastered by the desire for revenge. Understood in this way, the passage falls into harmony with the purpose of Jesus in the previous sections. It is not an external law for the subversion of society, but a light from above designed to illuminate and cleanse the human heart.

The last section of the "Royal Law" deals with the question of love and hate. "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor" is found in Lev. 19:18, where רֵעֵךְ, "neighbor", probably from a root רָעָה "associate with", means naturally one's associate. In Lev. 19:34 the law provides that the resident alien shall be as the homeborn and shall be loved as one's self. The obligation to hate one's enemy is not found in the Old Testament law, but such passages as Ps. 139:21: "Do not I hate them, O Yahweh, that hate thee?" certainly gave to the Jew a sacred precedent for hating his enemies. Ben Sira, ch. 18:13, implies that the law was so interpreted. He says: "The

mercy of man is toward his neighbor; but the mercy of the Lord is toward all flesh." The apocalyptic literature makes it clear that Israel had come to think of itself as pitted against the world, and it was but natural that hate against enemies should, in view of the precedent of the Psalter, be regarded as a sacred duty.

Again Jesus demands the cleansing of the spring of life at its source. Nothing poisons life like hate. It destroys the character and happiness of him who cherishes it. From hatred all crimes are born. Punishment of offenders that springs from hate destroys both the punished and the punisher. Jesus demands that enemies as well as friends shall be loved. The attitude toward enemies shall be one of prayer for their redemption. Such love would make all punishments redemptive in aim rather than punitive. Then as a conclusion to all the sections Jesus urges the imitation of God.

It should be noted that in none of these five sections does Jesus mention stealing or coveting, both of which are included in the Decalogue. One can see, however, that he did not need to do this, for the law itself had in the tenth commandment carried the roots of the eighth commandment back into the heart. In the five instances which Jesus treated he was but doing for the sins touched upon what the law itself had done for stealing. He did not need to mention this; he presupposes it.

According to this teaching of Jesus, then, it is wrong for an individual or a group of individuals to covet, steal, kill to gratify personal hate, or to lust, or have two standards of honor, to seek vengeance, or to hate. When his ideals control the peoples of the world, wars, oppression, crimes, and international injustice will vanish from the earth, and there will dawn an era of international, industrial, and social peace. The inner life of individuals will, under the influence of divine love, have opportunity to blossom into pure and happy character.

While this teaching of Jesus demands a type of life that would make crimes, individual and national, impossible, does it prohibit the punishment of crime in those who do not recognize his high demands? Does it demand that all instincts of self-preservation in individuals and in nations should be stifled? In reply it should be said that Jesus does brand as wrong punishment that springs from a desire for revenge; he does not prohibit

punishment that springs from loving, kindly motives of redemption, nor does he prohibit the dispassionate use of force to restrain a criminal, whether that criminal be a man or a nation. There is no word in the teaching of Jesus that indicates that a Christian is prohibited from employing force, even to the extreme, to deliver the helpless from a murderous brute, or that a Christian nation is prohibited from striking a nation that murderously strikes at the life of a weak and defenseless state.

The employment of force for these ends without hatred is most difficult—many will say, impossible. It is, however, not much more difficult than to engage in competitive business without hatred. Those who have caught the spirit of Jesus and would strive to lift the world to his ideal are faced in both fields with appalling difficulties. The difficulties are, however, no excuse for not making the attempt. That transformation which is to bring in the kingdom of God will not come by miracle or magic. It will come only by the processes of spiritual regeneration and evolution, social and international. It will not be hastened either by the withdrawal of good men from competitive business—thus leaving the helpless to the exploitation of conscienceless sharks—or by the withdrawal of Christian nations from the international vigilance committee—thus leaving small and defenseless nations to the violence of gigantic neighbors, drunk with brute power. Rather it is the duty of all who have been inspired with the ideal of Jesus to continue in the fray, and to seek to put the new wine into the old bottles until its ferment shall burst the bottles, and construct new containers more worthy of sons of God.

THE BASIS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ANTIMILITARISM

HENRY J. CADBURY

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

I

There has always been something romantic and impressive in the plain spoken opposition to war of the early Christian writers.¹ Their position has been set in bold relief by its contrast to the attitude of the church from the time of Constantine to the present day. But its chief distinction, as is perhaps clearer now than ever before, lies in its sane and wholesome basis and in its purity of motive and freedom from sentimentalism or dogma. The reasons for the antimilitarism of the early church were of course manifold and mixed. Some of them were perhaps temporary or insufficient. But viewed in the light of the environment in which they rose, and particularly of the militarism and of the pacifism of the present day, they offer many aspects of great interest and considerable weight.

So far as now appears from our records no precedent for the pacifism of the early church existed in the background of Christian origins. The Jewish nation as a whole, in spite of the prophetic dreams of peace, had resorted to the sword as quickly and as often as any ancient people, and in the second Christian generation had fought one of the bloodiest wars of history. Though frequently prudence dictated submission, and parties like the Pharisees for long intervals opposed and controlled the revolutionary violence of *sicarii* and zealots, there was no fundamental element of conscience or of religion in their attitude.

The apocalyptic of Judaism also led sometimes to a pacific quietism. Emphasizing the divine control of history and the inevitableness of the appointed times and seasons, apocalypse

¹ The extent to which early Christianity accepted or condemned war has been frequently estimated, though with rather different results. See, e.g., Harnack, *Militia Christi* (1905), Bigelmair, *Beteiligung der Christen am öffentlichen Leben*, pp. 164-201. The purpose of this study is not to estimate the numbers but to investigate the reasons of the antimilitarists in the first three centuries.

tended to discourage human efforts to secure the wished for blessings. The hand of Providence could not be wrested by force. At the same time wars both celestial and terrestrial were part of the furniture of apocalypse, and it was not difficult for the fanatical leaders of revolt to persuade their followers that the appointed time for action had come and that they were merely fulfilling the predictions of the prophets by leading out the forces of Judaism to new victories. Though the logical result of apocalypse was resignation and quiet waiting, its practical result was not infrequently the fanatical fatalism of violent and fruitless revolt.

The doctrine of non-resistance as a philosophy antedates the Christian era in many quarters. In China there was the philosophy of Lao Tze, with its clear advocacy of non-resentment. The Stoicism of the Hellenistic age taught the same philosophic calm. Only the second of these can have influenced directly the early Christians, and even that influence is most uncertain, as far as war is concerned. For the Christian, antimilitarism is not merely a policy of personal dealing, but is an established attitude of public affairs. It is not philosophic non-resistance nor religious quietism, it is a well-defined opposition to war as a system and to participation in war in any form. And the basis of this opposition is not to be found in any historic precedent or inheritance—it is, historically speaking, original with Christianity.²

II

It is well to recognize at the outset how far the early Christian attitude differed from the more superficial types of pacifism. In the first place it was not a mere regret or dislike for war. Most persons who approve of war or of certain wars or at least of one side of certain wars regret and abhor warfare keenly. Ancient times, like modern, regarded war as a calamity—along with earthquakes and plagues. But antiquity usually considered it equally unavoidable. The early church believed that wars were of human causation, and took its stand against them on that ground. This is all the more remarkable when we consider that

² Professor C. M. Case considers the early Christian church the first organized expression of passive resistance. He explains its origin "through the unconscious logic by which the mind seeks mental and moral consistency."

the New Testament not only failed to give any specific teaching on war, but even retained the apocalyptic prediction of wars and rumors of wars as part of the expected future. But live conscience always neglects fatalistic pessimism. As the early Christians were eager for the relief of poverty whenever opportunity offered, in spite of the Lord's statement "The poor ye have with you alway," so their opposition to war was undaunted by predictions of future wars. Necessity—whether divine or human—was never recognized as an excuse for engaging in war. Sharing with all men the sentiments of pity and regret for suffering and death, they boldly acted on these sentiments and refused at the risk of their own lives to share in inflicting such penalties upon others. Though with little influence in shaping the affairs of state, they insisted that their own personal conduct should clearly and consistently express their complete condemnation of the military system. As Tertullian says:

"A state of faith admits no plea of necessity, they are under no necessity to sin whose one necessity is that they do not sin. . . . For if one is pressed to the offering of sacrifice and the sheer denial of Christ by the necessity of torture or of punishment, yet discipline does not connive even at that necessity; because there is a higher necessity to avoid denying and to undergo martyrdom, than to escape from suffering and to render the homage required."³

Even the fact that other Christians felt no scruples at military service did not shake the pacifists' position. Each man must obey his own conscience. "They know what is expedient for them," replied Maximilian when reminded of the Christians in the armies of the emperors, "but I am a Christian, and I cannot do evil."⁴

It has been popularly assumed of these ancient as well as more modern Christian antimilitarists that their avoidance of war is a personal taboo of some kind; that they refuse to take part in the actual bloodshed, but otherwise can sanction and participate in the military system; that their conscientious objection is a matter of individual preference and of individual action only. Such an error easily arises in the case of objectors whose most obvious and striking objection is made in their own personal actions or refusal to act; but at least the early Christians were

³ Tertull., *De corona*, 11.

⁴ Ruinart, *Acta marty.* p. 341.

not limited to this form of protest. Although in many matters their habits and practices were only slightly removed from the type of abstinence that we call taboo, their opposition to war was much more thoroughgoing. For the objection of the early Christians was not merely to combatant service but to all participation in war. "We deem," writes Athenagoras of the gladiatorial games, "that to see a man put to death is much the same as killing him."⁵ Lactantius says of the just man that he considers it unlawful "not only himself to commit slaughter but to be present with those who do it, and to behold it."⁶ Tertullian takes the position of an absolutist. "When a man has become a believer," he says, "and faith has been sealed, there must either be an immediate abandonment (of military service), which has been the course with many, or all sorts of quibbling will have to be resorted to in order to avoid offending God."⁷ In his treatise on idolatry he distinguishes between the soldier becoming Christian and the Christian becoming soldier, and also between the officer, who had numerous idolatrous accessories, and the private "to whom there is no necessity for taking part in sacrifices and capital punishments." But his condemnation of war includes all:

"There is no agreement between the divine and the human sacrament, the standard of Christ and the standard of the devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness. One soul cannot be due to two masters—God and Caesar."⁸

Again it must be observed that the pacifism of the early Christians was not due to mere self-interest or cowardly prudence. Repeatedly they referred to their numbers and the possibility of securing their ends by insurrection and violence,⁹ and repeatedly they proved their courage, a courage more difficult than the sacrifice of battle, in the sacrifice of patient endurance in martyrdom, that a little violence might have averted. As Tertullian says:

"Banded together as we are, ever so ready to sacrifice our lives, what single case of revenge for injury are you able to point to, though if it were held right among us to repay evil by evil, a single night, with a torch

⁵ *Suppl.*, 35.

⁶ v. 18.

⁷ *De corona*, 11.

⁸ *De idol.* 19.

⁹ Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 34. Tertull., *Ad Scapulam*, 2.

or two, could achieve an ample vengeance? But away with the idea of a sect divine avenging itself by human fires; or shrinking from the sufferings in which it is tried. If we desired, indeed, to act the part of open enemies, not merely of secret avengers, would there be any lacking in strength, whether of numbers or resources? . . . For what wars should we not be fit, not eager, even with unequal forces, we who so willingly yield ourselves to the sword, if in our religion it were not counted better to be slain than to slay.' ¹⁰

It may also be supposed that the position of the early Christians was due to their negative, passive and ascetic tendencies. It is true that the early Christians did lay much emphasis on the negative and passive virtues. Patience is one of the favorite themes of the fathers. Indeed Lactantius deplores the overpraise of brute strength¹¹ and explicitly complains that the common standards of his day did not do justice to the self-control of non-resistance:

"Thus it comes to pass that a just man is an object of contempt to all; and because it will be thought that he is unable to defend himself, he will be regarded as slothful and inactive; but if anyone shall have avenged himself upon his enemy, he is judged a man of spirit and activity—all honor and reverence him." ¹²

There is on the other hand abundant evidence that the Christians also appreciated the positive and active qualities of courage, initiative and discipline.¹³ The terms of military service are constantly on their lips in metaphorical use, as Harnack has clearly shown in his monograph on the subject,¹⁴ and they are eager to emulate the martial virtues in their fight against sin and temptation. Indeed, such thoughts and phrases are particularly abundant in those very passages which condemn and contrast carnal warfare.¹⁵

"If," says Justin Martyr, "the soldiers . . . prefer their allegiance to their own life and parents and country and

¹⁰ *Apolog.* 37.

¹¹ *i.* 18.

¹² *vi.* 18.

¹³ e.g. 2 Tim. 2: 3 f.; Clem. Rom. 37.

¹⁴ *op. cit.*

¹⁵ E.g. Lact. vi. 20: "It shall not be lawful for the righteous man to engage in warfare, whose warfare is righteousness itself." Marcellus (in Ruinart, *Acta marty.* p. 344): "It is not becoming for a Christian to serve in secular engagements who is a soldier of Christ himself."

all kindred, though you can offer them nothing incorruptible, it were verily ridiculous if we, who earnestly long for incorruption, should not endure all things, in order to obtain what we desire from him who is able to grant it."¹⁶

That the early Christians did not construe non-resistance as a purely negative and passive virtue is also evident from many passages. "It is not limited," says Lactantius, "to this—that (a man) should not inflict injury, but that he should not avenge it when inflicted on himself."¹⁷ Indeed, it is not limited to refraining from revenge but expresses itself in deeds of active love, repaying in kindness. It means, Athenagoras explains, for men "instead of speaking ill of those who have reviled them—to abstain from which is, of itself, an evidence of no mean forbearance—to bless them and to pray for those who plot against their lives."¹⁸ The Christian, says Lactantius, "must diligently take care lest by any fault of his he should at any time make an enemy."¹⁹

Further we must observe that the objection to war of the writers we are quoting was not the superficial kind of pacifism that exists only in time of peace, that believes in peace only in the future, that justifies a present war by special pleading while condemning war in general. They did not even believe that a good cause justifies a war. They refused to draw distinctions between wars of aggression and wars of defense or revenge.

"What difference," asks Tertullian, "is there between provoker and provoked, except that the former is detected as prior in evil doing, but the latter as posterior? Yet each stands impeached of hurting a man in the eye of the Lord, who prohibits and condemns every wickedness. In evil doing there is no account taken of order, nor does place separate what similarity conjoins. And the principle is absolute—that evil is not to be repaid with evil. Like deed involves like merit. How shall we observe that principle, if on our loathing we shall not loathe revenge?"²⁰

III

Before considering more positively the grounds of early Christian antimilitarism, it is worth while to examine the way in which

¹⁶ *Apol.* I. 39.

¹⁷ *vi.* 18.

¹⁸ *Suppl.* 11.

¹⁹ *vi.* 18.

²⁰ *De patientia*, 10.

they met their opponents both within and without the church. For it is evident that they were criticised on many grounds, practical, religious and moral. Though their references to the whole subject are almost exclusively incidental comments, their extant writings provide nevertheless a remarkably clear impression of the spirit and tenor of the Christian replies to the vindicators of war.

The arguments from Scripture in favor of war sometimes used today were heard by the Christian pacifists of the third century, and they were answered by the forms of argument that were most usual and most cogent to the men of their time.

Chief among these were the arguments from the military history of the Old Testament where God is represented as commanding ruthless warfare and as participating in it himself. The old Jewish nationalism was so fully accepted by the early Church that the patriotic militarism of the Old Testament very nearly prevailed over Christian standards, as it did in such later eras as the crusades and the English commonwealth. Several methods were used to counteract it.

One was the extreme method of the Marcionites. Their standpoint is described by Harnack: They took issue with the Old Testament and rejected the God of Israel because he was warlike and therefore contradicted the Gospel. The God of the Old Testament, they explained, could not possibly be the father of Jesus Christ, for the latter was gracious and merciful, he brought peace and forbade strife, but the former was warlike, implacable and ruthless. Marcion showed by a series of contrasts between the Old Testament and the Gospel how different were the God of the Jews and Jesus Christ, and in these contrasts the chief point was the comparison between the acts of war of the God of the Jew and the gentleness of Jesus. "Without doubt," continues Harnack, "Marcion rightly grasped in its essentials the Christian conception of God. The idea of a development of the Jewish conception of God into the Christian conception was as remote from him as from his opponents, and so he was compelled to break with the antecedents of Christianity, and his catholic opponents were compelled to pervert the Christian conception of God with outgrown material. Both went astray, for no other solutions presented themselves. It will, however, forever remain a credit to the Marcionite church, which long survived, that it

preferred rather to reject the Old Testament than to obscure the conception of the Father of Jesus Christ by inserting characteristics of a warlike God."²¹

The orthodox Church followed less heroic methods of reconciling the Old Testament with Christianity. One was the allegorical method, so usual in all Scripture exegesis, and specially applicable to such stories because of the stereotyped use of the metaphor of Christian soldiers. The wars of the Jews against the heathen were symbols of the Christian fight against sin.

Origen illustrates this method, especially in his commentaries on Numbers and Joshua. The wars there described are types of the battles against sin. The wars which the Old Testament relates, from which the heretics infer that the God of the Old Testament was a warlike and cruel God, must be understood spiritually, like Matthew 11:12.²² Origen says:

"Unless they had waged those carnal wars as a figure of spiritual wars, never, I believe, would the books of Jewish history have been handed down by the apostles for reading in the churches to the disciples of Christ, who came to teach peace. Therefore the apostle, knowing that carnal wars were no longer to be waged by us, but contests of the soul were to be carried on against spiritual adversaries, like a captain of the army gives his command to the soldiers of Christ, saying, 'Put on the whole armor of God,' etc. (quoting Eph. 6: 11 ff.)."²³

This is the method of Tertullian in meeting the arguments of Marcion himself. Referring to such passages as Psalm 45: 3, he tells him that Christ's sword is a spiritual one, and that he "was to wage a spiritual warfare against spiritual enemies, in spiritual campaigns, and with spiritual weapons." From the story of the "Legion" of demons in the gospels "you learn that Christ must be understood to be the exterminator of spiritual foes, who wields spiritual arms, and fights in spiritual strife."²⁴

A second orthodox correction of Old Testament militarism was on the basis of priority and subsequent annulment. This attitude also was easily accepted by the Church which had come to believe that many laws and customs of the old dispensation were supplanted by the new covenant of Christ. This too is the

²¹ *Militia Christi*, 25.

²² Orig., in *Jesu Nave*, homil. 12, cf. homil. 11.

²³ *Ibid.* homil. 15.

²⁴ *Adv. Marc.* iii. 14, iv. 20.

method of Tertullian, who is evidently meeting citations of Old Testament warriors and even of soldiers and centurions mentioned in the New Testament, when he says:

"Moses carried a rod, and Aaron wore a buckle, and John (the Baptist) is girt with leather, and Joshua the son of Nun leads a line of march; and the People warred: if it pleases you to sport with the subject. But how will a Christian man war, nay, how will he serve even in peace, without a sword, which the Lord has taken away? For albeit soldiers had come unto John and had received the formula of their rule; albeit likewise a centurion had believed, still the Lord afterward (*postea*) in disarming Peter unbelted every soldier. No dress is lawful among us, if assigned to any unlawful action.'²⁵

In Celsus Origen also met practically the Marcionite position.²⁶ His answer is along much the same line. For the Jews wars were right and proper; now however the same Providence has arranged other laws and provisions for the safety of Christians, abolishing the whole Jewish state:

"There is no discrepancy, then, between the God of the Gospel and the God of the Law, even when we take literally the precept regarding the blow on the face." (See Lam. 3: 27, 28, 30.) "So then we infer that neither Jesus nor Moses taught falsely. The Father in sending Jesus did not forget the commands which he had given Moses: He did not change his mind, condemn his own laws, and send by his messenger counter instructions.'"

"In the case of the ancient Jews, who had a land and form of government of their own, to take from them the right of making war upon their enemies, of fighting for their country . . . would be to subject them to sudden and utter destruction whenever the enemy fell upon them. And that same Providence which of old gave the law and has now given the Gospel of Jesus Christ, not wishing the Jewish state to continue longer, has destroyed their city and their temple . . . And as it has destroyed these things, not wishing that they should continue longer, in like manner it has extended day by day the Christian religion, so that it is now preached everywhere with boldness, and that in spite of the numerous obstacles which oppose the spread of Christ's teaching in the world.'²⁷

The New Testament also contains a few passages which the defenders of war could use to their purpose. The soldiers who

²⁵ *De idol.* 19.

²⁶ *C. Cels.* vii. 25: "There is reason to believe that Celsus produces the objections which he has heard from those who wish to make a difference between the God of the Gospel and the God of the Law.'"

²⁷ *C. Cels.* vii, 25, 26.

interviewed John the Baptist and the centurion whom Jesus commended were mentioned by Tertullian in the passage just quoted. They have been used repeatedly since. Another passage is Christ's command to buy a sword.²⁸ It evidently caused no little difficulty to literalist interpreters of Scripture. Origen comments on it thus:

"If any looking to the letter and not understanding the will of the word shall sell his bodily garment and buy a sword, taking the words of Christ contrary to his will, he shall perish; but concerning which sword he speaks, it is not proper here to mention."²⁹

The saying of Christ, "I came not to send peace but a sword,"³⁰ when removed from its context could serve a similar purpose, but its true emphasis on sufferings undergone rather than inflicted evidently was too clearly realized in the persecutions of the early Church to permit of misunderstanding.³¹

Of course more far-fetched sanctions of war from the Scriptures were invented. One of these would be the argument from silence. Tertullian mentions those who did not share his opposition to the gladiatorial games, because the Scriptures did not plainly say in so many words, "Thou shalt not attend the games."³² The same argument could be used for war.³³

IV

The unpracticalness of the Christian position was vigorously urged by Celsus, the famous anti-Christian writer of the second century, and Origen deals with this point fully at the very close

²⁸ Lk. 22: 36.

²⁹ *In Matt.* xix.

³⁰ Mt. 10: 34.

³¹ Cf. Tertull., *Ad. Marc.* iii. 14.

³² *De spectac.* 3.

³³ As passages like the parable of the shepherd's sacrifice are used to-day to justify military force (Canon Wilson, *Hibbert Journal*, xiii, July 1915, pp. 839 ff.; H. E. Fosdick, *The Challenge of the Present Crisis*), so in antiquity. Referring to such use of Zech. 9:16 Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 39) says: "And that you may not suppose that these predictions refer to such sufferings as await them from so many wars with foreigners, consider the nature (of the sufferings) . . . No one gives the name of sheep to those who fall in battle with arms in hand, and while repelling force with force; but only to those who are slain, yielding themselves up in their own place of duty with patience rather than fighting in self defense."

of his great reply. Celsus evidently believed that civilization rests on force, and that kings rule by divine right, and he challenged the Christians with the question as to "what would happen if all the Romans were persuaded to adopt the principles of the Christians" and show the same indifference to the military requirements of the government and the same refusal to worship the monarch. "For," he says, "if all were to do the same as you, there would be nothing to prevent his being left in utter solitude and desertion, and the affairs of the earth would fall into the hands of the wildest and most lawless barbarians; and then there would no longer remain among men any of the glory of your religion or of the true wisdom."³⁴ To this Origen replies in part as follows:

"Would that all were to follow my example in rejecting the maxim of Homer, maintaining the divine origin of the kingdom, and observing the precept to honor the king! In these circumstances the king will not 'be left in utter solitude and desertion,' neither will 'the affairs of the world fall into the hands of the most impious and wild barbarians.' For if, in the words of Celsus, 'they do as I do,' then it is evident that even the barbarians, when they yield obedience to the word of God, will become most obedient to the law, and most humane; and every form of religion will be destroyed except the religion of Christ which will alone prevail. And indeed it will one day triumph, as its principles take possession of the minds of men more and more every day."³⁵

And again:

"But if all the Romans, according to the supposition of Celsus, embrace the Christian faith, they will when they pray overcome their enemies; or rather they will not war at all, being guarded by that divine power which promised to save entire cities for the sake of fifty just persons. For men of God are assuredly the salt of the earth: they preserve the order of the world; and society is held together as long as the salt is uncorrupted."³⁶

Replying further to those whom Origen calls the "enemies of our faith who require us to bear arms for the commonwealth and to slay men," he writes:

"None fight better for the king than we do. We do not indeed fight under him, although he require it; but we fight in his behalf, forming a special army—an army of piety—by offering our prayers to God."

³⁴ Origen, *C. Cels.* viii. 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 68.

³⁶ *Ibid.* viii. 70.

"And if Celsus would have us lead armies in defence of our country, let him know that we do this too, and that not for the purpose of being seen by men, or vainglory. For 'in secret,' and in our own hearts, there are prayers which ascend as from priests in behalf of our fellow citizens. And Christians are benefactors of their country more than others. For they train up citizens, and inculcate piety to the Supreme Being; and they promote those whose lives in the smallest cities have been good and worthy to a divine and heavenly city.'³⁷

Celsus also believed that wars were inevitable. Of the suggestion "that all the inhabitants of Asia, Europe and Africa, Greeks and barbarians, all to the uttermost ends of the earth, were to come under one law," he says, "Anyone who thinks this possible knows nothing." Origen's reply here is a brief statement of his faith in God and in men. The problem is not one of biological necessity, but it is a psychological or spiritual problem. He says: "We hold that in the mind there is no evil so strong that it may not be overcome by the Supreme Word and God."³⁸

The same objection is met repeatedly with the answer from experience. In the first place, the Christians themselves had illustrated the possibility of freeing frail human characters from all the seeds of war. Their own transformation is their greatest evidence. Justin writes:

"We who hated and destroyed one another and on account of their different manners would not live with men of a different tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and endeavor to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the good precepts of Christ."³⁹

"And we who formerly used to murder one another, do not only now refrain from making war upon our enemies, but also, that we may not lie or deceive our examiners, willingly die confessing Christ."⁴⁰

Even the lowest classes of society, according to Athenagoras, had proved such conversions were genuine and possible:

"Among us you will find (even) uneducated persons and artisans, and old women, who if they are unable in words to prove the benefit of our doctrine, yet by their deeds exhibit the benefit arising from their persuasion of its truth; they do not rehearse speeches, but exhibit good works;

³⁷ *Ibid.* viii. 73, 74.

³⁸ *Ibid.* viii. 72.

³⁹ *I Apol.* 14.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 39; cf. *Dial.* 110.

when struck, they do not strike again; when robbed, they do not go to law; they give to those that ask of them, and love their neighbors as themselves.'⁴¹

In the second place the Christians in arguing that wars were not inevitable pointed to the general growth of peace in the empire. Transformation was not merely attested in a few cases. According to the Christians the cases had been so numerous as to affect the whole average of society and to be already reducing the spirit and influence of militarism. Irenaeus says:

"The law of liberty, that is, the word of God, preached by the apostles throughout all the earth, caused such a change in the state of things, that these nations did form the swords and war lances into plowshares, and changed them into pruninghooks for reaping the corn, that is, into instruments for peaceful purposes, and that they are now unaccustomed to fighting, but when smitten offer also the other cheek."⁴²

"It is," says Tertullian, to the emperors, "the immense number of Christians which makes your enemies so few—almost all the inhabitants of your various cities being followers of Christ."⁴³ Arnobius not only makes the same statement but draws a lesson from it:

"It would not be difficult to prove that after the name of Christ was heard in the world, not only were [wars] not increased, but they were even in a great measure diminished by the restraining of furious passions. For since we, a numerous band of men as we are, have learned from his teaching and his laws that evil ought not to be requited with evil, that it is better to suffer wrong than to inflict it—that we should rather shed our own blood than stain our hands and our consciences with that of another,—an ungrateful world is now for a long period enjoying a benefit from Christ, inasmuch as by his means the rage of savage ferocity has been softened, and has begun to withhold hostile hands from the blood of a fellow creature."

"But if all, without exception, who feel that they are men not in form of body, but in power of reason, would lend an ear for a little to his salutary and peaceful rules, and would not, in the pride and arrogance of enlightenment, trust to their own senses rather than to his admonitions, the whole world, having turned the use of steel into more peaceful occupations, would now be living in the most placid tranquillity and would unite in blessed harmony, maintaining inviolate the sanctity of treaties."⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Suppl.* 11.

⁴² *Adv. haeres.* iv. 34, 4.

⁴³ *Apol.* 37.

⁴⁴ *Adv. Gentes*, I. 6.

In fact according to Origen the whole Roman empire was a league of nations divinely planned for the elimination of international war:

"In the days of Jesus, righteousness arose and fulness of peace; it began with his birth. God prepared the nations for his teachings, by causing the Roman emperor to rule over all the world; there was no longer to be a plurality of kingdoms, else would the nations have been strangers to one another, and so the apostles would have found it harder to carry out the task laid on them by Jesus, when he said, Go and teach all nations. It is well known that the birth of Jesus took place in the reign of Augustus, who fused and federated the numerous peoples upon the earth into a single empire. A plurality of kingdoms would have been an obstacle to the spread of the doctrine of Jesus throughout all the world, not merely for the reasons already mentioned, but also because the nations would in that event have been obliged to go to war in defence of their native lands . . . How then could this doctrine of peace, which does not even permit vengeance upon an enemy, have prevailed throughout the world, had not the circumstances of the world passed everywhere into the milder phase at the advent of Jesus."⁴⁵

While claiming that the elimination of war was a human possibility, the Christians did not fail to appreciate that their standards were both new and difficult. The thought of revenge is instinctive and the limitation of good will to those who love us is natural and universal. As Christ said, Even sinners do good to those that do good to them.

"Our religion," says Tertullian, "commands us to love even our enemies, and to pray for those who persecute us, aiming at a perfection all its own, and seeking in its disciples something of a higher type than the commonplace goodness of the world. For all love those who love them; it is peculiar to Christians alone to love those who hate them."⁴⁶ And elsewhere, he declares, "Christ plainly teaches a new kind of patience, when he actually prohibits the reprisals which the creator permitted in requiring an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."⁴⁷ And again, "God certainly forbids us to hate even with a reason for our hating; for he commands us to love our enemies."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Origen, *C. Cels.* ii. 30 (quoted from Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, i. 20).

⁴⁶ *Ad Scap.* 1.

⁴⁷ *Adv. Marc.* iv. 16.

⁴⁸ *De spectac.* 16.

Another charge made against the Christians was that of disloyalty. This applied not only to their pacifism but to their whole opposition to idolatry and to participation in civil duties. In spite of Paul's words about obedience to rulers and Jesus' famous saying about rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, they did not interpret their duty as being unqualified obedience to the emperor—whether he was right, or whether he was wrong. For, as Tertullian puts it, "if all things are Caesar's, what will belong to God?"⁴⁹ The precepts of loyalty to state they applied only to cases where conscience showed no conflict with loyalty to God. In other cases they preferred to obey God rather than men,⁵⁰ and to take the consequences.

The plea of national patriotism Lactantius meets fairly and squarely. Referring to the saying of a pagan writer, "Reckon the interests of our country as having the first place," he writes:

"When the concord of men is taken away, virtue has no existence at all; for what are the interests of our country but the inconveniences of another state or nation? That is, to extend the boundaries which are violently taken from others, to increase the power of the state, to improve the revenues—all which things are not virtues but the overthrowing of virtues. For, in the first place, the union of human society is taken away, the abstaining from the property of another is taken away; lastly justice itself is taken away, which is unable to bear the tearing asunder of the human race, and wherever arms have glittered, must be banished and exterminated from thence. This saying of Cicero is true: 'But they who say that regard is to be had to citizens but that it is not to be had to foreigners, these destroy the common society of the human race; and when this is removed, beneficence, liberality, kindness and justice are entirely taken away.' For how can a man be just who injures, who hates, who despoils, who puts to death? Yet they who strive to be serviceable to their country do all these things; for they are ignorant of what this being serviceable is, who think nothing useful, nothing advantageous, but that which can be held by the hand; and this alone cannot be held, because it may be snatched away.

"Whoever then has gained for his country these 'goods,' that is, who by the overthrow of cities and the destruction of nations has filled the treasury with money, and has taken lands and enriched his countrymen—he is extolled with praises to the heaven; in him there is said to be the greatest and perfect virtue. And this is the error not only of the people and the ignorant, but also of philosophers, who even give precepts for injustice, lest folly and wickedness should be wanting in discipline and

⁴⁹ *De idol.* 15.

⁵⁰ *Ac.* 5: 29; *Orig. C. Cels.* viii. 26; *Tertull. Apol.* 45: *Deum non proconsulum timentes.* Of such views Celsus (*apud Orig., op. cit.,* viii. 2) says, "This is the language of sedition, and is only used by those who separate themselves and stand aloof from all human society."

authority. Therefore, where they are speaking of the duties relating to warfare, all that discourse is accommodated neither to justice nor to true virtue."⁵¹

Thus Lactantius challenges that materialistic and militaristic philosophy that interprets national interest in terms of so-called "military necessity."

Even the plea of justice in retaliation or self-defense was heard and answered by the Christians. Lactantius says: "It is not less the part of a bad man to return an injury than to inflict it . . . For he who endeavors to return an injury, desires to imitate the very person by whom he has been injured."⁵² "In evil doing," says Tertullian, "there is no account taken of order nor does place separate what similarity conjoins."⁵³ "It is not enough," writes Athenagoras, "to be just—for justice is to return like for like—but it is incumbent on us to be good and patient of evil."⁵⁴

V

In treating now the reasons for the Christians' opposition to war considerations of space prevent any elaborate examination of those objections which were not to war itself but to its accessories. Its objectionable associations were numerous and serious. They are well summed up in Harnack's list, which after naming as the first objection which military service presented to early Christians that it was war service and that Christianity rejected entirely war and bloodshed, adds the following:

2. The officers had occasionally to pronounce capital sentences, and the common soldiers had to perform all that was ordered them.

3. The unconditional military oath conflicted with the unconditional obligation to God.

4. The emperor worship nowhere was more prominent than in the army and was almost unavoidable for each individual soldier.

5. The officers had to offer sacrifice, and the common soldiers had to participate in it.

6. The military standards seemed heathen *sacra*; honoring them was therefore like idolatry. Likewise the military honors (the chaplet, etc.) appeared idolatrous.

⁵¹ vi. 6.

⁵² vi. 18.

⁵³ *De patientia*, 10.

⁵⁴ *Suppl.* 34.

7. The conduct of soldiers in peace (extortion, lack of restraint, etc.) was opposed to Christian ethics.

8. Also the traditional rough play and jests in the army (the Mime in the army, etc.) were offensive in themselves and were associated in part with idolatry and heathen festivals.⁵⁵

The first ground for Christian opposition to war itself was the very obvious likeness of war to murder. Not only the commandment of the decalogue but the universal conscience of mankind was the ground on which the early Christians based this objection.⁵⁶ The current bimetalism of morals which condoned wholesale slaughter, but condemned individual murder, was frequently commented on. "The whole world," writes Cyprian to Donatus, "is wet with mutual blood, and murder, which, in the case of an individual, is admitted to be a crime, is called a virtue when it is committed wholesale. Impunity is claimed for the wicked deeds, not on the plea that they are guiltless, but because the cruelty is perpetrated on a grand scale."⁵⁷ Lactantius says: "If anyone has slain a single man he is regarded as contaminated and wicked, nor do they think it lawful for him to be admitted to this earthly abode of the gods (i. e. the temples). But he who has slaughtered countless thousands of men, has inundated plains with blood and infected rivers, is not only admitted to the temple but even into heaven. If this is the virtue that renders us immortal," declares Lactantius, "I for my part should prefer to die, rather than to become the cause of destruction to as many as possible."⁵⁸ And again:

"When God forbids us to kill, he not only prohibits us from open violence, which is not allowed even by the public laws, but he warns us against the compulsion of those things which are esteemed lawful among men. Therefore, with regard to this precept of God, there ought to be no exception at all; but that it is always unlawful to put a man to death whom God willed to be a sacred animal."⁵⁹

Another cause of early Christian pacifism was their strong sense of brotherhood, not with their fellows only but with

⁵⁵ *Militia Christi*, pp. 46 ff.

⁵⁶ The association of war and murder is found as early as the Epistle of James (4: 1, 2) and the address of Tatian to the Greeks (10): "You wish to make war, and you take Apollo, the counsellor of murder."

⁵⁷ *Ad Donatum*, 6.

⁵⁸ i. 18.

⁵⁹ vi. 20.

foreigners and aliens. They rose above national divisions. "We acknowledge," writes Tertullian, "one all-embracing commonwealth,—the world."⁶⁰ The *Letter to Diognetus* says:

"Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind either in locality or in speech or in customs. For they dwell not somewhere in cities of their own, neither do they use some different language, nor practice an extraordinary manner of life . . . They dwell in their own countries, but only as sojourners. They bear their share in all things as citizens, and they endure all hardships as strangers. Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every fatherland is foreign."⁶¹

This cosmopolitanism had in the Christian Church a deep religious basis. It was the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In Christ, declares Paul, there is no difference. And the philosophic democracy of his sermon at Athens rings out again in such a passage as this from Lactantius:

"For if we all derive our origin from one man whom God created, we are plainly of one blood: and therefore it must be considered the greatest wickedness to hate a man, even though guilty. On which account God has enjoined that enmities are never to be contracted by us, but that they are always to be removed, so that we soothe those who are our enemies, by reminding them of their relationship. Likewise if we are all inspired and animated by one God, what else are we than brothers? And, indeed, the more closely united, because we are united in soul rather than in body. Accordingly Lucretius does not err when he says: In short we are all sprung from a heavenly seed—all have that same father. Therefore, they are to be accounted as savage beasts who injure man; who in opposition to every law and right of human nature, plunder, torture, slay and banish. On account of this relationship of brotherhood, God teaches us never to do evil, but always good."⁶²

Tertullian in one of the few passages where pacifists appeal to sentiment reminds the soldier of what his victory means:

"Is the laurel of triumph made of leaves, or of corpses? Is it adorned with ribbons or with tombs? Is it bedewed with ointments or with the tears of wives and mothers?—it may be of some Christians too; for Christ is also among the barbarians."⁶³

A further ground of antimilitarism was practical. The Christians were well aware of the relative inefficiency of the methods

⁶⁰ *Apol.* 38.

⁶¹ *c.* 5.

⁶² *vi.* 10.

⁶³ *De corona*, 12.

of force. This was clear to them from experience in personal relations—a doctrine that they inherited from the Stoics and even Socrates,⁶⁴ and particularly from their own special experience in persecution.

In many passages Lactantius expounds the futility of force and the invincibility of non-resistance and good will. "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good," is the burden of his message. He says:

"Let us suppose that this duty of defending the goods belongs only to the good man. Yet to undertake it is easy; to fulfil it is difficult; because, when you have committed yourself to a contest and an encounter, the victory is placed at the disposal of God, not in your own power. And for the most part the wicked are more powerful both in number and in combination than the good, so that it is not so much virtue which is necessary to overcome them as good fortune. Is anyone ignorant how often the better and the juster side has been overcome?"⁶⁵

"If you meet injustice with patience . . . it will immediately be extinguished as though you should pour water upon a fire. But if that injustice which provokes opposition has met with impatience equal to itself, as though overspread with oil, it will excite so great a conflagration that no stream can extinguish it but only the shedding of blood."⁶⁶

"Therefore it is not the part of a wise and good man to wish to contend, since to conquer is not in our power and every contest is doubtful, but it is the part of a wise and excellent man not to wish to remove his adversary, which cannot be done without guilt and danger, but to put an end to the contest itself, which may be done with advantage and with justice."⁶⁷

Especially striking is the statement Lactantius makes about spreading religious ideas by force; for he evidently recognized that the more just and noble and spiritual are the ideals which we would maintain and defend, the more the use of force not only fails to spread them to others but even denies and destroys them in ourselves. Writing of the teachers of non-Christian philosophy, he says:

"There is no occasion for violence and injury, for religion can not be imposed by force; the matter must be carried on by words rather than by blows, that the will may be affected. Let them unsheathe the weapon of their intellect; if their system is true, let it be asserted. . . . For they are aware that there is nothing among men more excellent than religion, and that this ought to be defended with the whole of our power; but as

⁶⁴ E.g. Xen., *Mem.* I. 2. 10.

⁶⁵ vi. 6.

⁶⁶ vi. 18.

⁶⁷ vi. 18.

they are deceived in the matter of the religion itself, so also are they in the manner of its defense. For religion is to be defended, not by putting to death, but by dying; not by cruelty, but by patient endurance; not by guilt, but by good faith; for the former belong to evils, but the latter to goods; and it is necessary for that which is good to have place in religion, and not that which is evil. For if you wish to defend religion by bloodshed, and by tortures, and by guilt, it will no longer be defended, but will be polluted and profaned. For nothing is so much a matter of free will as religion.'⁶⁸

But to prove the effectiveness of their doctrine of collective non-resistance and to meet the objections of all who called it unpractical, the Christians had the best argument in their own experience. When they were few, they did not fear annihilation but rather throve under persecution, and when they became numerous and able to resist they still found the same to be true.

"It is evident," writes Justin in the second century, "that no one can terrify or subdue us who have believed in Jesus over all the world, . . . but the more such things (persecutions and deaths) happen to us, the more do others and in larger numbers become faithful, and worshippers of God through the name of Jesus."⁶⁹

Cyprian writes:

"The adversary (persecution, or the persecutor) had leapt forth to disturb the camp of Christ with violent terror . . . but he perceived that the soldiers of Christ are now watching, and stand sober and armed for the battle; that they cannot be conquered, but that they can die; and that by this very fact they are invincible, that they do not fear death; that they do not in turn assail their assailants, since it is not lawful for the innocent even to kill the guilty; but they readily deliver up both their lives and their blood."⁷⁰

And Origen says:

"Since it was the purpose of God that the nations should receive the benefits of Christ's teaching, all the devices of men against Christians have been brought to nought; for the more that kings and rulers and peoples have persecuted them everywhere the more have they increased in number and grown in strength."⁷¹

From its very beginning Christianity had been the assurance of an idealist minority. Jesus himself had lived and died for

⁶⁸ v. 20.

⁶⁹ *Dial.* 110.

⁷⁰ *Ep.* 56. 2.

⁷¹ *C. Cels.* vii. 26.

ideals that few could understand. When tempted to rely on political or military force he sternly refused, and died apparently in hopeless defeat. His followers were outnumbered and hated. Their standards of conduct seemed too ideal and unpractical, yet they had the courage to live them out in a world not ready to receive them. The inner and outer promptings to compromise they refused to obey and became to a striking extent an oasis of righteousness and peace in a world of iniquity and discord. And however unpractical their pacific and ideal method may have seemed to their contemporaries, few would venture to assert that it had not been justified.

While the success of this method was not so patent to them as it is to us in the light of a longer historical perspective, there can be no doubt that in their patient endurance of persecution they were not merely taking counsel of their fears. They were aware of the moral power and influence of unflinching passive resistance. "And I, if I be lifted up, shall draw all men unto me," was the experience of their founder. The blood of the martyrs is indeed the seed of the church. As Tertullian says, "Dying we conquer. The moment we are crushed, that moment we go forth victorious."⁷²

VI

An important basis of the early Christian renunciation of warfare was in the sayings of Jesus. The familiar proof texts of non-resistance, of love of enemies, appeared plain and indisputable arguments to literalists and to many Christians who though not bound by literal texts believed these texts expressed the true standards of Christ's conduct. They did not regard them merely as counsels of perfection, nor as unpractical ideals, nor as standards for personal conduct as contrasted with national policy. Military efficiency requires actual killing. How can one love his enemies as Christ commanded and at the same time strive to destroy them! "In disarming Peter," says Tertullian, "Christ unbelted every soldier."

But the early Christians had more than a few literal sayings of Jesus to depend on. The whole spirit of his teaching appeared to them as of the same tenor and temper as the non-resistance

⁷² *Apol.* 50.

which he commanded. There is clear and decisive evidence of the emphasis which the early Church placed on this phase of his teaching and character in the writings of the second century. It is here probably that the fundamental basis of early Christian antimilitarism is to be found,—in the almost unconscious influence of certain pacific qualities in Christ's character, and in the conscious effort to secure these traits in themselves and to make them fundamental in their conception of God. Beneath the controversies on the basis of expediency or popular morality there lay embedded in the Christian church an intuitive spirit—pacific without being quietistic, patient but not from cowardice, generous but not self-conscious, kind but not indifferent to justice.

In the Gospels themselves, even in the earliest collection of Jesus' sayings (commonly called Q), there is abundant evidence that the first custodians of evangelic tradition appreciated this element. They have preserved many evidently authentic sayings of Jesus in which the usual standards of self-seeking, self-assertion, resentment and violence are explicitly reversed. The revolutionary principle of the primacy of service is announced. No subject of conduct in all the Gospel sources receives more emphasis than forgiveness. Especially in the Gospel of Luke both the teaching and the actions of Jesus are focused on the revelation of his good will. Giving is emphasized rather than receiving.⁷³ Forgiveness is repeatedly emphasized by parable and by example—even by Jesus himself upon the cross. To emphasize the importance of conciliation and good will, Jesus appeals to common prudence and the fear of consequences and above all to the example of God himself. With a boldness and definiteness that are sometimes astonishing Jesus bases these ideals of character on the character of God as he knows it. Men are to be like God—that is the simple theological basis of Jesus' ethics. It is worth while to notice the one subject in connection with which Jesus makes this appeal to the imitation of God. It is indiscriminate love:

“But I say unto you, love your enemies and pray for those that persecute you, in order that ye may become sons of your father in heaven, for he makes his sun to rise on the evil and on the good and rains upon the just and the unjust.”⁷⁴

⁷³ Compare the striking logion of Acts 20: 35 from the same evangelist.

⁷⁴ Mt. 6: 44 ff.

"But love your enemies and do *them* good and lend hoping for return from none, and your reward will be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most High, because he is good to the ungrateful and to the evil. Be ye therefore merciful as your father is merciful."⁷⁵

The only other passage where the phrase "sons of God" is so used is strangely enough the *beati pacifici*: "Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the sons of God."⁷⁶

The letters of Paul are notoriously lacking in reference to the ethical teaching or standards of the historical Jesus. At the same time the few that there are all point in the same direction:⁷⁷

"For Christ also pleased not himself; but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me."⁷⁸

"Though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich."⁷⁹

"Existing in the form of God, (he) counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross."⁸⁰

Paul elsewhere refers to tolerance and concord "according to Christ Jesus" (Ro. 15:5-7), to the meekness and gentleness of Christ (2 Co. 10:1), to the arbitrating "peace of Christ" (Col. 3:15), and possibly (1 Tim. 1:16) to his "longsuffering," to his forgiveness (Col. 3:13), and love.⁸¹ Even among the manifold and usually formal theological explanations of Christ in Paul's letters, at least one important group of passages dwells upon the same quality of Divine love and forgiveness which is prominent in the Gospels. The key-word of these passages is *καταλλαγή*, usually translated "reconciliation." The meaning of this word is more appropriately expressed by "conciliation."

⁷⁵ Lk. 6:35 f.

⁷⁶ Mt. 5:9.

⁷⁷ Cf. Morgan, *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, p. 40: "When he appeals to Christ's example, it is invariably those central traits of humility, unselfishness and self renunciation that he has in view."

⁷⁸ Ro. 15:3; cf. 1 Co. 10:33; 11:1.

⁷⁹ 2 Co. 8:9.

⁸⁰ Phil. 2:5 ff.

⁸¹ Eph. 5:2: "Walk in love, even as Christ also loved you, and gave himself up for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for an odor of a sweet smell."

It is an attribute of God, and applies to the self-giving, spontaneous, winning love of God—such as pictured by Christ in the portrait of the prodigal's father. It is a love full of the highest ethical qualities and with supreme moral power. The passages read thus:

"The love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which was given unto us. For while we were yet weak, in due season Christ died for the ungodly. For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: for peradventure for the good man some would even dare to die. But God commendeth his own love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. . . . If while we were enemies we were *reconciled* to God through the death of his Son, much more being *reconciled* shall we be saved by his life; and not only so but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the *reconciliation*." ⁷⁸²

"But all things are of God, who *reconciled* us to himself through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of *reconciliation*; to wit, that God was in Christ *reconciling* the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses, and having committed unto us the word of *reconciliation*.

"We are ambassadors therefore on behalf of Christ, as though God were entreating by us: we beseech you on behalf of Christ be ye *reconciled* to God." ⁷⁸³

This simple Christological and soteriological thought of Paul's agrees with the ethical principles of Jesus. But here Jesus himself is made a third term in the equation of character between men and God. Here once more is the spontaneous, self-giving love of God not only for the good, but for the unthankful and the evil. It is a love for enemies and not for friends. As another writer puts it, its merit is in its priority; "he first loved us," while we were yet sinners. It is an uncalculating love, indifferent to past trespasses. At the same time the love is both effective and concrete. Its embodiment is in Christ and the cross. "God was in Christ," and he wins men to God and to righteousness. The love of Christ constrains us to a life not lived for ourselves.

Further it is the standard for men. God commends his own love to us. He has given to us the ministry of such loving reconciliation. We are now ambassadors on behalf of Christ as though God were entreating by us.

When we pass from the Gospels and Paul to the later Christian

⁸² Ro. 5: 6-8, 10, 11.

⁸³ 2 Co. 5: 18-20.

literature the emphasis becomes even more clear and definite. The allusions to Jesus' character and the quotations from his sayings are as in Paul quite few, but they are significant. They have chiefly the same themes—patience, forgiveness, love, kindness in judgment and treatment of others, freedom from resentment, resistance and reproach.

We have already quoted freely from the apologists and later writers. It must suffice now to confine ourselves to the few earliest records and not pass beyond the limits of the Apostolic Fathers. There is only one saying of Jesus recorded as such in the New Testament outside the Gospels. It is Acts 20:35: "Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive." There are only three formal quotations from Jesus' ethical teachings in the Apostolic Fathers. They all have an introductory formula similar to that in Acts. One of them is the familiar saying, "Woe to that man [by whom offences come]. It were better for him if he had never been born than that he should make one of my elect stumble," etc. Clement of Rome uses it to condemn those who are responsible for "the strifes and tumults and divisions and schisms and wars" among the Corinthians.⁸⁴ The other two are similar to each other and to familiar parts of the sermon on the mount: "Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy;
Forgive, that it may be forgiven you;
As ye do, so shall it be done to you;
As ye judge, so shall ye be judged;
As ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown to you;
With what measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured to you."⁸⁵

And:

"Judge not, that ye be not judged;
Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you;
Be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy;
With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. . . .
Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God."⁸⁶

Other ethical sayings of Jesus are echoed though not quoted in the Apostolic Fathers,⁸⁷ but they too emphasize the same

⁸⁴ Clem. Rom. 46.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 13.

⁸⁶ Polyc. 2.

⁸⁷ See *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, by the Oxford Society of Historical Theology.

theme. Thus Ignatius warns Polycarp to be "wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove,"⁸⁸ while Polycarp writes to his friends at Philippi, "If we entreat the Lord to forgive us, we ought also ourselves to forgive."⁸⁹ and he commands them, "Pray for those that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross."⁹⁰

The appeals to the example of Christ are almost exclusively to his humility and patience. He became, says Polycarp, the servant of all. This is why Isaiah 53 is a favorite description of him.⁹¹ It is quoted in full in Clement's epistle⁹²—the longest quotation in the letter—as the Holy Spirit's declaration concerning him. It was the text form which Philip in Acts preached Christianity to the Ethiopian eunuch. It is quoted in Barnabas⁹³ together with the similar passage in Is. 50:6-9. It is in the mind of the writer of 1 Peter in describing as an example for men the sufferings of Christ:

"Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did not sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: who his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed."⁹⁴

This last passage appears in turn to be used by Polycarp when he writes:

"Let us then continually persevere in our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ, who bore our sins in his own body on the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth, but endured all things for us, that we might live in him. Let us then be imitators of his patience; and if we suffer for his name's sake let us glorify him. He has set us this example in himself, and we have believed that such is the case."⁹⁵

Similar in effect, though without the Scripture reference, is the passage of Ignatius:

⁸⁸ Ign., *Polyc.* 2.

⁸⁹ *Polyc.* 6.

⁹⁰ *Polyc.* 12.

⁹¹ Cf. Mt. 20:28.

⁹² 1 Clem. 16; cf. Mt. 8:17; 12:18 ff.

⁹³ 5:6.

⁹⁴ 2:21-24.

⁹⁵ *Polyc.* 8.

"Be ye meek in response to their wrath, humble in opposition to their boasting; to their blasphemies return your prayers; in contrast to their error, be ye steadfast in the faith; and for their cruelty, manifest your gentleness. While we take care not to imitate their conduct, let us be found their brethren in all true kindness; and let us seek to be followers of the Lord (who ever more unjustly treated, more destitute, more condemned?)."¹⁰⁶

And finally these writers base their argument for pacific virtues on the very nature of God. Men are to be imitators of him. This thought occurs clearly in Ephesians:

"Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and railing be put away from you with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving each other, even as God also in Christ forgave you. Be ye therefore imitators of God as beloved children."¹⁰⁷

Clement of Rome after enumerating many examples of saints and heroes concludes:

"Wherefore, having so many great and glorious examples set before us, let us turn again to the practice of that peace which from the beginning was the mark set before us; and let us look steadfastly to the Father and Creator of the universe, and cleave to his mighty and surpassingly great gifts and benefactions of peace. Let us contemplate Him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to his longsuffering will. Let us reflect how free from wrath He is towards all his creation. The Heavens, revolving under his government, are subject to him in peace. Day and night run the course appointed by Him, in no wise hindering each other . . . The very smallest of living things meet together in peace and concord. All these the great Creator and Lord of all has appointed to exist in peace and harmony; while he does good to all."¹⁰⁸

But the *imitatio Dei* is most beautifully and fully described by the anonymous writer of the letter to Diognetus. God

"did not, as one might have imagined, send to men any servant, or angel, or ruler, or any one of those who bear sway over earthly things, or one of those to whom the government of things in the heavens has been entrusted, but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things . . . Him he sent to them. Was it then, as one might conceive, for the purpose of exercising tyranny or inspiring fear and terror? By no means, but under the influence of clemency and meekness. As a king sends his son who is also a king, so sent he him; as God he sent him; as to men he sent him, as a

¹⁰⁶ Eph. 10.

¹⁰⁷ 4: 31, 32; 5: 1.

¹⁰⁸ Clem. 10 ff.

saviour he sent him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us; for violence has no place in the character of God. As calling us he sent him, not as vengefully pursuing us, as loving us he sent him not as judging us.⁹⁹

"For God, the Lord and fashioner of all things, who made all things, and assigned them their several positions, proved himself not merely a friend of mankind but also longsuffering [in his dealings with them]. Yea, he was always of such a character, and still is, and will ever be, kind and good, and free from wrath, and true, and the only one who is [absolutely] good."¹⁰⁰

"How will you love him, who has first so loved you? And if you love him you will be an imitator of his kindness. And do not wonder that a man may become an imitator of God. He can, if he is willing. For it is not by ruling over his neighbors, or by seeking to hold the supremacy over those that are weaker or by being rich, and showing violence towards those that are inferior that happiness is found; nor can anyone by these things become an imitator of God. But these things do not at all constitute his majesty. On the contrary he who takes upon himself the burden of his neighbor; he who, in whatsoever respect he is superior, is ready to benefit another who is deficient; he who, whatsoever things he has received from God, by distributing these to the needy, becomes a god to those who received [his benefits]: he is an imitator of God."¹⁰¹

"Violence has nothing to do with the character of God." That sentence of this, the earliest of the apologists, is the theological basis of Christian antimilitarism. It is also a foundation of every philosophy, that escaping the autoeracy of determinism and fatalism, would explain life in terms of liberty—the liberty not merely of outward government, but the freedom of the human will. God in Christ did not use force but love. He wins and persuades men, he does not compel. He leaves men the freedom to reject him if they will. And God's method is to be ours, if we are to be imitators of him. God commends his own love to us—the method of loving enemies. And by loving them we shall become the children of God.

VII

In summary we may say that the basis of Christian antimilitarism was not ritual, tradition, fatalistic *laissez faire*, sentimentalism or stoicism: it was a new ethical conscience, created

⁹⁹ c. 7.

¹⁰⁰ c. 8.

¹⁰¹ c. 10.

apparently by the influence of Jesus' teaching and character as emphasized and interpreted by the early Church. As usual with such convictions its origin in the last resort cannot be completely traced or explained. We know that the reasons given by those who hold high ideals, especially in controversy, fail to touch the real foundation. But their assurance and fidelity even to death are sufficient evidence that they were really conscientious objectors. That they met or ignored the more natural objections and resisted temptations due to compromise, hope of immediate success, or to ridicule and fear of misunderstanding, further proves the strength of their faith's foundation.

They did not succeed in demilitarizing the Roman empire. Instead, the Church itself was ultimately militarized—and Christian pacifism was left to the dissenting sects—Cathari, Waldenses, and Quakers—of the later generations. Under Constantine Christianity was accepted as a state religion, and the official recognition was first made in the army. Church councils now condemned not the man who served in the army but the man who proved a deserter¹⁰² or perhaps the man who served in the army of the enemy.¹⁰³ But for the spread of Christian character, ideals and influence the sword has never been more effective than was the non-resistant faith of the ante-Nicene church. In their patience they won their souls, those that lost their lives found them, "not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord."

¹⁰² Arles (314 A. D.), Canon iii.

¹⁰³ Nicea (325 A. D.), Canon xii. The military regulations as well as the ecclesiastical experienced striking changes. Before Constantine Christians were sometimes expelled from the army and sometimes refused permission to leave the army. A century later (415 A. D.) only Christians were allowed in the army (Cod. Theodos., xvi. 10, 21, cited by Bigelmair, *op. cit.*, p. 173). The whole subject is very complicated and obscure. In addition to earlier literature see the discussion of W. M. Calder in *The Expositor*, Seventh Series, vi (1908), pp. 394 ff. in connection with an interesting inscription from Laodicea.

THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST IN REVELATION

HENRY A. SANDERS
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In the 17th and 18th verses of the 13th chapter of Revelation we read: (17) "And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. (18) Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred three-score and six." Did John write all of the above verses and, if so, what do they mean? The Church Fathers explained them as prophetic and tried to discover the name of Antichrist from an interpretation of the mystical number. Irenaeus, *contra Haer.* 5, 29-30, writing between 180 and 190 A. D., was the first, so far as we know, to busy himself with the problem. He was troubled by the fact that some manuscripts or writers gave the number as 616, but was sure that it was an error, as he had just shown to his own satisfaction, that 666 was necessarily right, for the flood came in the 600th year of Noah and the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar was 60 cubits high and 6 cubits wide. He accordingly interpreted only the number 666. For this he gave three names, that satisfy the conditions, *εναυθας*, *τειταν* and *λατεινος*. Each of these names, if you take the numerical values of the Greek letters and add them, gives the total of 666. Irenaeus recognized that many other equally satisfactory names could be fashioned.

Andreas of Caesarea in his Commentary on Revelation (Migne, Greek, vol. 106) has seven similar names: *λαμπετις*, *τειταν*, *παλαι-βασκανος*, *βενεδικτος*, *κακος οδηγος*, *αληθης βλαβερος*, and *αμνος αδικος*, each of which gives by the same system of addition a total of 666.

Most of these names are repeated by Arethas, who in his Commentary (Migne, Greek, vol. 106) adds *λατεινος* from Irenaeus and *ο νικητης*, which is perhaps original.

Primasius (Migne, Lat., 68, 194 ff.) has two names, *Antemus* and *Arnoume*. These, if written in Greek letters (*αντεμος*, *αρνουμε*) also give 666 as the numerical total.

Victorinus (Migne, 5, 339 ff.) gives the names *τειταν*, *diclux*, *αντεμος*, and *γενσηρικος*; the last he calls Gothic. As it is plainly

Genseric, the Vandal king, who captured Rome in 455 A. D., the passage as a whole can not go back to Victorinus, who belonged to the third century. — It is not, however, surprising that the commentary should be brought up to date, after Genseric became notorious through the sack of Carthage or of Rome. Of the other names in Victorinus only “*dicluz*” needs mention. It is said to be the Latin counterpart of τετραν and by reckoning each letter at its value in Roman numerals (D = 500, I = 1, C = 100, L = 50, V = 5, X = 10) the total of 666 is again given.

The Venerable Bede (*Explan. in Apoc.*) gives only the three well-known names, τετραν, ἀντεμος, and ἀρνουμε.

The Spanish monk Beatus in his commentary has eight names of which *damnatus* (δαμνατος = 666), *Antichristus*, and *acxyme* (ακχυμε error for αιχυμε or αχινε = 666) are not found elsewhere. The numerical interpretation of Antichristus is based on the order of letters in the Latin alphabet, a = 1 to x = 300, but the accusative must be taken and spelled Antechristum.

This system of explaining the number survives even today, as a letter written me in 1906 well illustrates. It is too long to quote in full. It was written in explanation of a request for criticism of the Latinity of several titles or alleged titles of the Pope. One of these, *Vicarius filii Dei*, the Vicar of the Son of God, had been explained in a book entitled *The Reformation*, which stated that, if the numerical values of all the occurrences of C, D, I, L, V(U) are added, the total is 666. The writer obtained the same result from another supposed title *Filius Latinus solis diei*, the Latin son of Sunday, which he evidently thought showed that the Pope was instrumental in establishing Sunday as the holy day of the Church. It would seem that with this style of interpretation the field of possibilities had been pretty well exhausted, though the present war has added an ingenious equation by which kaiser gives 666.

In general in modern times a different system of explanation of the number of the beast has been in vogue. Instead of trying to figure out who the Antichrist will be or when he will come, scholars have tried to identify the number with some ruler, oppressor of the Church, and so fix the date when Revelation was written. Thus the Rev. Geo. Edmundson, in the Bampton Lectures, Oxford, 1913, p. 173, after an able discussion in which he shows that both statements and imagery in Revelation agree better with a supposed date 70 A. D. than with that of 96 A. D., adds

in regard to the number 666 and its variant 616, that the "generally accepted solution" identifies both with Nero. "For if the Greek spelling of Nero Caesar be transliterated into Hebrew and the numerical values of the Hebrew letters be added together they make 666. If, however, the Latin spelling be treated in the same way, the total comes to 616."

This statement will hardly bear critical examination. What he evidently means is that the Hebrew **נרון קסר** adapted from the Greek form of the name gives 666, while **נרו קסר** following the Latin gives 616. But we may well question, whether even an ignorant Jew could have so spelled the name of Nero during the first century. Especially awkward is the presence of **ו** in **נרון**, while **קסר** not **קיסר** is written. The Latin form of the name giving 616 is preferable, if one must be adopted, but even this is easier to explain, if we suppose the number was known before the identification was made.

The same number for the beast, 616, is found in the Anonymous commentary on Revelation, published in the works of Augustine (Migne, 35, 2417 ff.) and in a Greek manuscript of the New Testament minuscule 5. It is claimed by von Soden for MS C (Codex Ephraemi), but this must be an error as a long lacuna begins in C at Revelation 13:16. The reasons given by Irenaeus for his approval of the number 666, added to the mystical appearance of that number, would sufficiently account for the practical disappearance of 616, even if it were original.

The whole problem has been brought into a new stage by the discovery, that the verse, 13:18, is omitted in the text of Beatus.

It has long been recognized that Beatus derived much of his commentary, and so probably his Bible text, from the lost commentary of Ticonius (390 A. D. North Africa).¹ An English translation of this text was published by E. S. Buchanan, New York, 1915, based on the thirteenth century manuscript in the Morgan Collection (New York). During the summer of 1916 I was able to study several manuscripts of Beatus in Italy and Spain. One of these appears to be the parent of the Morgan manuscript and on the basis of this and six others of the tenth or eleventh century it has been possible to reach definite conclusions concerning the Bible text of Beatus. The text is given twice in

¹ J. Hausleiter, *Zeits. f. kirch. Wissenschaft u. kirch. Leben*, Leipsie, 1886, pp. 239-257.

every manuscript, the first in long passages at the head of each section, the second written in red, sentence by sentence, throughout the commentary. The two texts are quite different though both are Old Latin texts. Both show errors which could have originated only in commentaries. One must have come from the Ticonius commentary, both may be originally derived from that source. On the passage under discussion their evidence is decisive. Text I omits vv. 17 and 18; text II, all of verse 18. The number of the beast is thus missing in both texts. Yet it appears in the commentary and in fact the commentary closes with a passage, which is close to verse 18 in form, but well illustrates the commentary origin of the verse: "*Hic est sapientia; qui habet intellectum, computet numerum bestiae. Numerus enim hominis est, id est Christi, cuius nomen sibi facit bestia; quantum enim adinet per singulas litteras, hunc numerum nomenque explebit interpretaturque sic: DCLXVI.*"²

Similarly the anonymous Commentator in Augustine omits in the Bible text the sentence containing the number of the beast, though he has 616 in the commentary, as above noted. As both Anonymus Aug. and Beatus seem to have derived their text from Ticonius, we may assume that the Old Latin text of North Africa omitted the number. The whole of verse 18 is natural commentary addition. The identification of the number with a Roman emperor can not help us to date Revelation, but only to fix the time of this commentary addition, which doubtless first appeared as a marginal gloss. The number 616 probably appeared in the earliest form and may be connected with Nero as above. Yet it may have arisen much later than Nero's death. There was a widespread belief that Nero had been only wounded and would reappear later to establish his kingdom. Two false Neros used this belief to start revolts within the twenty years following his death and the Sibylline Oracles, composed at that time, also bear witness to the prevalence of that belief. It seems to have been especially strong among the more ignorant Jews of the city of Rome. That it persisted much later is shown by the following passage from Beatus: "*Quia Iudei Christum crucifixerunt et pro Christo Neronem*

² This is wisdom; he who has understanding, let him count the number of the beast. For it is the number of a man, i. e. of Christ, whose name the beast takes for itself; for how much this number and name amounts to by the single letters, he will reckon and thus he interprets 666.

Antichristum expectant; hunc ergo suscitatum Deus mittet regem dignum dignis et Christum, qualem meruerunt Iudei."³ We have therefore gained little to help us date this commentary addition to the text of Revelation; but as the number 616 was disappearing before its stronger competitor 666 already in the time of Irenaeus, the former can not have arisen much later than the beginning of the second century. The possibility that 616 refers to Caligula⁴ and belongs in an earlier piece of Apocalyptic literature would better explain its intrusion here.

The number 666 can not be easily identified with any of the Roman emperors on the basis of the Greek spelling. We must also remember that Revelation was in the early period popular in the West only, where Greek was rapidly yielding to Latin as the language of the church. Attempts may have been made to insert numbers corresponding to each of the earlier emperors and at first the Greek letters would have been used, but the Hebrew numerical values can not have continued in use, for none of the commentators have retained it. Nerva (Νερουα) with spelling and numerical values both Greek gives 626, or Νερβας Καισαρ, 690, and Νερβας Θεος, 642. There may well have been a tendency to seek numbers in the six hundreds owing to the early use of 616.⁵ Finally the method of using the Latin spelling with Roman numerical values, as we see in *dielux* of Victorinus or the *vicarius filii Dei* of my unnamed correspondent arose. Using this system Marcus Aurelius is the only one of the early emperors that satisfies the conditions. The form of name and title under which he was worshipped, Aurelius Caesar Deus, is the one to be used and the addition $V + L + I + V + C + D + V$ gives 666. This may well be only an interesting bit of mathematical play, but it can be urged that Marcus Aurelius ascended the throne some thirty years before Irenaeus began to write, so that the change in number from the earlier forms, such as 616, to 666 would have had ample time to establish itself in the manuscripts before our first literary reference to the problem.

³ Because the Jews crucified Christ and expect Nero the Antichrist in the place of Christ; therefore God will send this one resurrected as king worthy of those worthy of him and as a Christ such as the Jews have deserved.

⁴ See Hastings, *Diet.* of Bible, iv, p. 258, for discussion of this as well as other identifications.

⁵ This tendency would be more natural, if 616 belonged in an earlier piece of literature, and was recognized as an insertion in Revelation.

A NOTE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

HARRY C. YORK

BLANCHE KELLOGG INSTITUTE, SANTURCE, PORTO RICO

The avowed purpose of the Fourth Gospel, as stated in John 20:31, is that "these things were written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name." But in what sense were these words intended? What special content had they for the author and for his Christian readers. The words in themselves are not particularly striking, and might well have been written by any or all of the synoptics; and yet we are perfectly conscious that in the Fourth Gospel they have a unique import, not less because of the distinctive features of the component parts of the Fourth Gospel than because of the total impression which the book makes. To explain more fully than has yet been done the cause or causes of these differences, and thus to illumine somewhat the inner character of the Gospel, the following considerations are urged.

It is to the background of this writing that I desire to draw attention afresh; for to the present writer it seems that certain features of this background have been neglected, if not actually overlooked. Briefly, the view presented here is that the Fourth Gospel represents a new and rather sharply-defined development in the Gospel message, due—amongst other causes—to two important factors; or, perhaps more accurately, to one primary and one supplementary factor.

The primary factor to which I allude was the persecutions under Domitian. Although somewhat in retrospect (assuming that the Fourth Gospel was written not far from 105-110 A. D.), it would appear that these persecutions had vastly more to do with the production of this latest Gospel and with its distinctive character than has hitherto been recognized. In fact, to me this book is not wholly intelligible on any other assumption.

First, as to general considerations. The Fourth Gospel first made its appearance in those churches of Asia Minor which

figure so prominently in the 'trials' of the latter part of the first century. It was for the Christians of this region that the Fourth Gospel was unquestionably written; and its author—whatever his name or antecedent history—completely identified himself in thought and feeling with these Christian readers of Ephesus and vicinity.

The generally marked influence of the persecutions in the second half of the first century on the literature of the period is well known. For example, the Book of Hebrews has for its scarcely veiled purpose the fortifying of its Christian readers against persecutions which may burst forth afresh at any moment. "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood", the author reminds his readers in 12:4, after enumerating a long list of heroic faithful ones who have resisted (ch. 11); and from this point on to the close of the book there is an ominous note as to the sacrifices which Christians may yet again be called to make. The days of Nero were not yet effaced from memory, clouds were darkly hovering, and no extraordinary prophetic vision was needed to see that at any moment the storm might break afresh. To forestall so far as possible the disastrous moral and religious effects of this storm Hebrews was written.

Not very long afterwards the Apocalypse made its appearance, at the very height of the Domitian persecutions, as it seems. Passive resistance is its note, to stand firm at any cost. Christians may well afford to do this, is its implied argument, since "to him that overcometh" is to be granted forthwith every desirable reward; whereas for the persecutors was destined an awful retribution. The Domitian persecutions, therefore, as is universally recognized by scholars, form the immediate occasion for the production of the Apocalypse.

And then, after just the appreciable interval needed in which to make a careful appraisal of the new conditions confronting Christians as a result of these persecutions, appeared the Fourth Gospel, with its distinctly new features, *the fruitage of the transforming experiences through which the Christians of Asia Minor had lately passed*.

This, to my mind, is the main clue to the different portrait of Jesus presented by the Fourth Gospel, as contrasted with the synoptic representation; a Jesus who, despite an intensely loving tenderness toward "his own" and those with receptive

spirit, is toward critic and opponent aloof, cold, unmoved by threat or danger, consciously superior to a degree which at times approaches arrogance, though without actually becoming thus petty. This Jesus, who from the outset of his ministry pointed to himself and without the least embarrassment or diffidence made the most astounding claims, has been a source of perplexity both to exegete and to Christian teacher of harmonizing disposition; for the portrait is too diametrically opposed to the earlier synoptic type for the problem to be blinked. But is the transformation so very mysterious after all in view of what had happened in the interval referred to? Is not this Jesus of the Fourth Gospel simply the heroic Jesus of the synoptics, with an intensification of those personal characteristics which were most significantly the by-products of the recent conflict between Christian and non-Christian? It would seem so. The Domitian persecutions could not fail to widen the gap between Christian and non-Christian. The Christian who had been lukewarm before could hardly remain lukewarm thereafter; he must either become less Christian in feeling or more intensely Christian. Christianity would therefore become more militant in character, though its polemic would necessarily be a polemic of the spirit rather than a polemic of the sword. But if this be the resultant trend in the character of Christianity and of many individual Christians, could it fail correspondingly to affect the conception of Jesus as well? Hardly. It was inevitable that those traits would be emphasized, and hence magnified, which experience had exalted. Hence the Jesus of confident bearing, perfect assurance and unshaken poise became the model for the Christian to follow. In debate with opponents Jesus had never been defeated, but on the contrary his answers had been final, unanswerable; let the Christians of Asia Minor answer their opponents in the same way, with equal confidence and with equal conviction of finality. Whereas Jesus was anything but indifferent to the salvation of the whole world, and indeed was sent for the express purpose "that whosoever believeth on him should have eternal life", he knew that many would deliberately reject the opportunity to win 'eternal life', and hence was unmoved when the majority, including his own neighbors of Nazareth, rejected him; so let his followers in Ephesus and vicinity remain unmoved though the majority there too reject

the gospel with scorn and derision. And lastly, Jesus had both in preaching and in practice given a new meaning to 'glorification', viz., martyrdom, and had rejoiced in the same; therefore let Christians likewise rejoice if it be their lot to partake of the same 'glory'. Such, it appears to me, was the direction of the influence which the Domitian persecutions unconsciously but strongly exerted on the earlier portrait of Jesus. The face of the Master is in a measure ennobled, but the set lines of a Puritan sternness are at the same time finely chiseled there. I am not unmindful of the more immediate background of the Fourth Gospel, religious sects, heresies, etc., nor of the indelible traces left by the same on this Gospel; but these false teachings have simply determined the direction and objective of the polemic spirit already engendered by the bitter experiences referred to above.

I stated at the beginning of this paper that two factors in the Fourth Gospel had been neglected. The second factor to which I refer was the dimming of the earlier confident expectation in an immediate Second Coming. This feature has been recognized, to some extent, but not apparently with just the bearing and force which I have in mind. That is, the fact that apocalyptic eschatology has either been suppressed or repressed in the Fourth Gospel is well recognized, but the exact connection between this fact and its causes has not been so certainly determined. My belief is that the doctrine of the Second Coming was subordinated in the Fourth Gospel for the simple reason that faith in this doctrine had become exceedingly tenuous, and that the author represented those Christians who, to put it negatively, had no strong convictions on this point.

Let us consider briefly what had been the development in regard to this belief in the quarter century or so preceding the appearance of the Fourth Gospel. So late as the time of the Gospel according to Matthew, and perhaps actually stimulated afresh by the "wars and rumors of wars" connected with the destruction of Jerusalem, the author is led to remind his readers of Jesus' words to his disciples, "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come" (Mt. 10:23), so close at hand to his own day does the author believe the Second Coming to be. Even in Luke's second treatise the Second Coming is still a prominent consideration (Acts 1:11).

But by the end of the century the repeated disappointments over this expectation were having the cumulative effect of weakening both faith and fortitude. The need, therefore, of discovering some other basis for faith was becoming very evident, possibly even urgent. This basis should be less treacherous than the hope in the Second Coming had proved. The new basis they found was imitation of the Master, the only enduring basis which experience had yet revealed. Crude and imperfect as were these first efforts to show that Christians were to follow their Lord in a spiritual sense, they had the merit of aiming to elevate men God-ward by presenting as their ideal and goal a transcendent as well as a human Jesus. Not, as in the doctrine of the Second Coming, by a great material reward to compensate for a brief period of waiting and privation, but by actually 'overcoming the world' as Jesus himself had done, was the Christian to become one with Jesus and with the Father. Thus it was that the dimming of the hope in an immediate Second Coming made room for and presumably hastened the development of the new apologetic represented in the Fourth Gospel, while the Domitian persecutions were influential in determining its character.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

IS ACTS I-XV. 35 A LITERAL TRANSLATION FROM AN ARAMAIC ORIGINAL?

Dr. Torrey's masterly exposition in the *Harvard Theological Studies*, No. I, of his theory of the Aramaic origin of Acts 1-15:35 is extremely suggestive, but before it is accepted it is desirable that his arguments shall be tested by an appeal to the literary and spoken Greek of the present day.

I propose to take some of those passages in which Dr. Torrey sees an unmistakably Aramaic original and shall endeavor to show that they are explicable on the hypothesis that they represent the colloquial Greek of the first century and present no difficulties to one whose native language is that of Greece today.

It is of course comparatively easy to one who has such a grasp of Palestinian Aramaic as Dr. Torrey and so keen an eye to detect divergencies from the Greek to which he is accustomed, to render a passage into Aramaic so skilfully as to persuade Semitic scholars that his version may be the original of the Greek of the Acts. But if it can be proved that there is really no difficulty in the Greek which he finds questionable to one accustomed to use the language in ordinary life, it may at least cause him to pause before he finally decides that his theory that Acts is translation Greek is the only possible one.

I am quite prepared to admit that the writer of the opening chapters of Acts employs a style saturated with Semitic vocabulary and methods of expression, and I see several instances of this which Dr. Torrey has not mentioned, though doubtless he has observed them. Taking, however, into account that the writer was thoroughly familiar with the Greek of the Septuagint, which betrays its translation character throughout, and may also have used Aramaic sources, I fail to see that Dr. Torrey has proved his case by the passages he has adduced as these are equally explicable by the method which I propose to adopt.

Let us take Acts 2:47 and Dr. Torrey's ingenious explanation of the difficulty he sees in the words ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. He solves it by translating it into Palestinian Aramaic, using the word לְהַרְבֵּה which he explains as meaning 'greatly'.

But before accepting his view that the presence of the Greek words in this position betray translation Greek, it is necessary to see whether it cannot be shown that the author of Acts employed language perfectly compatible with ordinary Greek usage.

(1) The following examples are taken from classical authors. The most significant are two from Thucydides.

Thucydides bk. 1. 79. Καὶ τῶν μὲν πλείονων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἱ γνώμαι ἔφερον, ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐν τάχει.

"Whereupon the opinion of the majority bore upon the same point that the Athenians had already been guilty of injustice and that they should go to war without delay."

Thucydides bk. 3. 59. Καὶ δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ πείθομεν, εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ καταστῆσαντες, τὸν ξυντυχόντα κίνδυνον ἑᾶσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλέσθαι.

"And if we cannot convince you, it is only fair that you should put us in the same position as we were, and to leave us to choose how to meet the danger to which we should be exposed."

(2) The words ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό are naturally very common in the LXX and it seems superfluous to multiply examples. It is, however, necessary to give those where a transitive verb is used, like προσετίθει in Acts.

Exodus 26:9 (συνάψεις . . . ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό); Ps. 33:4, at end of sentence (ὑψώσωμεν . . . ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό); 54:14; 73:6; 2 Esdr. 4:3 (οἰκοδομήσωμεν . . . ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό); Jer. 3:18; 26:12; Mal. 2:3; 3:1 (συναγαγεῖν . . . ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό); 3 Mace. 3:1.

In Ps. 33:4 we have a remarkable example of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό concluding a sentence as in Acts 2:47.

We may, however, add a few uses of this phrase with the middle and passive form of the verb: Ps. 2:2; Neh. 4:8; Ps. 100:22; Hosea 2:2, as they bear on their use in connection with προστίθηναι.

(3) In the Apostolic Fathers stress is laid on the unity of the church emphasized in Acts. In Barnabas 4:10, like the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (10:25), the writer is aware of the danger of particularism; Christians are not to

live alone (*μονάζετε ὡς ἡδὴ δεδικαιωμένοι*), but to assemble *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* and consult for the common (*κοινῇ*) benefit (cf. Acts 2:42 the stress laid on *κοινωνία*.)

Ignatius attaches great importance to unity, and twice uses the words *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*. Frequent meetings of the church are urged in Eph. 13:1 as the power of the Christians when united *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* is more effectual in their warfare with Satan (cf. our Lord's words on the efficacy of unity *συμφωνεῖν* in prayer, Matt. 18:19).

In Magnesians 7:1 the same warning against exclusively private devotion is heard as in Barnabas. "Together *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope in love."

The Philadelphians (6:2) are warned to flee from Satan's ambushes and to betake themselves to the common assembly (*ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*) in oneness of heart (*ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ*). *Επὶ τὸ αὐτό* occurs in the same sense in 10:1.

In I Clement 34:7 we have *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* in a passage extremely liturgical in tone, comparing the Christian service of worship to that of the angels who stand before God and say the Trisagion. "Yea, and let ourselves then, being gathered together in concord (*ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό συναχθέντες ἐν ὁμοψύχῳ*) with intentness of heart cry unto him as from one mouth earnestly. . ."

The above citations go to prove what everyone is prepared to admit: namely that *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* is an ordinary Greek expression especially common in the LXX. When, however, we turn to the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers, it is evident that it has a technical meaning. It signifies the union of the Christian body. An essential part of the Gospel is realized to be its unifying power in bringing men into one society, a thought on which Acts lays strong emphasis.

Thus in I Cor. 11:20 Paul, in speaking of the disorders attendant upon the Eucharist at Corinth, introduces the subject thus: "When ye come together" *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*. He uses the word *συνέρχεσθαι* no less than three times in four verses (17-20); and the leading thought is that the ideal of a Christian meeting is unity, whereas that of the Corinthians does not attain its object. They came together, not as Christians should, for better, but for worse. The Eucharist has become, not a bond of union,

but a cause of division (συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν). They came together (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό) in appearance, but not in reality. In other words, they fell short of the true Christian ideal of unity.

It is the same in I Cor. 14:23: the spiritual gifts, especially that of glossolalia, improperly exercised tend to disturb the unity of the Christian meeting (ἐὰν οὖν συνελθῇ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό). In Justin Martyr's well-known description of Christian worship I Apology 41:11 the assembly of the faithful is a meeting "together" (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις).

In Acts itself, however, we have the strongest argument against ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό in 2:47 being so difficult as to be only explicable by 'being translation Greek.' The ecclesiastical bias of the author is manifest throughout. His object is to show the essential oneness of the Church and that the believers all entered into one body. Twice in the first section of the book does he use ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, emphatically in this sense (1:15 ἦν δὲ ὄχλος ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό), the unity of the little company after the Ascension, and again on the day of Pentecost, the meeting of the believers is said to have been ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (2:1). A third introduction of the words in 2:47 need cause no trouble. The new brethren whom the Lord added to the Church were joined together in the community ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. Obviously here the author is expressing his own central idea in his own words which may be a reminiscence of Septuagintal language, but is assuredly not borrowed from some one else who wrote in Aramaic.

Acts 13:25 is a passage in which Dr. Torrey sees no less than three distinct traces of an Aramaic original (p. 37).

(1) 'As John was fulfilling his course'. Ἐπλήρου is the translation of the Aramaic שָׁלֵם.

Πληροῦν is used 90 times in the NT. in 18 different books by 7 authors, counting the Johannine Gospel and three Epistles as by one, and the Apocalypse as by another hand. In 43 cases it means fulfillment of Scripture, and in 47 it is employed in another sense. How, therefore, can it be said that here it can be used as an evidence for an Aramaic original?

(2) *Who* do you suppose that I am? τί ἐμεῖ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι; accepting the reading τί rather than τίνα, Dr. Torrey remarks 'This is a regular Aramaic idiom'. So it is; but it is also an

English one. The Baptist asked the people 'What do you think I am?' They presumably knew *who* he was; but they did not know *what* he was—a prophet or the Messiah. It is true that in the Lord's question Matt. 6:13; Mk. 8:27; Lk. 9:18 we have *τίνα*, but we might have expected *τί*. A modern Greek would certainly use the *neuter* if he enquired in what capacity a man was acting, or what office he held.

(3) *Ὁὐ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ* 'I am not he'. Here Dr. Torrey notes an Aramaism (not a Hebraism) in the repetition of the first person. But the passage can be easily rendered "I am not, what you think I am."

Acts. 14:17 *ἐμπιμπλῶν τροφῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν*, Dr. Torrey feels that it is absurd to say that our hearts can be 'filled with food'; so he retranslates the passage into Aramaic, then emends the text and gives as the true rendering "Filling our hearts with all gladness." But a modern Greek would translate the verse thus: "giving rain from heaven and fruitful seasons filling you to the full with food, and with gladness your hearts." The *ἐμπιμπλῶν τροφῆς* is a strong expression separate and complete in itself.

Acts 13:1 the phrase *κατὰ τὴν οὔσαν ἐκκλησίαν* in the Church which is (or was) there. This is another example of the translation of the Aramaic word ܩܢܝܬܐ, see also note on 5:17. But it appears to me that Dr. Torrey's rendering of the Greek is questionable. *Κατὰ τὴν οὔσαν* seems to distinguish the community of prophets and teachers in Antioch from those in Jerusalem. The verse would then mean "The Church of Antioch as distinct from that of Jerusalem (this would be what is implied by *κατὰ*) had its prophets and teachers."

This is at best a clumsy paraphrase of what a Greek could express in the few words employed by Luke. This rendering would help to indicate that the author had entered upon a new stage in his history. Hitherto the spiritual movement had emanated from Jerusalem, now a new centre had been found in Antioch.

Our conclusion is that though the writer of Acts may have and probably did use an Aramaic source or sources and betray by his language that he was translating instead of composing, it is scarcely conceivable that, as Dr. Torrey maintains, he used a

single source and translated it with slavish accuracy. Even though the internal evidence were far stronger than it actually is, our knowledge of Luke's treatment of other sources such as Mark and Q would make us hesitate to adopt the theory. But it has been sufficiently shown that in some places where Dr. Torrey sees clearest proof of translation Greek the author of Acts is not even thinking in Aramaic, but using the common language of his age.

A. A. VAZAKAS

Union Theological Seminary.

I have read Mr. Vazakas' article with interest, and hope that other scholars also will be moved to contribute to the discussion from their various points of view. I am sorry that Mr. Vazakas does not give us his rendering of Acts 2:47. It is precisely the difficulty of rendering *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* in this verse (not in all the other contexts, where its connection and meaning are matters of course) that has perplexed the best Greek scholars ever since the second century.

CHARLES C. TORREY.

Yale University.

HISTORICAL AND MYTHICAL ELEMENTS IN THE STORY OF JOSEPH

W. F. ALBRIGHT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

So perfect a story as the Romance of Joseph, dating moreover from hoary antiquity, can, strictly speaking, be neither history nor fiction. Like most of the ever-enchancing tales of the past, it is likely to be the product of a long evolution. This may be said without eliminating the hand of dramatic genius, which makes itself felt in style and development.

In this article I propose to take up anew the question of sources, from a rather eclectic viewpoint. It were presumptuous to claim originality; one can only sift the evidence, relying on the suggestions of his predecessors, amplified by the comparison of data inaccessible to them. Furthermore, one must be catholic in the choice of methods. No one brush will suffice to reproduce the variegated coloring of Truth.

A priori it is impossible to decide whether a given figure is of historical or mythical origin. A categorical generalization is as rash here as elsewhere in the domain of the humanistic sciences. Each figure must be studied by itself. If heroes are set down as historical we must look for mythical analogies from which they have procured their mythic trappings; if they are rated as humanized gods, a heroic model must be presupposed. Moreover, we must allow for the operation of an unlimited number of disguising modifications and accretions. A historical personage may thus be surrounded in time with a borrowed aureole, containing perhaps even rays characteristic of the most out-and-out gods. Heroes may take the place of deities, just as Hassan and Hussein have become the heirs of Tammuz in the Shiite East. We must not be misled, but must examine critically the precipitate left after all suspicious elements have been removed. The analysis must be in a measure quantitative, on the basis of motif-units, in harmony with Bloomfield's folkloristic methods. Almost the only Old Testament scholar who applies this principle seriously is Gressmann, but he is too dashing and tem-

peramental to be a very safe guide, as his treatment of the Gilgamesh-epic rather drastically shows. The motif-principle employed by Winckler and Jeremias is too atomistic, as the many *reductiones ad absurdum* clearly illustrate. A system based on such materials ignores the existence of chance. The likelihood of fortuitous coincidences is much smaller when the unit is itself more complex.

In the following pages we are concerned, as I hope to demonstrate, with a depotentized god, and the analysis must endeavor to identify the motives, shove aside the elements which appear to be secondary or of historical origin, and explain the nature of the god from his name and characteristics, and the cult-motives which may reasonably be detached from his legendary cycle.

When the meaning and purpose of myths are to be considered, we must direct our course with great caution, avoiding the clutches of the philologico-psychological Seylla on the one hand, without falling into the sociologico-anthropological Charybdis on the other. The former has fallen into disrepute as the natural reaction from the over-confidence of the school of Kuhn and Max Müller. The able work of Goldzieher's youth, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, is, however, neglected by Biblical scholars to their loss, since it contains a mass of valuable information, and many happy suggestions, though most of the conclusions were, of course, erroneous. It is a pity that the accurate philology and balanced judgment of a Roscher or an Usener are not better represented among students of the ancient Orient.

The anthropological movement led by Lang and Frazer, which has happily turned the emphasis away from metaphors to the more concrete business of raising grain for bread, and children for the perpetuation of the race, from poetry and astronomy to economics and sociology, is now at high tide. With a dash of archaeology added by the classicists, eniautos-daimons and bull-roarers, the sociological invasion is proceeding very successfully, and many hitherto unsolved problems are yielding to its onslaught. At the same time, the invaders are prone to overlook the fact that cult and mythology originate usually with priests and rhapsodists, and that the mysterious and fantastic often plays a stronger part in forming mental associations than the tangible and commonplace. Hence astronomical and zoologi-

cal phenomena exercise a powerful influence in forming myths. Here the work of men like Frobenius, whose anthropological studies have led him to the sun as the perennial fount of mythology (applied to Old Testament problems by Hans Schmidt, in his *Jona*); Siecke and Ehrenreich, lunar champions; Winckler and Jeremias, consistent exponents of the rôle of calendarie and astrological motives in the formation of myths, comes in. Though we may be dazzled by the kaleidoscopic variety of views, there is no place for the swan-song of the pessimist which Frazer has prefixed to the third edition of his *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*. Where even so gifted and indefatigable a worker as Sir James may fail, ten thousand lesser divinities may succeed, by dint of combined efforts.

The historico-critical methods I have employed in fixing the historical substratum of the patriarchal and heroic sagas of the Heptateuch are modeled mainly after Eduard Meyer, the unrivaled chief of the masters of ancient history. Beyond the most assured results of Old Testament science, I have not ventured to employ the difficult weapon of literary analysis. For the rest, we are left to make more or less probable combinations from the still slender stock of evidence, documentary, philological, and archaeological, at our command. The temptation to utilize an ingenious combination, or a pretty idea, without the most rigid criticism, in the well-known manner of Hommel, must be resisted. Here the subjective element enters in; I dare not hope that my combinations will all stand the test. I would not have our science taxed with the *insouciance* which springs from human frailty. With Athene as with Eros, Lucian's epigram holds:

οὐχ ὁ ἔρως ἀδικεῖ μερόπων γένος, ἀλλ' ἀκολάστοις
ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων ἔσθ' ὁ ἔρως πρόφασις.

In dealing with the historical records of pre-Davidic Israel, we must always bear in mind that we do not have in them a history based on documentary sources. The theories advanced from time to time since the discovery of the Amarna tablets, that part, at least, of the oldest Hebrew literature is a translation from cuneiform, is preposterous to an Assyriologist, which the latest champion most decidedly is not. While there undoubtedly were archives and monuments extant in the ninth century B. C., from

which an archaeologist might have constructed a very fair history, the scribes did not use them. They were not interested in the history of the land, but in the traditions of their own people, which they accepted as implicitly as the modern Soudanese believes his tribal legends. We cannot blame the Hebrew, when we recall the use made of their opportunities by such men as Manetho and Livy, and the ready faith given Soudanese traditions by a man of Frazer's stamp. The long memory possessed by semi-civilized peoples for historical facts is a pious fiction of over-zealous apologists. The situation with regard to the Arabs and Germans is familiar. Where we have fixed poetic forms, isolated or distorted facts and names may be handed down for several centuries, but they are invariably superseded by a new wave of sagas, unless fixed in the cult, in which case they coalesce with the mythology, itself a very impermanent body. I am tempted to quote from an excellent article by the well-known anthropologist, Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History" (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, vol. 30, pp. 161 ff.). "There are few events that can be regarded as equalling in importance the introduction of the horse into America. . . . Nevertheless we find that the Nez Percé give a perfectly matter of fact but wholly erroneous account of the case, while the Assiniboine connect the creation of the horse with a cosmogonic hero-myth. Similarly the Assiniboine and Shoshones give mythical accounts of their first meeting with the whites a century ago" (p. 164; cf. also especially p. 167).

Nor can rules be laid down for progressive reliability of documents, since they are so diversified in origin and theme, and so subject to the shifting sands of human interest. Who would rate the *Chanson de Roland* higher as a historical source than the history of Gregory of Tours, or consider the legends of Samson more trustworthy than the pericope of Abimelech?

Having given the foregoing survey of my methodic ideals, I will state results in as concise a form as feasible. Too elaborate a discussion often only obfuscates the issue. The available data and the theories advanced hitherto are more or less familiar; I will, therefore, presuppose them, in general, thus saving time and space.

Our Joseph-story is, I believe, the syncretism of two separate

mythic cycles, one grouped around the sanctuary of the god of fertility, Joseph, at Shechem, the other borrowed from similar Egyptian sources, preserved to us only in the Osiris and Bitis myths. This fusion is no more remarkable than the syncretism of the Babylonian Tammuz-cult with the native Phoenician worship of Adonis at Byblos, or the attraction of Phoenician and Syrian elements into the Egyptian myths of Osiris and Bitis. That Joseph is primarily a god of animal fecundity will become perfectly clear, I think. This kinship between Joseph and Tammuz was first observed by the late Hugo Winckler, whose failure to see the full implications of the idea rests chiefly upon the then prevailing tendency of mythologists to reduce all myths to solar bases. We of to-day, enlightened in this respect by the work of Frazer and Baudissin, have no excuse for blindness. Furthermore the materials for the study of Oriental gods of fertility of the Tammuz type have greatly increased in recent years. From a comparison of the myths of such gods of fertility, both animal and vegetable (the precise line of demarcation can very seldom be drawn), as Tammuz, Gilgamesh, Gira (Sumukan, Šakan, or Engidu), Adonis, Attis, Sabazios, Kumbabos, Osiris, and Bitis, we know what to expect. I shall frequently refer to a forthcoming paper in *JAOS.*, "Mesopotamian Genii of Fecundity," where much of the material will be critically considered.

We will take up first the Palestinian elements in the cult and mythology of Joseph. That Joseph was worshiped at Shechem, first as a god of fertility, and later as the eponymous ancestor of the **בית יוסף**, including the neighboring districts (later called "tribes") of Ephraim and Manasseh, is tolerably certain, as appears from the tradition that his betrayal and descent into the "pit" took place in the vicinity, and that he was buried there, in the tract purchased or conquered by Jacob from the Canaanites or Amorites. The presence of the **ארון יוסף** at Shechem suggests that there was at one time an organized sanctuary and service of Joseph there. Arnold has pointed out recently (*Ephod and Ark*, p. 26 f.) that every organized sanctuary must have had its own special **ארון** in the early days, where the **שכינה** of the deity resided. The connection, if any, between the **בעל ברית** at Shechem and the **מצבה** called (emended text of Gen. 33 :20) **אל אלהי ישראל** (**אל** is natu-

rally substituted for יוסף, יוסף, or the like), as well as their possible relation to יוסף is an unsolved problem (cf. *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, 148, 542 ff.).

Joseph is a shepherd, like Tammuz and Bitis (see below), as befits the god of a pastoral people. His name, a formation like יעקב, יהודה יעקב, יעקב, יעקב, etc., means "He who causes to increase (flocks and herds)," a name like Sumukan, "giver of increase" (see my above-cited paper in *JAOS.*). For the meaning cf. Assy. *ruddū*, "add"; Ar. دى, "increase (of cattle)." Like Attis and Kombabos, presumably also Tammuz, Joseph wears a כנת פסים, a tunic reaching to the ankles and wrists (פסים connected with פסתא, Heb. פס, "palm, sole"), the regular garb of the קדשים attached originally to the cult of Joseph, and therefore ascribed to him, just as Ištar is usually represented in the costume of her קדשות or hierodulae (*kadišāti*, *šamhāti*, *kizrēti*, *ḥarimēti*). All the Asiatic gods of fertility seem to have had attached to their service a guild of eunuch-priests, the Galli of Asia Minor, the כלכים of Palestine and Phoenicia (cinaedi), and the (sing.) *kulū*, *kurgaru*, or *assinnu* of Mesopotamia, all of whom wore female dress. The aetiological reason given for Joseph's coat is interesting. He receives it from his father as a mark of special favor, and also, evidently, to keep him at home, pursuing girlish occupations which would not take him from his father's sight, just as Aphrodite attempts to keep her favorite, Adonis, at home, away from the dangers that beset an intrepid youth in more manly pursuits. In the Kombabos-legend, reported by Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 27), a characteristic reason is given for the female garb of the cinaedi. A woman fell in love with the hero, on account of his extraordinary beauty, and committed suicide after learning that he was a eunuch. In order to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies, Kombabos assumed female dress. The real reason is probably that the cinaedi dressed in female garb because they functioned as women. The sensuous analogy may have been assisted by magical ideas with regard to the apotropaeic value of disguising sex, as Frazer thinks.

The two Joseph tribes and their southern neighbors, the

¹ Cf. Eduard Meyer, *D. Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, 249 ff.

בְּנֵי יִמִּי or "Yemenites," are said to have sprung from Jacob and the ewe Raḥel. This genealogy belongs properly to Joseph himself, the son of a ewe. Several Asiatic gods or heroes of fecundity were born of animal mothers; Gira-Šakan was the son of Šamaš and a gazelle (for proof of these statements see my article in *JAOS.*); Priapus (Lydian) was the offspring of Hermes and an ass, according to one story. Tammuz and his mother-sister-wife Geštinanna are symbolized by a young ram and a ewe. After the theory that the pastoral tribes of central Israel were sons of Raḥel had established itself, it was only natural to refer the cattle-raising tribes to the wild-cow Leah, the consort of the אֲבִיר יַעֲקֹב, the bull Jacob.² The genealogy of Rachel is thus more original than the somewhat haphazard division of the remaining nine tribes between Leah and the two concubines.³ The tender-eyed Leah corresponds to βοῶνπις πότνια "Ἥρη. Joseph was also fancied to be a bull,⁴ as we learn from the "Blessing of Moses," Deut. 33: 17;

וְקִרְנֵי רֶאֱם קִרְנָיו	בְּבוֹר שׁוּרוֹ הָדָר-לוֹ
יַחֲרִיו אַפְסֵי הַאֲרָץ	בָּהֶם עֲמִים יִנָּח

The couplet is naturally much older than its present setting, with its reminiscence of the thunder-god as donor of fertility and

² For the connection of Leah and Rachel with the cattle, *resp.* sheep-raising industries, see Haupt, "Lea und Rahele," *ZATW.*, 29, 281-286.

³ Bilha and Zilpa do not seem to be eponymous figures, nor are they connected with any clear mythological stories. The incest of Reuben with Bilha may possibly belong to the class of fecundizing incests associated with Tammuz and Adonis. I would suggest that the two "concubines" were originally the two weapons of Jacob as the thunder-god (which he undoubtedly was) named בִּלְהָה, "terror," and יִלְנָפָה, "fury," like the two personified weapons of Ninurta, later independent deities, Šarur, "the rushing weapon," and Šargaz, "the crushing weapon." Bilha then stands for **Balhāt* (see Brockelmann, *Vergl. Gram.* I, § 52, g, αβ), *Ballāhāt*, and Zilpa for **Zalpāt*, *Zal'āpāt* (cf. also *Milka*, Gen. 11: 29, for *Makat*).

⁴ We cannot take the comparisons and identifications with animals too seriously. Sumukan is variously a gazelle, a lion, a wild-goat, an ass, etc. A god could, of course, assume different forms at pleasure. Nor can we delimit functions of a god sharply; Jacob was a god of fertility as well as Joseph; we have an illustration of his fecundating activities in the scheme by which he outwitted Laban, primarily a fertility charm, as is shown by the use of green withes. The מִקְל לְבִנָּה of Gen. 30: 37 reminds one of the *ildakku* of Gilgamesh.

destroyer of the foes of his people, like the Assyrian Ištar, the *rīmtu munakkipat zā'irē*, or Rammān the *šūr šamai*, as the thunder-god is called in an old Akkadian epic. The expression כְּבוֹר שׁוֹר makes a very archaic appearance, and obviously refers to a legend like that of Bitis, who becomes a bull and thereafter a Persea tree, one of whose splinters enters his former consort's mouth, causing her to bear him in human form. "Firstborn of his bull" (bull born of himself) corresponds to Egyptian *k3 mwtf*, "bull of his mother," which Sethe has identified with Κρυφ.

Before considering the death of Joseph, we may dispose of his dreams. Now it is, of course, unscientific to try to make a mythical romance "walk on all fours" when we are ignorant of the relative age of its elements. It is, however, legitimate to take into account all possibilities and to inquire into the association of ideas between the topic of a myth and its details. Thus the dream of the sheaves reminds one of the grain-deity, while the astral dream may be explained as the exaltation of the star with which Joseph is associated. Hitherto the second dream has been variously interpreted. Winckler made Joseph here the sun, which is perhaps logically too objectionable even for the elastic feeling of myth-makers, as Winckler's opponents have gleefully reiterated. Jeremias avoids this snare by making Joseph the embodiment of the whole zodiac, a view which is intrinsically very improbable. While in the "Blessing of Jacob" a series of astrological allusions is unmistakable, as may be seen from the initial sequence Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Leo (probably so, against the world-age hypothesis; Joseph is Sagittarius), nothing of the kind is visible in the dream. The precise number of the stars is without bearing upon the myth. Since in the first dream the other sheaves bow down before Joseph's sheaf, it is only natural to suppose that here the sun, moon, and stars, do obeisance to Joseph's star, representing him as one of the sons. This star can only be the planet Jupiter, since Venus is nearly everywhere feminine. The dream is therefore the reminiscence of an astral myth describing the exaltation of the celestial shepherd to the zenith. Jupiter is said to be so bright in Oriental skies that he often casts a visible shadow. In the creation-epic (King, *Creation*, p. 108, ll. 109 ff.) it is said of

the planet *Nēbiru* (the name of *Umun-pa-e*, or Jupiter, at the zenith: Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 128; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, Vol. 1, p. 11, *Ergänzungen*, 2, 199 f.—*Nēbiru*, however, does not mean properly “Überschreiter” but “crossing, zenith”): *šumšu lū nēbiru āhizu kirbišu; ša kakkabē šamāmi alkātsunu likilu; kīma šēni lirtā ilāni gimrašun* = “Let his name be *Nēbiru*, occupying its midst; let him fix (lit. hold) the paths of the stars of heaven; like sheep may he pasture all the gods.” In the third tablet of the Exaltation of *Ištar*, a Sumerian epic entitled *Ninmah ušūni gīra*, we read that when the planet Venus rises to the zenith all the powers of Anu, her consort, and the oversight of the sun, moon, and stars are placed in her hands, while the gods all pay her homage precisely as in Joseph’s dream.⁵

Being Adonis, Joseph had, of course, to die.⁶ These gods of fertility are either killed by a boar (*Tammuz*,⁷ Adonis, Attis), or are changed into an evergreen tree after emasculating themselves (*Bitis*, Attis). Drowning also occurs (*Tammuz*, Osiris) in alluvial countries, as well as other deaths, less popular. We can hardly doubt that Joseph was originally supposed to have

⁵ The exaltation of Esther as queen of Persia may go back to the exaltation of *Ištar*, as Thureau-Dangin suggests (*Revue d’Assyriologie*, 11, 141, n. 1).

⁶ The death of an Adonis is always preceded by an amorous episode. The corresponding myth in our story may have been dethroned by the more gaudy arrival from Egypt. At all events, Jacob is now the one who loves and watches over Joseph, and weeps for his death. His appearance in the rôle of *Ištar* is really no more surprising than Kore’s masquerade as *Tammuz*. Even the most obviously masculine function is performed in Egypt by the cow of heaven, whose udders yield fertility, while the earth-deity is male, lying under *Nūt*. This peculiar attitude has, of course, an anthropological basis; the Suahili in East Africa are said to practise the same custom.

⁷ For *Tammuz* the principal evidence is astrological; *CT.*, 33, 1 obv. 1, 29 we find a star with the name *kakkab šAH il Da-mu*, “the boar of Damu.” Originally one can hardly doubt that the pig was sacred to the god of fecundity as the symbol of the prolific earth, wherefore pigs were sacrificed to Kore at the Thesmophoria. Later misunderstanding, assisted by a keen sense of the ravages wrought by wild-boars in the field and orchard, created the fable that the “corn”-god had been killed by a boar. Any American farmer in the corn-belt will sympathize with the votaries of *Tammuz*.

been killed by a wild beast through the treachery of his brothers (or brother, as in the case of Bitis-Anubis and Osiris-Set), just as Ares plots to kill Adonis with the aid of a wild boar. Dying, he descended into the "pit" (שְׂאוֹל = בּוֹר), whence he was imagined to rise triumphantly with the spring verdure. Jacob's weeping for Joseph is the reflexion of the wailing of the devotees, like Ištar's lament for Tammuz, or Demeter's mourning for Kore. At one time, no doubt, Ephraimite women wept for Joseph, just as later Israelites, deserting the God of Moses, wept for the young god Hadad-Rimmon at Megiddo and for Tammuz at Jerusalem. Similarly, the Gileadite maidens used to mourn four days each year for the Hebrew Kore, Jephthah's daughter. It would be interesting to know the name of the goddess whom Jephthah's daughter replaced, just as the Syrian queen Stratonike replaced Atargatis in the cult-legend of Bambyke reported by Lucian. The lamentation was really, of course, for the winter virginity of the goddess of fertility, and was thus a ceremonial corresponding to the annual *μηστία* in the Thesmophoria, commemorating the rape of Persephone, goddess of the underworld and its productive functions, like the Sumerian Geštinanna.

The original form of the story has been disturbed by the introduction of the Egyptian pericope, and the subsequent attempts to rationalize the mythical elements and to harmonize the contradictions naturally arising thereby. Before this process set in, Joseph may have died and gone to Egypt in a reincarnation, just as Bitis went to the Valley of Cedars⁸ in Phoenicia. We have already called attention to the parallel effects of the syncretism. Later, when the mythological elements were suppressed or rationalized, the death was converted into a ruse, and the "pit" became a real cistern, into which the *rabadan*, or chief-herd, Reuben, put his brother for safe-keeping.

The Egyptian pericope, to which we will now turn, is noteworthy for its archaeological accuracy, which makes it very

⁸ The word 'š was formerly rendered "acacia," later "cedar." The more exact meaning is "juniper," as shown by Dueros (cf. *Jour of Eg. Arch.*, vol. 3, p. 272). However, the Egyptians afterwards extended it to include the cedar, even the stately cedar of Lebanon, which towers above the juniper. In the United States, on the other hand, the juniper is popularly confused with the cedar. Meissner is probably wrong in comparing the Assyrian *ušu* (*Assyriologische Studien*, VI, p. 31).

probable that the original myths have been later revised and cast in an Egyptian mould (see below) for political purposes. Enough, however, of the original setting is left to show the close relationship with the cycle of Bitis, preserved to us in the folkloristic "Romance of the Two Brothers." The story has often been separated into two parts, a "*Bauerngeschichte*" and a fairy story. The two belong, however, together. Owing to a general haziness on this point, I may be pardoned for presenting here a *résumé* of my studies on the subject. The name Bitis means properly "shepherd" (*bt*); the syllabic writing *B3-t3* simply indicates that the etymology of this rather rustic deity's name had been forgotten, and that the name was therefore comfortably assumed by the nineteenth dynasty scribes to be foreign, like Ba'al, 'Astart, Rešep, 'Anāt, etc. Griffith's idea (Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, Second Series,¹ p. 73 ff.) that Bata is Attis (for *farus*) is quite impossible; Attis stands for Atta, "Father," the consort of Mā. Moreover, the similarity between Bitis and Attis is not more remarkable than his resemblance to Tammuz, while his relations with Osiris are in some respects still closer. Quite aside from these considerations, the Egyptian origin of Bitis appears from the fact that he was made the last king of the postdiluvian (sic) dynasty of the gods, beginning with Osiris and Horus, and lasting "usque ad Bidin" (Armenian Eusebius, ed. Petermann-Schöne, Col. 135). We owe this suggestion, accepted by Sethe, to Lauth (*Aeg. Chron.*, p. 30). Gardiner (*PSBA.*, 27, 185 f.) quotes an important hieratic ostrakon containing a poem which enumerates the different parts of a chariot, playing upon each. The passage reads: *ir n3 b3-ti^un t3ik m-ir3-k3-bw-ti B3-t3 nb Š3-k3 iuf m m3-wd-wi n Bštt(?)* [] *h3' r h3št nb* = "The *bt* of thy chariot (the king's) are Bitis, lord of *Sk* [Kynopolis], when he was in the arms of Bast, being cast out into every land" (Gardiner). This rendering is not very convincing; Bitis corresponds to Osiris rather than to Horus, the *bambino*. While the hieratic is inaccessible to me, I am inclined to correct *m3-iwd-wi* into *m3 hđ* "oryx antelope" (the writing is almost identical). We may then render: "When he was an antelope (for construction cf. Erman, "*Agypt. Gramm.*,³ §445 f.) [], being driven out into every land." If the reading *Bštt* is correct, the expression "antelope of Bast" would be like

"gazelle of Isis," to whom the gazelle was sacred at Koptos, according to Aelian, or "cattle of Šakan" (*būl* "Šakan"). Šakan or Sumukan is a gazelle or a wild-goat, like the Greek Pan and the Hebrew שְׁעִיר (see my article in *JAOS.*). It is interesting to find Bitis in the rôle of a wanderer, like Gilgamesh and Engidu, since this aspect of him does not appear in his romance so clearly.

Concisely told, the Story of the Two Brothers is as follows: Bitis lived with Anubis, his older brother, acting as the latter's herd and errand boy. Because of his strength and beauty, his brother's wife became passionately enamored of him, and made illicit proposals, which he indignantly rejected. After Bitis had returned to work, his sister-in-law besmeared herself with dirt and told her husband that his brother had assaulted her, which so enraged Anubis that he lay in wait for the latter behind the stable door. The cattle, however, warned Bitis, and he fled, pursued by his brother. Becoming faint, he implored the sun-god for assistance, whereupon a river appeared between the two. The next morning Bitis told his brother the true story, and emaculated himself to prove his innocence. Having informed Anubis about his further plans, he left him lamenting, and proceeded on his way to the valley of junipers, where he built a house and placed his heart in the topmost blossom of a juniper. At the behest of the gods, Hnūm moulded a beautiful wife for Bitis. One day the river secured possession of a lock of her hair and carried it to the washerwoman of the king of Egypt, who found that it exhaled a most fragrant odor. When this was reported to the king, he sent messengers to look for her and bring her to him. When the woman had come to Egypt, and had been made queen, she had men sent to cut down the juniper and thus kill her former husband, whose vengeance she feared. So it transpired, but Anubis was warned of his brother's death by the frothing of a jug of beer, and set out to find the juniper-berry in which was his brother's heart. After a long search he succeeded, and by throwing the heart into a jar of water, Bitis was resuscitated, and transformed into a bull, which Anubis, as previously instructed, presented to the king, receiving a liberal reward. The queen, however, discovering the bull's identity, ordered it butchered. Two drops of its blood became two fine Persea trees, which the queen had cut down. A splinter entered her mouth, and fecundated her. The infant, of course,

was Bitis, who had his mother condemned as soon as he had mounted the throne. Bitis himself ruled thirty years, making his brother governor of the land.

Both Bitis and Anubis have the determinatives for "god." Bitis, moreover, is addressed by the gods as *kꜣpsꜥt*, "bull of the ennead." The origin of the hostility between Bitis and the jackal-god Anubis may possibly be traced to the hostility between the shepherd and the wolves and jackals which plunder the flocks. In the closely related Set-Osiris myth, however, there is no trace of such a motive, though the euhemeristic explanation proposed by Petrie can hardly have more than a very limited validity. A more probable motive is the antagonism between Anubis, the jackal-guardian of cemeteries, and hence the god of the underworld, especially in the earliest dynasties (cf. Petrie, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 37 f.), and Bitis, god of resurrection. Similar is the enmity between Nergal-Ares and Tammuz-Adonis.

The origin of fertility was represented by a sexual union in which (typically) the god of fecundity was the male principle, the earth-goddess the female. The motivation, however, varied greatly. In the Langdon-epic, as Jastrow has pointed out, Enki forces Nintud over her protest, it would seem. The rape-motive is especially common in Greek myths. In a general series of myths which probably, with Frazer, we may explain as reflecting the primitive stage of *Mutterrecht*, accompanied more or less with polyandry, the mother seduces the father. When the sociological basis had been removed, however, these myths could hardly have maintained themselves but for their popularity as tales. The psychological reason for this popularity is evident—that the seduction-motive makes an excellent story, and appeals with special power to the imagination of the male sex, the myth-makers. To this category belong, for example, most of the Tammuz myths, those of Adonis, Attis, Engidu and his Indian offshoot R̥ṣyaśṛṅga (for whom see my paper in *JAOS.*). This motive has passed into the often closely related stories of the first parents, where Eve seduces Adam, Yamī Yama, Mašyōi Mašya (Būdahišn, Ch. 15). With the development of the ascetic ideal as a reaction against the extravagances of sexual license to which these cults gave rise, and the growth in popularity of the eunuch-priest institution, which required suitable cult-legends to

explain its origin and justify its existence, many of these stories assumed a different complexion. In India and Egypt (?) the ascetic ideal was the force behind the change. So, in the Rig-Vēda, the close of the dramatic scene between Yama and Wamī was omitted, leaving the hearer to infer that Yama resisted his sister's allurements successfully (see Schröder, *Mysterium und Mimus*, pp. 275 ff.). Originally, as Von Schröder has pointed out, the episode was a mimetic fertility-charm. Similarly Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, in the Buddhist Jātakas, falls through no fault of his own, being in a virginal state of ignorance. After learning his misdemeanor, he performs due penance and returns to monastic seclusion. In the older versions (cf. Schröder, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-303), on the other hand, he is successfully decoyed from the hermitage. In the second tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic (recently published by Langdon), the hero is violently separated from his mistress Išhara by Engidu, who himself afterwards curses the *fille de joie* who seduced him and inveigled him into the sophistication and disillusionment of civilized life.⁹ Later Gilgamesh himself steadfastly repulses Ištar's advances. The progress of sexual morality is also evidently the prime cause in the similar modification of the Syro-Anatolian myths of Attis, Kumbabos, Ešmun, etc. Whether, however, the castration of the heroes is based upon a fertility charm, as Frazer thinks, or has a social origin, as suggested above (in which case the custom was first suggested by the castration of animals for industrial purposes), I cannot undertake to decide. The solution of such sociogenetic problems must be left to the future.

For the sake of completeness I will refer to a third main type of explanations of the origin of fertility, the self-fecundation of males or hermaphrodites, like Agdistis and the Orphic Phanes. However, as these strange aberrations are happily unknown in the Bible, I will refer for a discussion of the onanistic theories to my paper in *JAOS*. The idea of self-fecundation came primarily through the observation of apparently unisexual vegetation, especially in lands where the culture of the date-palm called men's attention to this fact by contrast.

⁹ The civilizing of Engidu forms a striking parallel to the Fall in Genesis, as was first pointed out by Jastrow (*AJSL.*, 15, 193 ff.; see also Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, 98 ff.). This episode cannot,

The adventures of Bitis and Joseph belong to the second type of myths above characterized. The emasculation, however, is solely motivated by the hero's desire to prove his innocence, much as in the legend of Kombabos, where it is also a precaution taken *in advance* (see below). The emasculation of a god is not a permanent disability, so Bitis receives a wife, as perfect a creature as the ram-god of Elephantine could fashion on his potter's wheel. Like Eve, she is created for the eternal reason **לֹא טוֹב הָיְתָה הָאָדָם לְכֶדוֹ**. So, again, the Schopenhauerian composer of the Gilgamesh-epic has Aruru model Engidu from clay to serve as a helpmeet to Gilgamesh.

The virtual transformation of Bitis into a juniper, now modified by the well-known life-token motive, belongs primarily with the emasculation, as in the myth of Attis, where the hero is turned into a pine. The association between these gods and evergreen trees is characteristic; Adonis is born from a myrtle, Tammuz from a cedar.¹⁰ Frazer's inability to find a satisfactory explanation (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*,³ vol. 1, p. 277 f.) is straining at a gnat; the evergreen tree was the symbol of unchanging verdure and eternal life. The individual choices are, except perhaps in the case of the myrtle, obviously based on the geographical distribution of the trees.

Bitis is brought to life when his heart is put into the water, like the plants. Similarly Tammuz and Ištar are annually revived by being sprinkled with the water of life (*mē balāṭi*) from the underworld. So also Osiris and Tammuz are cast into the river, to be drowned and resurrected with the subsidence of the inundation. Upon coming to life the god assumes the form of a bull,¹¹ like the Nile-bull Osiris-Apis,¹² representing the river

however, be dignified with the title "prototype of the Fall." There is a much better parallel, which I hope to discuss soon in this journal.

¹⁰ The clearest proof of this is found in *CT.*, 15, 27, l. 5, where the young god says (as I would render), "My pregnant mother (was) the holy cedar." The translation will be justified elsewhere.

¹¹ Cf. the god's title *k3.* *pšqt*, "bull of the ennead." While, strictly speaking, *k3.* here means "hero," like Sum. *gud*, the line between metaphor and mythology is very hard to trace.

¹² Ea is also called the *am-gig abzu-ge*, "black bull of the *apsū*." Lehmann-Haupt's ingenious combination of Sarapis with šar-apsī, a title of Ea, though supported by very learned arguments (cf. his article in Roscher), is certainly wrong, as Sethe has convincingly shown.

at its inundation; cf. the ram *ꜥgb-wr*, "the great inundation." I expect to show elsewhere that the Euphrates and Tigris were also personified in the same way. A more intimate parallel, perhaps, is furnished by the bull Zeus-Sabazios in the Attis myth.

From the bull's blood two Persea trees grow. The strange mutations of the story are due to the syncretism of different myths and a rather naïve attempt to harmonize them and to adjust their most glaring inconcinnities to the Egyptian taste. How many of the motives are of Egyptian "origin" need not be asked in the present state of our knowledge. Assuming then the readjusting process, one is tempted to consider the two drops of blood a concession to delicacy, substituted for the bull's testicles. From Agdistis' testicles an almond tree (or a pomegranate, according to a variant reported by Arnobius) grows, a tale parodied by Lucian in his account of lunar marvels in the *Ἀληθῆς ἱστορία*.

Many of the motives which appear in the Story of the Two Brothers are folkloristic (*märchenhaft*), rather than mythical. Since these motives are nearly all familiar, it is unnecessary to prolong the paper by discussing them. The motive of the scented hair, rather unusual, comes from the Osiris myth, as Sethe has pointed out.

I may add that Bitis' consort, who three times contrives to destroy him, corresponds to Ištar, who destroys her lovers (sixth tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic). This figure is in a sense perhaps the prototype of the "bride who destroys her husband," found in the Bible as Tamar and Sarah (in the Romance of Tobit). Tamar may, indeed, be a depotentized goddess (the name is of no consequence); she seduces Judah, the eponymous ancestor of his tribe, as a *קדשה* or hierodule. At all events we are dealing with a folk-tale which was introduced into the tribal history of Judah and given a genealogical import (cf. *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, 200 ff.). The goddess lives forever, but the vegetation which she loves dies annually—a proof of her inconstancy.

Let us return to the story of Joseph. The episode of Joseph and Zuleika is so much like the legends of Bitis and Kombabos that its character is immediately clear. Were it not for the cumulative force of the evidence for Joseph's rôle as hero of fecundity, one might reasonably object to fastening a mytholog-

ical exegesis to so natural and human a story (cf. the examples cited by Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. 2, pp. 303 ff.). In some respects the story of Kombabos (Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 19-26)¹³ is even closer to the Joseph-story than the Egyptian tale, which does not militate against an Egyptian origin, since there may have been many variants to the form found in the Story of the Two Brothers. Kombabos is appointed chamberlain of the king and guardian of the beautiful young queen, just as Joseph is his master's steward, and custodian of his house (and wife). Kombabos also goes to prison (and is later condemned to execution), while Bitis flees. I am furthermore strongly inclined to think that Joseph, in the original story, prudently removed the spring of temptation beforehand, like Kombabos. Later Israelites, not being able to reconcile the idea with Joseph's patriarchal rôle, suppressed it. Taking into consideration the frequency with which motives are transferred (see below),¹⁴ we may see a reflection of Joseph's original state in the eunuch Potiphar. The figure of Potiphar is very secondary; פוטיפר is simply an adaptation or corruption of פוטיפרע, name of the priest of Heliopolis. While a eunuch may have a whole harem, and is often blessed with his share of erotic proclivities (cf. Juvenal's sixth satire, and the Arabian Nights, *passim*), it is at least unusual to find a married סרים¹⁵. If the סרים was originally Joseph,

¹³ Humbaba is probably the prototype of Kombabos. Hierapolis was at one time strongly under Babylonian influence, as appears from the stories of Sisuythes (= Zisudu) and Semiramis told by Lucian. Kombabos is the guardian of Stratonike, and before that, we may suppose, of Semiramis (not, of course, Sammurâmat!); Humbaba is the guardian of Irnini. Another indirect reflexion of Humbaba is Haman, who plots to gain possession of Esther's person. The resemblance between the three figures, however, does not go beyond name and attachment to the goddess or queen. Kombabos is a Syro-Anatolian adaptation of Humbaba (cf. Tarku < Tarhu, etc.); Haman is a corruption originating (as the weakening of the laryngeal indicates) among the Aramaic-speaking population of Babylonia.

¹⁴ Cf. the transference of the death by burning from Šamaš-šum-ukin to his brother Sardauapalus, noticed by Lehmann-Haupt.

¹⁵ There is no evidence that סרים ever meant "official," Jensen's derivation from Assyrian *ša-rēši, which would exhibit a development like Syr. כהיכנא, is to be given up in favor of Haupt's etymology from שרש, whence also sirēšu, "beer," which receives its name from the preparation of malt. Assyrian šutrēšu, "eunuch," is a formation like

Zuleika is the pivot of the shift. We might fancy that in an older recension than ours the motive of Potiphar's impotence was employed to fire Zuleika (and excuse her?) and to place the resistance of a virile Joseph in as bright a light as possible, defending his chastity against almost irresistible passion. At this point, however, we lose bottom, and begin to flounder in perilous speculations.

The transference of the motive of emasculation is common elsewhere. In the Sabazios myth (Roscher, vol. 4, 252 f.; see also above), the god falls in love with his mother Demeter, and consorts with her in the form of a bull. In order to pacify the angry goddess when she learns the truth, he cuts off the testicles of a ram, and throws them at her, pretending that they are his own. Since Sabazios is also a ram-god (represented, in the Anatolian fashion, standing on a ram's head), it is clear that originally he emasculated himself, but afterwards, since this was repugnant to Phrygian ideas, Sabazios being a bearded god, the substitution was made. The same motive is modified still differently in the Gilgamesh-epic, where the two heroes slay the celestial bull (*alū*) sent against Gilgamesh by the injured goddess Ištar, and Engidu hurls the *imittu* of the beast at her. Hommel's view that *imittu* is "phallus" (properly "penis" from *emēdu*, "to stand") must be rejected; Jensen and Holma (*Körperteile*, p. 131 f.) have proved that *imittu* means "right leg." However, *imittu* is surely a substitute for *išku* (or euphemism?); Gressmann (Ungnad-Gressmann, *D. Gilgamesch-Epos*, 133 f.) also suggests this idea, but handles it with unusual caution. In the underlying myth, we may suppose, Engidu was approached by the goddess, but maintained his chastity, and (as usual) emasculated himself, throwing the trophy in her face. The fact that he was seduced in another story is no more objection than the *liaison* between Gilgamesh and Išhara is to that hero's triumph over Ištar's temptation. The names and myths of these heroes are not in the least crystallized.

The views of Jeremias regarding the astral-mythological significance of the descent to Egypt, the imprisonment (the dungeon, כּוּר, which is rather inconsistent with the rest of the nar-

šutmāšu, *šutpālu*, for **šutrāsu*, which corresponds to the Greek *θλιβόμενος* or *γελασμένος*, and the Hebrew *פָּצוּן רַכָּה*

rative, may belong in the category of mythical reminiscences), etc., seem to me quite unfounded. The journey to Egypt, as noted above, is a syncretistic joint, while the imprisonment is the natural consequence of Joseph's supposed crime, and is stressed for dramatic reasons. However, Joseph's rise from his subterranean residence to feed the land during seven years of famine is worthy of an Egyptian demigod. We have two illustrations of the motive of the hero or sage who saves the land in connection with a seven years' famine. According to a story preserved in a Ptolemaic inscription (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, vol. 2, p. 75 ff.), the land was afflicted by a seven years' famine during the reign of king Doser (head of the third dynasty, *cir.* 2900 B. C.). At last the king directed himself to the half-fabulous sage Imhotep, afterwards deified, asking him for information about the source of the Nile and the reason that the river had so long failed to rise to its wonted level. The sage obtained the knowledge from the sacred books to which he had access, and told the king of the god Hnūm, who controlled the flow of the river from his home in Elephantine. In response to the royal petition, Hnūm appeared to the king in a dream and promised to send the Nile back to the thirsty land. The grateful king thereupon donated to the god a tract of land at the first cataract, into which the Nile was fancied to spring through two subterranean passages leading from the underworld.

The other illustration comes from Babylonia. In the sixth tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic, as already mentioned, Ištar goes to heaven after being rejected by the hero and entreats Anu to create a divine bull, a terrible, fire-breathing monster, to destroy the heartless wretch. While the following lines are somewhat broken, the following sketch of their contents, agreeing rather with Jensen than Gressmann (Ungnad-Gressmann, *op. cit.*, 131 f.), can hardly be far wrong. Anu warns her that her request brings with it seven years of "straw," evidently years in which the grain does not fill out ("runs to straw"), and asks her whether she has made provision for feeding men and cattle during the years of famine that would ensue. Having received an affirmative reply, the bull is duly created, and proceeds on its destroying way, slaying two hundred men with one blast from its fiery nostrils. Jensen is probably right in seeing

the cause of the famine in the ravages of the bull. I am tempted to regard the (red) bull as a personification of the reddish rust which attacks grain, often like an epidemic. As is known, the three hundred foxes turned loose in the grain by the solar hero Samson refer primarily to the spread of the rust, called in Italian *volpe*.¹⁶ This explanation does not exhaust the mythical connotations of the bull (cf. above); but the introduction of the taurine element brought with it, we may suppose, the famine. Ištar's glib declaration that the necessary precautions against famine had been taken does not impress one as sincere, since it is so obviously made on the spur of the moment. Presumably she is represented as lying, in order to get her way. The motive of the divine lie is so common in antiquity that it need cause no surprise; cf. Ungnad-Gressmann, *op. cit.*, 204, and Gunkel *Genesis*,² p. 170 (to which Gressmann refers). Most interesting to us, however, is the slaying of the bull by Gilgamesh (and Engidu), who thereby saves the land from famine. That Gilgamesh is primarily a vegetation-deity is practically certain (see my article in *JAOS.*); his emblem is the *ildakku*, or young sprout. While Samson, the pestilential heat of the summer sun (like Rešeph-Apollo), sends the rust into the flourishing grain-fields of the enemy, Gilgamesh, the savior of men, destroys the rust.

Intrinsically, the Babylonian myth resembles the story of Joseph more closely; in both the heroes forestall the threatened famine, while there is at least the suggestion of a proposal to store up grain in advance. Superficially, the Egyptian legend is nearer, because of its Egyptian coloring—the seven low Niles, the wise man (in the more highly cultured Egypt the sage takes the place of the warrior),¹⁷ the dream. However, our story is just what we should expect a tribe of Hebrew shepherds to pick up

¹⁶ For a good discussion of Samson and the foxes see Stahn, *Die Simsonsage* (Diss., Göttingen, 1908), p. 41 f. In the Roman festival of the *Cerealia* foxes with torches attached to their tails were driven through the circus. As protector of the grain against rust the Rhodian Apollo received the appellative *ἑρβολῖος*. There are a number of parallels.

¹⁷ Joseph's character as an Egyptian sage appears in the age to which he lived, which seems to have been the traditionally correct longevity for a scholar, as several are said to have lived 110 years, among them the famous Ptah-hotep.

from its associations with Egyptians of a similar class—snatches from the cycle of an Egyptian pastoral hero like Bitis, containing elements from various sources adaptable to the story of a god of fertility. The Hebrews, their imagination stimulated by the example of chieftains who had risen to positions of prominence (for historical setting see below),¹⁸ elevated their hero to the highest attainable post, and made him grand vizier to the Pharaoh. The Hebrews brought with them from Egypt, it would seem, the story of their hero-god Joseph, who was a slave in an Egyptian household, encountered and withstood temptation, was thrown into jail, whence he emerged to save the land from a grave famine, and was made vizier of the land. Doubtless there were many mythical additions which later disappeared; *en revanche* the story when committed to writing was thoroughly revised with a view to archaeological accuracy. This revision may come from J's hand, but I prefer to regard it as a century earlier. During the Egyptophile reign of Solomon, which probably, moreover, held a place in Hebrew literature like that of the age of Hammurabi in Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian), the story of Joseph gave an unequaled opportunity to the patriotic scribe. No doubt the government was on the alert for means of impressing its ally and setting forth Hebrew claims in as favorable a light as possible.¹⁹ This explains the archaeological accuracy; the document was prepared for Egyptian consumption, like the composition of Artapanus eight centuries later.

Steindorff's famous explanation of Joseph's Egyptian name, **יִצְחָק** **פְּעֻנֶת**, as *D(d)-p3-ntr-ḫwḏ-nḥ*, "God speaks and he lives," pronounced approximately *Cepnūtef-anḥ*, has been made

¹⁸ The view of Marquart and Winckler that the historical prototype of Joseph is to be found in Yanḥamu of Yarimuta must be rejected, as Poebel, *Historical Texts*, pp. 225 ff., has shown that Yarimuta was located in northern Syria, and perhaps is identical with the plain of Antioch. Following Krug's suggestion, most scholars had placed it in the Delta. Eerdmans' suggestion that Joseph represents the "Syrian Arisu" is also impossible (cf. Böhl, *Kanaanäer*, p. 80 f.).

¹⁹ Winckler, in his brochure *Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend* (M^FAG., 18, 4), pp. 16 ff., gives a good picture of ancient Oriental diplomatic methods and principles, in many respects strangely modern. Winckler also emphasizes the rôle played by the official historiographer in producing the necessary "documentary" evidence in support of a claim or propaganda.

a basis for the dating of J in the ninth century, since this type of name was not in use before the 22nd dynasty (950-750). This view, at first sight plausible enough, demands so many improbable assumptions that it must be rejected. In the first place, it is very unlikely that the name in question ever existed, as the late Norse authority on Egyptian nomenclature, J. Lieblein, trenchantly observed (*Recherches*, 1, 151). Who will suppose that a Hebrew scholar, acquainted with Egyptian, would search through name-lists until he found a type more or less applicable to Joseph, and then change it, to give the monotheistic coloring requisite? As Lieblein remarks, "Est-ce là de la science?" Lieblein's own suggestion (p. 149 f.), *Dfnti-p3-nh* (*t'fnti-pankh*), "celui qui donne la nourriture pour (le maintien) de la vie," is grammatically anomalous; Lieblein belonged to the pre-grammatical school of Egyptology. His explanation of אֲבִיךָ as *ib rk*, "à gauche toi," seems to me, however, preferable to Spiegelberg's *ib rk*, "aufgepasst!" in view of the modern *šimālek*, quoted by him (p. 149). I would propose a different equivalent of Joseph's surname, based on the LXX, which gives Ψονθομφανήχ. The superiority of the Septuagint in these details is also evident in Πετεφρῆ for פֹּטִיפָרֶע (Eg. pronunciation approximately *Pteiprē*). צִפְנַת פַּעֲנָח may be on a par with الاسكندر for Ἀλέξανδρος; vocalic *n*, which became *m* before a labial, as in Coptic, is incompatible in Hebrew, so was omitted. We may then reconstruct the Egyptian original as *P3-šnt-n-p3-nh* (pronounced *Ps(š)ntmp'aneh*; we do not know precisely how the participle was vocalized), "the sustainer (establisher, creator; Coptic *sōnt* = 'create') of life," corresponding exactly to the Assyrian expression *mukīn balāti* (common in proper names, as appellative of deity).²⁰ I defy anyone to offer a suggestion more appropriate to the context.

Prof. Haupt has happily suggested that Potiphera, priest of Heliopolis, and his daughter Asenath (אֲסֵנַת) belong originally to the story of Moses (*ZDMG.*, 63, 522). In the two centuries or more which intervened between the death of Moses and the accession of Solomon, the Jews, who, as Prof. Haupt has repeatedly

²⁰ Etymologically *šnt* and כֵּן are related, as I shall try to show in my paper on the relation between Egyptian and Semitic, now appearing in *AJSL*.

emphasized, were the real spiritual heirs of Moses (and through the Kenites closely related to him), can hardly have forgotten the basic facts of Moses' life. We may at least expect a more accurate knowledge than can be placed to the credit of the compilers of J and E, several generations later. However, there was ample time for a confusion to rise between the careers of Moses and Joseph, especially since originally each must have been associated with a separate Inodus and Exodus (see below), later identified and fused. The confusion is well illustrated by the later Egyptian story of Moses-Osarsiph; Osarsiph is a curious attempt to reclaim the Hebrew Joseph, whose name was fancied to contain the shortened form of Yahweh (cf. Eliakim and Joiakim; for the combining-form Osar- instead of Osir cf. Sarapis, and Sethe, *Sarapis*, p. 9).

In the preceding discussion I have several times alluded to the historical movements which the Story of Joseph, in its present form, presupposes. I will therefore give a very brief sketch of the patriarchal and Mosaic history down through the Conquest; a more extended treatment would prolong the paper unreasonably.

While Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph are evidently gods, the former by implication (for his name and character cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*,³ p. 401), Abram, however, *pace* Eduard Meyer, is surely not a god; since Ungnad's discovery of the proper name Abamrām²¹ in contracts from Dilbat, south of Babylon, belonging to the time of Amnišadūka (1978-1957), the older view has, very properly, returned to favor. Of course, Abamrām is a West-Semitic name; the stem רום, "be high," does not exist in Babylonian. Abram is said to have come from אור כשדים, unquestionably to be identified with Ur in Lower Babylonia. One cannot, however, help cherishing grave doubts in regard to the antiquity of the tradition, since the Chaldaeans do not appear in Babylonia before the tenth or eleventh cen-

²¹ See *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. 6, 5, p. 60. Ungnad's attempt to explain Abamrām from the Babylonian, as "Er hat den Vater liebge-wonnen," is impossible. The name seems to be a formation like Atramhasis, "the greatly wise," and means "Lofty in respect to father," i. e., "Of exalted lineage." Meyer very reasonably took exception to a proper name meaning "The exalted father," and regarded Abram as an appellation of deity. This view is now gratuitous.

ture at the earliest, and Ur did not fall into their hands till considerably later. Moreover Jos. 24:2 refers the ancestors of the Hebrews simply to **עבר הנהר**, which, from the Palestinian standpoint, could hardly mean Chaldaea. The journey from Ur to Harran has given the impetus to ingenious speculations. Winckler thought that Abram was an adherent of the lunar cult, and hence moved to another center of moon-worship, Harran, to escape from the innovations and persecutions of the official Mar-duk religion established by Hammurabi, but his hypothesis is supported neither by direct Biblical evidence nor by illustrative material from the ancient Orient. The long journey up the valley is, besides, very suspicious, especially since the close association of Abraham with the Aramaeans of Syro-Mesopotamia does not take Ur into consideration at all. For light on the traditional prehistory of the Hebrews we are therefor thrown back on the postdiluvian genealogy.

שם (1), **ארפכשד** (2), and **עבר** (4) are evidently eponymous figures; **פלג** (5) is the aetiological representative of the Dispersion, which the Jewish scholars placed half-way between the Flood and Abraham. **שלח** (3) and **רעו** (6) are apparently mythical heroes belonging to the same class as **מתושלח** and the many shepherds of Babylonian mythical history, Daonos, Lugal-banda, Tammuz, etc. **שורג** (7) is the Aramaean town Sarūgi (from the Aram. stem **סרג**) near Harran; its inclusion in our list makes one suspect that Aramaean traditions and records have had a marked influence in the shaping of the Jewish records. Damascus, for example, must have had a literature quite as rich as the Israelite, and many Aramaean scholars may have emigrated to the south after the fall of Damascus in 733. Some Aramaean influence may have been exerted during the Exile, when the eastern Aramaeans had developed a literature (Romance of Ahikar, etc.). **נחור** may possibly be an old storm-god, from the stem **נחר**, "snort" (نخر, "snore"), in which case we have a formation like **דגון** < Dagān < دجن; cf. also **רמון** from Ramman. Finally, **תרח** has plausibly been identified by Jensen with the Hittite Terhu.

The intermediate link between Shem and Eber is Arphaxad, which may safely be identified, as is usually done, with Ἀρφαξάτης, Assyrian Arrapha, the district about the Upper Zab

river, first mentioned c. 2100 (*OLZ.* 18, 170). Arrapha may have been pronounced also Arrapka (for the *k* instead of *h* after a stop-sound cf. *šamkatu*, "courtesan," for *šamḥatu*; the new text of the second tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic, published by Langdon, has *šamkatu* throughout); אֲרַפְכָּשָׁר is evidently *Arpak* (the Hebrew-Aramaean pronunciation of Arrapka; hence Armenian Albāk < Arbāk) *šadē*, "Arpak of the mountains (or hills)"; cf. Hana and Hanigalbat. We can now perhaps explain the curious similarity between אֲרַפְכָּשָׁר and אֹר כְּשָׁדִים which has fascinated and baffled so many investigators—without resorting to Hommel's desperate expedient of considering פ the Egyptian article. The most important city in or near Arrapha was Arbela, which existed, as Urbillu^m, Urbēl, Arbail(u), from the middle of the third millennium down to modern times, still surviving as Erbil, a town of some importance. So far as recorded continuous existence goes, Arbela may claim the title of being the oldest city in the world. I am inclined to think that in the oldest tradition אַרְבֵּל (*Urbel*)²² in אֲרַפְכָּשָׁר was the home of Abram, later corrupted (in the cursive script!) to אַרְכָּל, which the exilic scholars emended to אֹר כְּשָׁדִים, having in mind, of course, the Babylonian *Ūr ša māt Kaldī*. That Jewish scholars were at that time not yet bound by exaggerated ideas of the sanctity of holy writ is well-known; a case of haggadic etymology is אֲנֶרֶס. Even if incorrect, this explanation of Ur is better, I venture to say, than the combination with Urfa-Edessa, which goes back to Orūa (= Arzāa, as Grimme has very felicitously pointed out, *OLZ.*, 16, 155, n. 1), a city inhabited by a non-Semitic population, or Clay's identification with the ephemeral village of Amūru near Sippar (*Amurru*, pp. 167 ff.).

Can we assume Hebrews in Arrapha during the early centuries of the second millennium? The answer must be affirmative. In *Revue d'Assyr.*, 12 (1915), 114 f., Père Scheil has published a contract from the reign of Rīm-Sin of Larsa (2154-2093) which mentions the *rēdē* (officers) of the Ḫabiru (gen. Ḫabiri), obvi-

²² While according to tradition Abram may have founded Hebron, I do not feel justified in comparing קְרִית אַרְבֵּעַ with Arba-ilu (written *IV + god*), which may be a popular etymology of a very late date. Nor are we justified in seeing traces of moon-worship in קְרִית אַרְבֵּעַ.

ously employed as mercenaries. As the late Joseph Halévy maintained, there is evidence that Kossean elements were found in the Ḥabiru, in particular the proper name Ḥarbi-šipak (*ḥabirā'a*). The Ḥabiru name Kudurra (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. 16, p. 32) seems to be Elamite. However, the fact that Kosseans are enrolled under the general head of Ḥabiru proves no more than does the circumstance that men with German names are fighting under the French standard, or that tribes of Kurdish origin in eastern Mesopotamia are considered Arab by the European traveler. As Prof. Haupt has repeatedly stated, the Hebrews were the precursors of the Arabs; 'br and 'rb are transposed doublets, both meaning "wanderer, nomad." In an article published recently in *ZA.*, I have tried to show that the Sumerian *ibira*, "merchant," is a loan from Semitic **abir*, **ebir*, while its synonym *tibira* stands for **ta'bar* (like *tamkar*), **tēbir*.²³ It is safe to say that the Hebrews were as widely distributed through the countries adjoining Arabia in the second millennium as were the Arabs during the centuries immediately preceding Islam.

So far as I can see, the most trustworthy data in the saga of Abraham are (1) his westward journey from Arrapha to Haran; (2) his association with the Aramaeans (which may also be late; see above); (3) his connection with חֲבֵרֹן=קִרְיַת אַרְבֵּעַ; (4) his association with Egypt. The fourteenth chapter must be regarded, with Asmussen (*ZATW.*, 34, 36 ff.) and Haupt (*OLZ.*, 18, 70 ff.) as a political pamphlet, designed (so Haupt) to strengthen the hands of the patriotic Jews who were supporting the rebellion of Zerubbabel against the Persian monarch. As we now know that Warad-Sin of Larsa, who, under the mask of Eriaku-Arioch, was long the comfort of the traditionalists, died about thirty years before Hammurabi-Amraphel acceded to the throne, the historical view has no foundation. We must suppose that a Jewish scholar reckoned back on the basis of the Hebrew figures and "discovered" that Abram was a contemporary of Hammurabi. The Babylonian names came from a pseudo-historical composition like that discovered by Pinches; the Hebrew material was either borrowed from extant legends like the saga of the cities of the plain and the legend of Melchizedek, or invented by use of haggadic processes, such as the

²³ Cf. סָחַר and רֹכֵל, the traveling peddler.

erudition of the 318 servants from the name of אל'יעור, and the friends אשכל and ממרא from the נחל אשכל and the אלני ממרא. Even if fiction, it ought to have been true. Our modern scholars are often tempted to take the creations of their brains too seriously.

The connection between the entrance of Abram into Egypt under pressure of famine and the Inodus of Jacob under similar circumstances is generally recognized; the repetition of a motive is drastically illustrated by the threefold appearance of the sister-wife ruse in the stories of Abram and Isaac. We cannot doubt that there was an Inodus; Abram was the chief of the tribe (or *a* chief), Jacob and Joseph tribal deities. The time of the entrance can be fixed with a close approach to precision. Hebron was built according to J, Num. 13:22 (by Abram, of course; we need not investigate the validity of the tradition), seven years before Tanis, the Hyksos capital. Now, according to the era of Nubti (Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*,³ 316), Tanis was founded, or rather rebuilt by the Hyksos about 1680, so Hebron must have been "built" shortly before (the number "seven" belongs to the domain of saga). The presence of Hebrew and Mesopotamian elements in the mixed hordes which conquered Egypt under Anatolian leadership (Ḫaḫan is a Hittite name), is attested by the names of the Hyksos dynasts Ia'kub-hr,²⁴ 'Anāt-hr,²⁵ Smḫn.²⁶ The first name, which gave the Egyptians some trouble, proves conclusively the divine character of Jacob.

I shall now offer a hypothetical reconstruction of the history of

²⁴ Also written Y'bk-hr, Y'kp-hr. Müller concludes (*MFAG.*, 17 [1912], 3, 47) that *hr* cannot be either אֵל. "God," or Eg. *hri*, "be contented." I would suggest that *hr* in these names is simply הַר, "mountain"; Ya'kub-har is a name like אל'יעור (cf. אֵל שַׁרִי, *Anu šadū*, etc.).

²⁵ 'Anāt may be derived from עֲנָה, the primary meaning of which is "to change" (Eg. 'nī, "turn"; Assy. *enū*, "suppress"), so that 'Anāt would be a deity of the same type as the Arabic عَوْض and هَبِل (which also meant primarily "change"; cf. my article in *ZA.*, "ablu-abālu"). The combinations of 'Anāt with Antum, a mere theological abstraction, and the Persian Anāhita (Anaitis) are most improbable.

²⁶ One is tempted to compare Smḫn with the Sumero-Babylonian god of animal fecundity, Sumukan, but the resemblance is presumably fortuitous. The last syllable reminds one of the Gutean royal names Arlakan and Tirikan.

Abraham (or his tribe).²⁷ The Kossean irruption which, impelled by Indo-European hordes behind, burst upon Mesopotamia in the first half of the eighteenth century, drove the Hebrew pastoral tribes before it into western Mesopotamia.²⁸ Here a Hittite state had been set up by the Hittites who had conquered Babylonia a century and a half before, and in its army the Hebrews enlisted as mercenaries. We do not, of course, know the causes or character of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt. That the Hittite associations of Abram made a profound impression upon his followers is clear, above all, because of the fact that he was later regarded as the son of a Hittite god! This is no more surprising than that Alexander was made the son of Zeus-Ammon. We may expect Abram to take a place in Hebrew saga somewhat parallel to that of Dietrich of Bern in Germanic. The Hebrew elements in the Hyksos army which invaded Egypt about 1690-1680 B. C. may even have been under Abram's command, which would account for the extraordinary respect in which later generations held him. The Hebrews, at all events, played such an important rôle that the Egyptians corrupted the imperial title, *ḥk 3- ḥ3 šwt*, "ruler of foreign lands," into *ḥk3- š3 šw*, "ruler of the nomads, shepherd-king."

The circumstances and date of the first Exodus are obscure; I do not know of any passages in the Heptateuch which may have any bearing on the problem. Presumably with the decline of Hyksos power in Egypt the Hebrew tribes withdrew, settling in central Palestine among their kinsfolk. The usual idea now is that the Hebrews invaded Palestine and Syria as a horde, migrating from Arabia about 1500 B. C. This view, however, finds no support in the Amarna correspondence, aside, perhaps, from the letters of Abdi-Ḥepa of Jerusalem. The *SA-GAZ*,²⁹ whose identity with the Ḥabiru is now established beyond reason-

²⁷ The Hebrew itinerary Ur-Arphaxad, Harrañ, Damascus (Eli'ezer), Hebron, Tanis reminds one of the famous itinerary of the Aztec migration, likewise preserved by tradition.

²⁸ To this period belongs the triumphal stele of an Assyrian king ruling somewhere in northern Mesopotamia, published by De Genouillac (*Revue d'Assyrie*, 7, 151-156), which celebrates a successful campaign against Arraphum and Urbēl, in the course of which the king crosses the Upper Zab (Zā'ibum). Evidently Arbela was an important place at this time, apparently the capital of an independent state.

²⁹ See especially Böhl, *Kanaanäer*, p. 89, n. 2.

able cavil, are found in intimate alliance with the Hittite and Mitannian princes of northern Syria (cf. above on Abraham and the Hittites) against Egypt.³⁰ They are, in fact, very much in the position of the Turkomans in Persia, a more or less permanent nomadic element in the population, allying itself usually with the ruling power, enlisting as mercenaries in its armies, etc. In this respect the patriarchal legends of Genesis have preserved a truer atmosphere than the reconstruction offered by the modern upholder of the "ethnological" theory of the Conquest. It is interesting to note that Winckler came around to this view of the situation as a result of his Boghaz-köi studies, where he met cases of fluid movement of population like that of Isūa.³¹ Of course many Hebrew tribes in Arabia Petraea and the Syro-Mesopotamian desert remained wholly nomadic long after their kinsmen had settled down.

From the indications of the story of Joseph and the Amarna letters,³² we may reasonably conclude that the Hebrews who returned from Egypt made Shechem their focus. These Hebrews can hardly, however, have played anything but an insignificant part in the whole confederation of tribes which later (before 1225) assumed the name "Israel." To the history of this confederation in pre-Josuanic days belong the sagas of the war between the Hebrew tribes, under the leadership of the town of Deborah,³³ and the Canaanite strongholds of **תענך**, **מגדו**, and perhaps **חצור**, as well as the war of Gideon against the Midianites³⁴ and Amalekites, etc.

More than three centuries after the first "Exodus" comes the Mosaic period. Instead of dealing with a god³⁵ we here find our-

³⁰ Ibid, p. 87 f.

³¹ See Winckler, *Mitteil. der Deutschen Orient-Ges.*, vol. 35, p. 32 f.

³² Cf. Böhl, *op. cit.*, p. 93 f.

³³ See Haupt, "Die Schlacht von Ta'anak" in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

³⁴ Midian is here a clear anachronism, like the Philistines in the time of Abram.

³⁵ Völter's efforts to prove the original deity of Moses, in his brochures *Aegypten und die Bibel* (fourth edition, 1909) and *Mose und die aegyptische Mythologie* (1912), are complete failures. Völter's work is entirely destitute of scientific method, and the perusal of it fills one with much the same sensations produced by the curious book of Gemoll, *Grundsteine zur Geschichte Israels*. The fact that both men are New Testament scholars may give rise to some unjust suspicion.

selves in the presence of a great religious reformer, an enthusiast like Buddha, Zoroaster and Mohammed.³⁶ Without, however, lingering on his fascinating career, about which so painfully little is really known, I will sketch its salient points rapidly, in keeping with my plan. The view presented is substantially that of Professor Haupt; see *ZDMG.*, 63, 506-530, and *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, vol. 48, 354-369.

Of fundamental importance is the connection of Moses with Heliopolis, which has been overgrown by the legendary account of his origin (following the well-known Sargon-Cyrus recipe), and finally displaced by religious prejudice (Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 522). The confusion between the stories of Joseph and Moses was also an important factor in the process (see above). Since Petep̄rē (פּוֹטִיפָרֶע) is priest of Heliopolis, we must, on our hypothesis, identify Jethro (יִתְרוֹ), the כֹּהֵן מִדִּין, "Priester der Kultusgemeinde" (Haupt), with him. The supposed variant Hobab is an appellative meaning "father-in-law" (Haupt, *OLZ.*, 12, 164). For Re'ū'el (Raguel) see below.

I am inclined to consider יִתְרוֹ as equivalent to a Heliopolitan priestly title *it-R' (like the priestly class it-ntr, "father of god"), pronounced approximately Iātrē' (father = iāt, later iōt, Coptic ⲉⲓⲱⲧ). For the change of ē to ō cf. סַרְגֶּן for Sargēn, and Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 522 f. Re'ū'el I consider a name which Petep̄rē assumed after casting his lot with the Hebrews. "Shepherd of God" (the Greek γ does not prove a غ) is a monotheistic substitute for the incompatible "father of God," which to a Yahwist was as blasphemous as the titles "Mother" resp. "Grandmother of God," bestowed upon St. Mary and St. Anne, are to a Protestant. The name may also have been chosen with reference to the paronomasia (R', "sun-god," and רֶעָה, "shepherd"—which happen to be etymologically connected, as will be shown elsewhere).

Furthermore, Asenath (אֲסֵנֶת, Ἀσενεθ) may possibly be the title of a priestess, like Assyrian mārat ūi, standing for S₃ t-ntr (cf. S₃ t-nišwt, "princess," lit. "daughter of the

³⁶ Cf. Böhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-108, and especially Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*. Arnold's remarks (*Ephod and Ark*, p. 7) are not quite fair to Gressmann's fertility of thought and felicity of diction; cf. Smith, *AJSL.*, 32, 90 ff.

king''), pronounced *Si'nāte* or *Sa'nāte*, *S'nāte*.³⁷ In case these combinations are correct, Petepre' will be the priest's original name, Jethro and Asnat will be sacerdotal titles, while Re'ū'el and Šippōrat³⁸ may be regarded as Hebrew names assumed after the Exodus.

Through Heliopolis, as Haupt has pointed out, our path leads to the solar monotheism of Iḥnaton's abortive reform, which took root in the philosophical monism developed in the City of the Sun (cf. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums*³, § 272). Most significant is the fact that an uncle of the reformer was high-priest in Heliopolis (Borchardt, *Äg. Zeit.*, vol. 44, p. 98). Perhaps he exerted an influence over the boy-king like that of Jehoiada over Joash. The movement could never have succeeded, however, had it not been for the cosmopolitan liberalism in science and culture which was characteristic of the fourteenth century. Even after the heresy had been suppressed (about 1350), monotheism may have maintained itself in secret among the priests of Heliopolis (Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 523) until the conversion of Moses, about 1250, when it began a new career, destined to revolutionize the history of the world. The great contribution of the Hebrew thinker lay in freeing the conception from the trammels of heliolatry. The ideas of Moses can hardly have fallen far short of those of Mohammed in purity of theology and universality of scope. A cosmopolite like Moses cannot have been a henotheist. In his eschatological doctrines he must have been much more idealistic than the Arab, a position to which reaction from the absurdities of the popular religion and acquaintance with the agnosticism of the intellectual must inevitably have led him.

Moses' name may be a hypocoristicon (or a monotheistic alteration) of Re'-mōse (a type of name then popular).³⁹ Since he was surely of Hebrew origin, we may regard him perhaps as a slave manumitted because of his unusual gifts. His master

³⁷ *Nṯr* was pronounced *nāte* in the thirteenth century, as we know from the Babylonian transcription *nāta*.

³⁸ Šippōra may be a romantic figure; cf. the transformation of Semiramis and the empress Josephine into birds in popular tradition. Moses was once aided by ibises.

³⁹ The *ʿ* in Mošé is perhaps due to contamination with the name of Yehōšūa', who was as closely associated with him in tradition as Cain and Abel (Arab. *Hābil* and *Kābil*).

(? cf. Potiphar above) not only adopted his teachings, like Abubekr, but also gave him his daughter, and finally accompanied him in the Mosaic hegira. Moses found converts among his kinsmen in bondage, who had been imported into Egypt in large numbers, if we may judge from historical analogies; the king "who knew not Joseph" is a late fiction. Many converts came from slaves of all nationalities, with whom Egypt was then full (the "mixed multitude" of tradition), among them Nubians and negroes. In fact, Jethro may have been himself of Nubian stock, to judge from the gentile *Kūšit* applied to his daughter. As is well known, the name Phinehas (*ḥn-ḥšī*, a common type of name among slaves) means "the negro."⁴⁰

Once at *Medina*, the Yahwists gained adherents so successfully that they were enabled to form the religious confederation of Midian, which may be called, with Professor Haupt, the Sinaitic amphictyony. Their God, hitherto called El, after revealing his majesty in volcanic eruption received the name יהוה, "He who causes to be" (the usual Hebrew formation for divine names; see above). Prof. Haupt has emended the cryptic אֱהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה (Ex. 3:14) to אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר יֵהְיֶה. "I cause to be that which comes into existence," a sentence which can be duplicated only in the sphere of Egyptian thought, where we have an exact parallel in the litanic formula *šḥprf ḫw wnnṯfi*, "he causes to be that which comes into existence."⁴¹ Morphologically, the Tetragrammaton is Hebrew, semantically it is Egyptian; the numerous efforts to trace it to Babylonia are total failures, nor is there a single valid case of its occurrence in cuneiform inscriptions before the eighth century.

After the death of Moses the Hebrews seem to have separated at Kadesh (*circa* 1200) into two bodies, one of which, under Caleb, attacked Palestine from the south; the other, led by Joshua, crossed the Jordan into central Palestine. Strictly speaking, the two invasions can hardly have been synchronous, as their character seems to have been quite different. The nucleus of the confederation went with Joshua, while the allied tribes of Kenite and Edomite stock followed Caleb. Presumably

⁴⁰ Other Egyptian names among the Aaronids are Hophni (*ḥfn*, "tadpole") and perhaps Merari (*mrrw*, "beloved").

⁴¹ Cf., e. g., Erman, *Chrestomathie*, p. 38, l. 6.

the usual quarrel had occurred. The confederates gave themselves the distinguishing name יהודה, "the body of believers" (Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 63, 513, n. 1). In spite of the fact that the sanctuary of Yahweh was in the North, at Shiloh, Judah preserved its faith purer than Shiloh, just as the nomadic tribes of Arabia and not the theologians of Mekka supported Wahhabism. Fortunately, perhaps, for monotheism, Judah was effectually barred from organic union with the North by the chain of Canaanite fortresses extending across Palestine along the line of Jerusalem, Ajalon, and Gezer.

When the romantic exaggerations of the bard, and the artificial constructions of the savant have been cleared away, Joshua's achievement becomes modest enough. After crossing the Jordan and capturing Jericho,⁴² he may have attracted a sufficient number of native Hebrews living about Bethel and Shechem to enable him to defeat a Canaanite coalition at the battle of Beth-horon.⁴³ Beyond the line of Jerusalem to the south and the plain of Jezreel to the north he can hardly have ventured. Since the followers of Joshua had no tribal organizations, they were admitted into the already existing "tribal" divisions. The sanctuary of Yahweh was established at Shiloh, where it soon was endowed with the customary paraphernalia for ritualistic and divinatory purposes. In spite of all corruptions and compromises, however, Yahwism persisted, gaining ground slowly until the reign of David, who may be styled the Yahwist Asoka. The "Aaronid" priesthood retained an Egyptian tinge, as may be seen from the names, down to the time of Samuel, about a century and a half after the conquest.

⁴² For the historical basis of the saga of the fall of Jericho see Haupt, *Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. 23, 355-365. The capture of Ai can hardly be considered historical; cf. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴³ The present account of the battle of Beth-horon is based upon a poem like the Song of Deborah; cf. *JAOS.*, 36, 230.

נכון

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

In three passages of the Bible the word נכון is used in a peculiar sense. I Sam. 23:23 reads: וראו ודעו מכל המחבאים; אשר יתחבא שם ושבתם אלי אל נכון והלכתי אתכם: I Sam. 26:4 reads: וישלח דוד מרגלים וידע כי בא שאול אל נכון; II Sam. 6:6 reads: ויבאו ער גרן נכון.

The expression has always occasioned difficulty, and has received manifold renderings. Appreciating the fact that in II Sam. 6:6 a proper name undoubtedly stood in the original text, the Chronicler has substituted כירן for the to him unintelligible נכון (I Chron. 13. 9). This is unquestionably a textual emendation, and scarcely represents the original reading. \mathfrak{G}^B reads Νωδάβ for נכון, while \mathfrak{G}^{Bb} reads 'Ωδάβ , and \mathfrak{G}^A reads Ναχών as a proper name. \mathfrak{G}^L reads $\text{'Ορνὰ τοῦ Ἱεβυσσαίου}$, clearly a harmonistic emendation. Aquila reads ὥς ἄλωνος ἐτοιμῆς , a literal translation of נכון as a Niphal participle of כון. Other Hexapla versions read variously Ναχώρ and 'Αχώρ . The Targum to this passage renders גרן נכון by ארתר מיתקן, literally "a prepared place," just as does Aquila.

For נכון in I Sam. 23:23 \mathfrak{G}^A reads ἐτοιμον , while \mathfrak{G}^B omits the entire clause from מכל המחבאים through נכון. The Targum renders אל נכון by מן קשט, "of a certainty," as does also Symmachus, ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ . נכון in I Sam. 26:4 \mathfrak{G}^{AB} renders ἐτοιμος , i. e. it translates נכון literally as a Niphal participle of כון, regardless of the meaning of the passage, just as Targum and Aquila do to II Sam. 6:6. Apparently, feeling also the need of the mention of some exact location, \mathfrak{G}^{AB} has added ἐκ Κεελιά . \mathfrak{G}^L reads ἐκ Σεκελιάς , again evidently a harmonistic emendation. Here also the Targum renders נכון by מן קשט.

Among modern commentators an even wider range of interpretation is manifest. Keil and Delitzsch (English edition, 189) render גרן נכון in II Sam. 6:6 "the threshing-floor of the stroke," deriving נכון from נכה. Reuss (German edition, I, 241) offers a similar interpretation. Klostermann (152) trans-

lates, "bis zu einer bestimmten Tenne," and remarks, "ein Ausdruck, der von der Benennung geflissentl. absieht, indem er die Sache setzt; denn der Ort soll erst einen Eigennamen erhalten, u. es genügt, auf die abschüssige Glätte des Tennensbodens aufmerksam gemacht zu haben, um den folgenden Vorfall zu begreifen." Commenting upon נכון in II Sam. 6:6 Smith says (294), "evidently a proper name; the endeavor of some of the commentators to make it mean indefinitely, a *certain* threshing-floor, is not sustained by usage, nor is Th.'s interpretation *fixed* or *permanent* in distinction from a temporary floor used only for a particular field or during one season. Whether Nachon is the correct name, or whether we should read כירן with Chr., or Νοδάβ with 6^B, cannot be determined." Budde (Marti, *Hand Commentar*, 229 and *Polychrome Bible*, 82) seems fairly content with the כירן of Chr. Nowack (*Handkommentar*, 173) says that the context clearly demands a proper name, and agrees with Budde that the כירן of Chr. is the best authenticated emendation that can be made. However, in his translation of the text he leaves a blank space for the name. Kittel (in Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des A. T.*,² 323) does likewise. (Cf. also Driver, *Notes*,² 267 and Wellhausen, *T.B.S.*) The latest interpretation of the word, and one completely at variance with those usually given is that of Arnold (*Ephod and Ark* (1917), 62). He says, "נכון is of course not a proper name; which could serve no purpose here. Neither the author nor his readers would be familiar with the name of the owner of every threshing-floor between Kiriath-jearim and Jerusalem. Obviously the adjective, like the substantive גרן itself, has some bearing on the misadventure about to be narrated. I have taken נכון to signify in this connection, *firm, hard, permanent*, that is, a threshing-floor of bare rock, as distinguished from one made of levelled and hardened earth. It is possible, to be sure, that the author intends נכון in the alternative sense of *prepared*, that is, smoothed and swept, and made ready for the season's threshing. In the latter case the description would fix the season of the year as late in June or early in July. For the rest, the phrase ויבאו ער seems to imply that the procession had not travelled very far when the accident happened. Nor was a threshing-floor likely to lie across the path when once the highway had been gained."

For **אל-נכון** in I Sam. 23:23 Smith proposes (215) to read **על-נכון**, and interprets the expression with the Targum and Symmachus, "of a certainty," i. e. the Ziphites were to return to Saul with information resting on a certainty. Driver (*Notes*,² 189) offers the same interpretation. Budde (159) proposes the omission of **אל**, and the change of **ושבתם** to **והשבתם**, and translates "and bring me positive information." Nowack (120) interprets the passage in the same way, although he does not emend the text to the same extent as does Budde. Kittel (309), too, interprets the passage in the same manner. Klostermann (103) renders **אל-נכון** "nach der Verabredung."

אל-נכון in I Sam. 26:4, Smith feels (231) must designate some particular place. He hesitatingly proposes to substitute **אר-נכחו**, "to the point just in front of him." This reading is rejected by Budde (169), who seems to prefer, with Wellhausen, the reading of **מקעילה**^{AB}. However, he admits that this reading, too, is open to very serious objection. Nowack (130) rejects the readings of both **מקעילה**^{AB} and **מקעילה**^L, and holds that a place name is clearly required, and also that Smith's suggestion, **אל-נכחו**, is worthy of consideration. In his translation he leaves a blank space for the word, as does also Kittel (312) (cf. also Driver, *Notes*,² 205). Klostermann (113) feels that **אל-נכון** may designate the time quite as well as the place, and so renders "auf eine bestimmte Zeit."

This great variety of interpretations shows clearly the difficulties under which the versions and commentators labored. And yet a simple explanation may well solve the difficulty. All modern commentators (with the single exception of Arnold to II Sam. 6:6) agree that the contexts of both I Sam. 26:4 and II Sam. 6:6 require a proper name for **נכון**. And a moment's consideration shows that the interpretation of **אל-נכון** in I Sam. 23:23, "of a certainty," involves far-fetched, unauthenticated, and altogether unnecessary textual emendation. Vv. 24 and 25 make it clear that after coming to a definite understanding with Saul, the Ziphites set out in advance of Saul and his men, to locate the hiding-place of David. Knowing the country well, and being unencumbered with the usual military and camp equipment, they can move more rapidly than Saul and his

soldiers, and are therefore able to play the rôle of scouts and spies. But Saul and his men do not remain where they had been encamped, awaiting a report from the Ziphites. As v. 25 states explicitly, they, too, move on, though naturally more slowly, in the general direction of the district in which, it is known, David is in hiding. What more natural, and even necessary, therefore, than that, when sending the Ziphites forth, Saul should have agreed with them upon some definite spot in the immediate vicinity of David's supposed place of concealment, where they were to meet him, and there report to him the results of their search? In other words, here, too, just as in the other two passages, נכון probably stands for a place name, which has been lost. Saul says to the Ziphites, "Observe and take note of all the hiding-places where he conceals himself, then return to me at, and I will go with you, etc."¹

This being the case, the only satisfactory explanation of the word must be one which will account for its use in all three passages. An explanation lies ready to hand, so simple and natural that it is surprising that it has not occurred to commentators before this. Sebastian Schmid² seems to have been on the right track when he translated אל-נכון of I Sam. 26:4 *ad certum (locum)*. Klostermann, too, has rendered גרן נכון of II Sam. 6:6 "a certain threshing-floor." It is beyond question that in each of the three passages a proper name stood originally in the place now occupied by נכון, and that these three proper names were lost or became unrecognizable, and נכון was substituted to supply the deficiency. נכון would then be a synonym of the more customary פלוני, and would be equivalent both literally and idiomatically to our English "certain" in the

¹ While the locative may be used more frequently with place names, none the less the use of אל likewise in such connection is amply attested; cf. Zach. 8:3; II Chron. 20:27. Or, not impossibly, the original may have used the locative, and אל may be the result of dittography with the preceding אל. Or it may be that the original text had the locative of the place name, but when this was lost and נכון was substituted, אל was substituted with it to avoid the building up of the form נכונה with the locative ה, which might have been easily confused with the feminine of the participle.

² In *Libros Samuelis Commentarius*, Argentorati, 1687, '89 (quoted from Smith, 231).

expression, "a certain place," for a place the name of which is unknown or has been forgotten. This translation, "certain," for נכון accords perfectly with the context of all three passages.

It may be that the original authors themselves were no longer acquainted with the actual names in question, and themselves employed נכון in these three passages. More probably, however, the original text gave the names correctly, but when these became illegible, or, for one reason or another, were lost, later scribes inserted the indefinite and idiomatic נכון.

While this hypothesis can not, of course, be proved positively, it has in its favor at least that it accounts with one explanation for the use of נכון in all three passages, something which no other explanation hitherto offered, has succeeded in doing.

ISAIAH ON THE FATE OF HIS PEOPLE AND THEIR CAPITAL

HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL
TUFTS COLLEGE

A serious difficulty in the way of an attempt to learn what Isaiah thought about the future of his people, or any other subject, arises from the freedom with which his prophecies have been treated by the compilers and editors to whom the collection in the first thirty-nine chapters of the book that bears his name owes its present form and content.

In the first place, it is evident that there are many parts of this collection, sometimes, as in the case of 12, 24-27, and 34 f., whole chapters, that cannot be attributed to Isaiah, but must be regarded as the writings of men of other minds who lived long after his career was finished; and it is equally evident, from such examples as 1: 2 ff. and 9: 7/8 ff., that the genuine prophecies are not arranged in the order in which they were originally uttered. These facts must be taken into account and the genuine prophecies, if possible, identified and studied in their chronological relations; for only so can one learn what the prophet really taught and whether, in the course of his long and eventful career, his mind underwent any change or development on the subject in question.

It is generally agreed that the earliest of Isaiah's prophecies are found in chs. 2-4, or, to be more specific, in 2: 6-19, 21; 3: 1a, 2-9, 12-17, 24 (except the last clause); 4: 1 (Duhm adds 32: 9-14). This section has two notable peculiarities. In the first place, it has a title of its own, which, though not original, as appears from the order of the names "Judah" and "Jerusalem," agrees with 3: 1, 8, and is therefore doubtless correct in describing the prophecies it covers as spoken "concerning Judah and Jerusalem."

The second fact to be especially noted is that the contents of this section so clearly betray the influence of Amos, that their author may fairly be called a disciple of that great prophet.

This influence is seen in the forms in which Isaiah clothes his ideas: for example, the multiplication of particulars in 2:6-8, 12-16; 3:2 f., 24a, and the employment of the refrain, of which specimens have been preserved in 2:11, 17, and 19, 21. See Am. 2:6-8; 3:3-6; and 4:6-11. A degree of dependence on his predecessor is also shown in the subjects that Isaiah discusses; when, for example, he condemns luxury (2:7), oppression of the poor (3:14 f.), and the immodesty of the women of his time (3:16 f., 24a). See Am. 6:3-6; 5:10-12; 4:1-3.

A young man, new to his calling, who was so evidently influenced in the direction of his thought and in his forms of expression by another, would naturally, at first, adopt the tone and the convictions of the master. Now, Amos was stern by nature, and, although he sometimes had recourse to exhortation, showing that he did not deny the possibility of a different outcome, he was thoroughly convinced that the fate of the Northern Kingdom was sealed; and he repeatedly expressed himself to this effect. Isaiah, therefore, in these earliest prophecies, is similarly severe and pessimistic: in other words, he views the situation in Judah with Amos' eyes and sometimes seems to predict the country's complete and inevitable destruction. There are two or three clear cases of this kind. Thus, in 2:6 he declares that Yahweh has "cast off his people," and in 3:8 that "Jerusalem shall totter and Judah fall"¹; and there is nothing in either case to relieve the severity of these fateful utterances.

The prophecies thus far considered have been referred to the first period of Isaiah's career, but no definite date has been suggested. If, as many maintain, ch. 6 is a description of Isaiah's original call, and that occurred in "the year that Uzziah died," these chapters cannot be earlier than 735 B. C., since this was the last year of Uzziah's long reign. Nor can they be many months later, since they contain no reference to the expedition of Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Syria against Judah in 734 B. C.

To the same period, whatever be its length, must be referred ch. 5, except vs. 15 f. and 30, together with 9:7/8-20/21 and 10:1-3. Here, also, there is evidence of the influence of Amos, especially in the refrain in 9:7/8-20/21 and the mutilated conclusion to this passage, now 5:25-30. See Am. 4:6-11. Finally,

¹ See also 32:14.

the tone is here as stern as in the preceding chapters, but the prophet arraigns Israel as well as Judah and condemns them both with impartial severity. Thus, in the application of the parable of the vineyard, he says:

“The vineyard of Yahweh of Hosts
 is the house of Israel,
 And the men of Judah
 the planting of his delight;
 And he looked for redress,
 and behold,—distress!
 For restraint,
 and behold,—complaint!”

To Judah he devotes 10: 1-3, which may, originally, have immediately followed the parable, and 5: 8-15, 18-24, where he threatens them with a “devastation that cometh from afar” (10: 3), the depopulation of their country (5: 13, 17), and, apparently, swift and complete extinction. See 5: 24.

The fate of Israel is described as the last resort of their long-suffering God, who, having failed to bring them to submission, now prepares to deliver them to the great power to which Amos consigned them, and from which, Isaiah says (5: 29), “there is no deliverer.”

The two groups of prophecies thus far examined have furnished material for a pretty clear idea of their author. He was evidently a young man of excellent gifts, an ardent admirer of Amos, and a courageous exponent of the reforms which his great predecessor had preached in Israel; but thus far he had not shown much independence or originality. From this time onward he is different; his outlook wider, his vision clearer, his ideas more timely and individual. Why? Not because he was appreciably older; for the change became apparent in 734 B. C.; and not because he was so deeply affected by the crisis of that year, for there is evidence that the change had already been wrought when the crisis occurred. This being the case, the question naturally arises whether, after all, ch. 6 is not properly placed, being an account, not of the prophet's original call, if he can be said to have had any previous experience deserving the name, but of a revelation for which he was prepared by his

earlier work, and by which he was prepared for his part in the successive crises through which he was destined to pass.

The terms of the vision as described seem to confirm this opinion of its date. The promptness with which the prophet confesses his own unworthiness and the unworthiness of his people to approach the Holy One of Israel is what one would expect of the author of 5:8 ff. It is also safe to say that the man to whom this vision was vouchsafed was acquainted with failure and discouragement, and needed to be assured that the fruitlessness of his efforts was not his fault and convinced that it was his duty to persevere, even if those he was endeavoring to save from the consequences of their own folly and wickedness persisted in ignoring his message.

The compiler who gave ch. 6 its present place evidently meant that it should serve as an introduction to the six following. If, as has been suggested, there are reasons for believing that it marks the entrance of the prophet upon a second stage in his career, one cannot but be interested to know what it has to say on the subject of this discussion. Isaiah, it will be remembered, represents himself as asking (v. 11) how long he must pursue the course commanded, and Yahweh as replying, "Until cities, ruined, are without an inhabitant, and houses without men, and the soil is left a desert." In the last two verses this is explained as meaning the total removal of the people and the utter devastation of their country; except "a holy seed," left like the stump of a tree that has been felled. There are those who deny the genuineness of both of these verses entire. The last clause of v. 13, which is wanting in the Greek Version, is certainly a gloss; but it has its importance, since it registers the opinion that the prophet, even if he believed that the Hebrews of his day were destined to lose their place among the nations, did not mean to say that the purpose of Yahweh in his dealings with them would thus be defeated; an opinion shared by no less an authority than Duhm and confirmed by various passages in the next two chapters and other prophecies of the early years of the reign of Ahaz.

In discussing this period one must distinguish Isaiah's attitude toward Judah from that toward the kingdom of Israel. For the latter the prophet has nothing, apparently, but condem-

nation. Thus, in 17:4-6, 9, a passage incorrectly translated in the English Version, which probably slightly antedates the hostile demonstration by Pekah and Rezin, he threatens that Israel's cities will be deserted (v. 9) and its population all but exterminated. See vs. 5 f. A little later, when Ahaz is trembling in anticipation of an attack, he predicts that both Israel and Syria, within a brief period, will be devastated and their wealth, as, of course, their inhabitants, be deported to Assyria. See 7:16; 8:4.

There is no sign of sympathy or abatement with reference to these two countries, but, when one turns to the case of Judah, one notes a difference. It appears at once in the account of the interview, when Isaiah went to Ahaz to protest against an appeal to Tiglath-pileser for help against his enemies.

In the first place, the prophet is instructed to offer the king and his people relief and security, if they will abandon their present policy; for, of course, the oracular message, "Except ye confide, ye shall not abide," (v. 9), implies that, if they trust in Yahweh, he will protect them. This message, however, is not so significant as the fact that Isaiah was commanded (v. 3) to take with him on his errand a son whose name was Shear-yashubh. This name, which is capable of at least two interpretations, but doubtless, as the author of 10:21 believed, refers to a change of attitude toward Yahweh, shows that Isaiah, in spite of the severity which he felt authorized to use in his public deliverances, cherished the conviction, not only that his God was prepared to protect and deliver on certain conditions, but that, by some at least to whom they were offered, these conditions would be fulfilled. It also, because the child who bore it must have been some months old, indicates that the prophet had been of this opinion for some time, probably ever since the enlargement of his conception of the purpose of Yahweh by the vision vouchsafed him.

The late reference to Shear-yashubh in 10:21 has already been cited. There is a less apparent, but genuine, one in 8:18, where Isaiah speaks of himself and his children as "signs and tokens in Israel." These signs and tokens, he says, are "from Yahweh," but he does not, in so many words, say for whom they are intended. The preceding context, however, supplies the

omission, for from vs. 16 f. it is clear that he is thinking of his disciples and that he expects them, or some of them, to survive the dark days during which the face of Yahweh will be hidden from the house of Jacob, without doubt as a part of the loyal remnant.

There is no other passage to be cited in this connection, but perhaps it ought to be noted that from 7:21, 25 it appears that the prophet did not expect the invasion of v. 20 utterly to depopulate Judah. See also 8:8, where the threatened flood is described as reaching only "to the neck," although it fills "the breadth" of the land.

There can be little doubt that, at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, Isaiah believed that, however severely Yahweh might punish his people for their sins, some would remain, or, through chastisement become, loyal, and that they and their religion would be preserved. There is little to indicate how he felt thereafter for some years, but what there is seems to warrant the opinion that he stood firmly in his hitherto conviction and confidently expected to see his predictions fulfilled. It is clear from 28:1-4 that he never changed his mind about the fate of Israel. In the same chapter he pays his respects to the priests and prophets of Judah, who, when he went to them with his message, mocked him for his pains, because, as they said, they had a pact with death and an agreement with Sheol; by which they meant that, since their king was a vassal of the king of Assyria, who may at the time have been besieging Samaria, they had nothing to fear from that quarter. The prophet warns them that they are deceiving themselves, that the power which they have made their refuge will one day become their enemy and crush them, as it is already crushing their neighbors (vs. 18, 22), unless they transfer their faith from men to their God (v. 16); adding a parable to prevent them from thinking that they had escaped the penalty for their unbelief because there had been some delay in its execution. See vs. 23-29.

The Assyrians took Samaria in 722 B. C. In 720 Sargon completed the subjugation of the kingdom of Israel. This event must have stirred Isaiah profoundly. One can hardly believe that he failed to draw from it serious lessons for Judah; but there are no such prophecies, unless they are to be found in the

first chapter, parts of which, in fact, there are reasons for referring to the date given. In the first place, at the beginning of the chapter (v. 2) the prophet is so evidently influenced by Hosea (7:13; 11:1) that one is pretty safe in thinking that, in v. 3, the name "Israel" is used in its broader sense, as in the divine title "the Holy One of Israel." See v. 4; also 8:14, 18. This being admitted, vs. 5-9 become a description of the great waste left behind by the army of Sargon compared with the little kingdom of which Jerusalem ("Zion") was the center. It is only by adopting such an interpretation that one can understand the comparison of Jerusalem with "a booth in a vineyard," etc., and the representation of the temple as resounding with the tramp of worshipers and their thronging sacrifices; since it would clearly have been impossible to provide so many animals, if the surrounding country had been overrun, or if it were still occupied by enemies. See, also, v. 20, from which it appears that the day of retribution was still future. This is the situation in vs. 2-20. In vs. 21-26 (or 28) there is a repetition of the arraignment and an almost eager tone in the threat of retribution; but the threat becomes a promise the climax of which is reached in the words,

"Then will I restore thy judges as at first,
and thy counsellors as at the beginning;
"Thereafter shalt thou be called the righteous city,
a faithful town."

Here is a distinct and important advance upon 8:16 f.; for, whereas in the earlier days the prophet saw in the remnant a little band of timid disciples, he is now so bold as to describe it as an organized community. Or should one say, as does Duhm, that this passage may represent Isaiah's mind when he gave the name "Shear-yashubh" to his boy, and think of 8:16 f. as denoting the disappointment he felt at his failure to win Ahaz to what he believed to be the divine program?

One of the striking features of the prophecies of Isaiah is the frequency of the appearance of the Assyrians. In this respect they remind one of those of Amos; also in the fact that they represent these foreigners as the conscious or unconscious agents of Yahweh. From the first Isaiah has only reverence for the power and righteousness displayed by Yahweh in employing

them, and only admiration for the promptness and thoroughness with which they execute his will. A good illustration of his attitude is found in 5:26-29, where he describes them, in their perfect order and equipment, sweeping on their irresistibly destructive mission. In this case it is not so strange that the prophet should betray sympathy with the conquerors, since it is Israel that is threatened; but it is the same in the reign of Ahaz, when Judah is their destination. So great, to his mind, is the guilt of his people that, for the time being, the demands of justice drown the plea of patriotism. See 7:20; 8:7 f. There is, at first, no change, when, after years of silence, he emerges from retirement to try to save his people from the consequences of the reckless fanaticism of Hezekiah and the party that support him. The prophet warns them that they are inviting the invasion of their country and the investment of their capital (29:1-4a); that Egypt cannot be trusted to help them in an extremity (30:1-5); and that, even with the help of that country, they will be no match for the invader, but the helper and the helped will go down together. See 30:17; 31:3. Here, probably, belongs 10:27b-32, a passage which, like 5:26-29, describes the movements of an Assyrian army, but this time an imaginary advance on Jerusalem which brings it within sight of the city. Isaiah does not, in this vision, tell his people what will be the result of the threatened assault, but there can be no doubt that he expected it to be disastrous to the defenders, unless they capitulated. So much, also, can be inferred from the passages cited from chs. 29-31. The same prospect is more clearly presented in 22:1-8a, 12-14ba, where he rebukes the "jubilant town" for its ill-timed festivities and pictures the defeat of its armies and an assault the thought of which should clothe its inhabitants in sackcloth and wring from them, not shouts of laughter, but tears and lamentation.

The passages in which Isaiah refers even remotely to the Assyrians are discussed by Professor Beer of Heidelberg in a paper entitled "Zur Zukunftserwartung Jesajas," published in the volume of *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte* commemorating Wellhausen's seventieth birthday. Those that are favorable he places under the heading "Die Pro-Assurstücke." When he has considered them, before taking

account of any of a different character, he declares that "Isaiah from beginning to end threatened with the Assyrian, and there is therefore absolutely nowhere in the preaching of the prophet a place for anti-Assyrian oracles." Then, under the heading "Die Anti-Assurstücke," he proceeds to dispose of unfavorable data and thus maintain his previously formed opinion.

The passages which he considers worthy of mention in this connection are the following: 5:30; 8:9 f.; 9:3; 10:5-34; 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 18:5; 28:5 f.; 29:5, 7 f.; 30:28-33; 31:4b-9; 33; 37:22 ff., 33 ff. These he divides into three classes, the first containing 37:22 ff., 33 ff.; the second 5:30; 8:9 f.; 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 29:5, 7 f.; 30:27-33; 31:4b-9; and the third 9:3; 10:5-34; 18:5; 28:5 f.; 33.

Beer finds 37:22 ff., 33 ff., *oracula ex eventu*, and most modern scholars would endorse this opinion, not, however, because they do not agree with genuine utterance of an earlier date, but because, as is shown by language and content, chs. 36 f. consist of two distinct variations on 2 Kgs. 18:14-16 which agree neither with it nor with each other, and 37:22-32 and 33-36 are duplicate sections in the later of these two narratives. They need not, therefore, be further considered in this connection.

Among the passages in the second class, also, there are some that may be neglected: 5:30, because it is an immetrical and unnecessary addition to a passage which has already reached its climax; 8:9 f., because, though apparently written for the place it occupies, it has an apocalyptic tone and misinterprets the preceding context; and 29:5, 7 f., for similar reasons. There remain 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 30:27-33; 31:4b-9, the consideration of which will be postponed for the present.

From the third class may be omitted 28:5 f., which is clearly an interpolation, and ch. 33, on whose genuineness there has been increasing skepticism since Ewald.

If, now, there be deducted from the last two classes the passages to which exceptions have been taken, there will remain 9:3; 10:5-34; 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 18:5; 30:27-33; 31:4b-9. Of all these 10:5-34 is most important. Beer, also, is of this opinion. In fact, he goes so far as to say that, if this passage can be shown to be genuine, it will have to be admitted that Isaiah predicted the overthrow of Assyria, not only here,

but in parallel passages from the various periods during which he lived and labored. He therefore devotes more space to this passage than to any other in an attempt to show that it is not from the pen of Isaiah. He divides it into three sections. Of the first, vs. 5-19, he says that the prophet cannot have written it, because he cannot have condemned the Assyrians: (1) for destroying "nations not a few," since he himself foretold the subjugation by him of several; or (2) for declaring Jerusalem no better than Kalno, etc., since he himself had expected the conquest of Judah and the destruction or deportation of its inhabitants; or (3) for claiming the entire credit for the spoliation of the world, since Egypt was not added to the Assyrian empire until 670 B. c.

This argument has some interesting features. In the first place, it takes for granted the unity of the passage in question, although the best critical authorities, for metrical and other reasons, agree in maintaining that vs. 10-12, except possibly v. 11 (Marti), and 15-19 cannot have been written by the same hand as the rest of it. Secondly, it is rather remarkable that the points enumerated should be used as Beer uses them, since Marti, from whose commentary (p. 104) they were borrowed, finds nothing in them to disprove the genuineness of vs. 5-7, 8b, 9, 11, 13 f., although they may not all belong in this connection. Finally, it should be noted that Marti and others refer the unguine parts of this section to the Syrian period, while Beer concludes that the whole is "a prophecy of the fall of the historic Assyria, not, however, of the days of Isaiah, but about a hundred years later"; that is, of the days of Nahum and Zephaniah. But would a contemporary of these prophets be as familiar as the author of vs. 13 f. evidently was with the Assyria of the end of the eighth century and its boastful ruler?

In 10:20-27 and 28-34 Beer finds products of a much later period, namely, the Syrian. In the case of the latter he falls into the same careless method followed in discussing the first section, basing his conclusion on vs. 33 f., in spite of the perfectly obvious fact that these verses are by a different hand from 28-32, that, therefore, the original utterance may have been Isaiah's (Cheyne), and that, whoever was its author, it belongs with the passages favorable, and not to those unfavorable, to Assyria.

The faultiness of the method followed by Professor Beer renders his conclusion unreliable. It will therefore be necessary to examine more carefully 10:5 ff. and then give some attention to the thus far neglected passages (9:3; 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 18:5; 30:27-33; 31:4b-9), all of which, except 18:5, he refers to the Syrian period.

First, however, it will be well to make a preliminary test of Beer's statement that "from beginning to end" Isaiah "threatened with the Assyrian," and that, therefore, there is "absolutely no place for anti-Assyrian oracles." In support of this position he cites 1:5 and 22:14 from prophecies which Cheyne, also, places last in his chronological arrangement. The date of 1:2-9 has already been discussed and reasons given for referring this and other parts of the same chapter to an earlier date, namely, one about 720 B. C.

The date of the passage to which 22:14 belongs is considerably later, but not so late as the withdrawal of the Assyrians from Jerusalem, since it is unreasonable to suppose that the Jews, whose country had already been ravaged by the enemy, could have celebrated the event "by slaying oxen and killing sheep." It is much more probable that the festivities which offended the prophet were occasioned by news that an understanding with Egypt had been reached, or that an Egyptian army was already on the way to check the advance of Sennacherib. Then there were oxen and sheep to slay, and that was the time when such a threat as "This iniquity shall not be forgiven you till ye die" was most natural and impressive.

If, however, the dates given to these two passages are correct, or approximately so, Beer's statement must be modified to read, not "from beginning to end," but from the beginning of his prophetic career until Sennacherib appeared in Palestine, Isaiah continued to threaten his people with punishment through the agency of the Assyrians; for thus far there is no evidence to show what he thought or taught on the subject after this date.

It is conceivable that he finally changed his attitude toward the invaders. Various reasons for such a change can be imagined: a keener realization of the mercy and faithfulness of Yahweh; the discovery of traces of repentance and amendment among his people; a nearer acquaintance with the spirit and practices of their enemies. There is evidence of such a change

for the last of these reasons in 10:5 ff., where there have been preserved parts of a prophecy which, from its tone and content, is believed by the best authorities to have been uttered by Isaiah during the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib. The verses generally accepted as genuine are 5-9 and 13 f., to which Marti is inclined to add 11 and Box 15. The tone of these verses is distinctly hostile. The first begins with the "Woe" which introduces each of the curses of 5:8 ff. The reason for Yahweh's anger is given in detail, but there is no corresponding conclusion, for 16-19 are clearly by another hand. There must once have been one in the same form and style. It is required by the whole tone of the extant fragments, and it must have threatened the Assyrians with some kind of evil. In other words, in this mutilated prophecy is clear proof that Isaiah, when he came to see the Assyrians at close range, changed his mind with reference to them and represented Yahweh as sharing his disapprobation.

The attitude of the prophet being thus made evident, it is not necessary to seek the missing conclusion, but there have been attempts in this direction, resulting in more or less attractive conjectures. Staerk thinks it has been preserved in vs. 33 f., others in 14:24-27, or strictly, 24b-25a, 26 f.; but the former of these passages is of doubtful genuineness, and, of the latter, perhaps the most that can be said is that it "belongs to the period of Sennacherib, when Isaiah had recognized that the Assyrians attacked all peoples only from lust for pillage and destruction." So Duhm. In this case he makes Yahweh declare (v. 25a),

"I will break the Assyrian in my land,
and on my highlands will I tread him under foot."

Beer interprets the name Assyrian in this instance as in Zeh. 10:10, where it is a conventional substitute for "Syrian," giving as a reason, that it alternates with "all the nations." But the phrase "all the nations" (v. 26) is not here used in the apocalyptic sense, that is, of the gentiles assembled against Jerusalem to be destroyed by Yahweh. It is in parallelism with "all the earth." Verse 26, therefore, says simply, that the wisdom which dictates the overthrow of Assyria is the same which is exercised in the general direction of the world, and the power

("hand") exerted the same which is displayed in the constant control of its inhabitants: which is the application of what Isaiah put into the mouths of the seraphs of the heavenly court, "The whole earth is full of his glory." See 6:3.

The point just made at first sight seems to tell against 17:12-14, for there the "many nations" appear to be moving against Jerusalem; but perhaps, as Duhm suggests, the phrase should here be interpreted as a reference to the various nationalities represented in the Assyrian army, since in v. 14 they are described as they that "despoil" and "rob" the prophet's people, and such, on the king's own testimony, were the soldiers of Sennacherib.

It seems probable that, as Marti maintains, 18:5 belongs with 17:1-11, a genuine prophecy concerning Syria and Israel. If so, it has no bearing on the point now under consideration.

The case of 30:27-33 is a difficult one. Duhm defends its genuineness, but Cheyne, Hackmann, and Marti all think otherwise, and the apocalyptic character of the passage, especially the phrase "the name of Yahweh" (v. 27) and the description of the Topheth "prepared of old" (v. 33), certainly favor their opinion. See Jer. 7:32; Is. 66:24.

In 31:4b-9 the critics mentioned above agree in finding Isaiah material, Duhm in vs. 4 f. and 9 and the rest in v. 4. On the figure, see 5:29. The meaning of v. 4 is not readily determined. In the first place, the preposition in the phrase rendered "upon Mount Zion" in the Revised Version may, as the margin intimates, be translated "against," and it is so translated in all the other passages in which it follows the verb here used. See Nu. 31:7; Is. 29:7 f.; Zeh. 14:12. This interpretation is in harmony with v. 3, but it is forbidden by v. 5, whence it appears that Yahweh is not a foe, but the protector, of Jerusalem. The way out of this confusion is to suppose that, as the "for" which introduces v. 4 would indicate, this verse is of the same date as 1-3, and that v. 5 is an editorial addition giving to v. 4 a turn which the original author did not intend. But, if v. 4 is hostile to Judah, it is a pro-Assyrian passage, and, if it is of the same date as 1-3, it is earlier than the actual appearance of Sennacherib in Palestine; therefore it cannot be used to show that Isaiah did not change his attitude toward the Assyrians after their arrival.

The editor of the book of Isaiah, in giving to 9:1/2-6/7 the place it now occupies apparently meant to convey the idea that the good time promised would succeed the gloomy period foretold as the result of the unbelief of Ahaz. This is a mistake, for, when 9:1/2 ff. was written, whatever its date, a gloomy period had already intervened; but, so far as is known, the Jews were not thus afflicted in the reign of Ahaz. Hence Duhm, who defends the genuineness of the passage, refers it to "the last of the time of Isaiah," which, if the prophet, as tradition teaches, lived to see Manasseh king, but suffered martyrdom at his hands, was just after 686 B. C. If, however, it is genuine, a more likely date for it would be just before the birth of Manasseh. At that time the Jews, without doubt, as a penalty for the revolt into which Hezekiah had led them, were "walking in darkness," but there must have been those among them who, in spite of the darkness, were hoping for better things, even deliverance from their oppressors and restoration as a nation to honor and prosperity; and Isaiah may well have been one of their number.² If the prophecy is ungenuine, it cannot, of course, be cited in support of 10:5 ff.; but neither can it be made to offset the positive evidential value of that passage.

It would be interesting, and perhaps profitable, to pursue this discussion so far as to inquire whether the confidence of the opponents of Jeremiah in the inviolability of Jerusalem (Je. 7:4, 12-15) was not based on the later prophecies of Isaiah; but it is a difficult question and it will be best for the present to leave it unanswered.

² The fact that Manasseh proved to be utterly unworthy of the high titles given to the ideal King is not a valid objection to this interpretation.

THE LUCIANIC VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AS ILLUSTRATED FROM JEREMIAH 1-3*

ROYDEN KEITH YERKES
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The quest of the Lucianic text of the Greek Old Testament, which was undertaken with such vigor a generation ago under the able leadership of Field and Lagarde, has become little more than an avocation among scholars since the death of those two pioneers. The importance of this work consists in the fact that the Lucianic version was one of the three great Christian recensions of the Greek Old Testament in the third and fourth centuries.

* CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. 1798 Holmes, *Praefatio in Pentateuchum*; 1864 Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones*; 1875 Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, Prolegomena, ch. IX; 1876 Nestle, Review of Field's "Hexapla," *ThLZ*, I, 7, pp. 179-183; 1882 Hort, *Introduction to the N. T. in Greek*, p. 86; 1882 Hollenberg, Review of Lagarde's "Ankündigung," *ThLZ*, VII, 7, pp. 145-147; 1883 Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniorum Pars Prior*; 1884 Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, I, pp. 122-124; 175-176; 1884 Smith, Review of Lagarde's "Septuagint," *O. T. Student*, Sep., pp. 37-39; 1886 Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, Prolegomena, pp. 65-66; 1886 Nestle, *Septuaginta Studien*; 1887 Reckendorf, "Über den Werth der altäthiopischen Pentateuchübersetzung für die Reconstruction der Septuaginta," *ZATW*, VII, pp. 61-90; 1890 Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*; 1892 Stockmayer, "Hat Lucian zu seiner Septuagintarevision die Peschito benutzt?" *ZATW*, XII, pp. 218-223; 1893 Harnack, *Die altchristliche Literatur*, pp. 526-531; 1894 Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, Eng. Tr., IV, pp. 3-7; 1895 Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus*; 1896 Nestle, *Septuaginta Studien II*; 1896 Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 9; 1898 Wendland, "Zu Philos Schrift *De Posteritate Caini*," *Philologus*, LVII, 249-287; 1899 Nestle, "Zur Reconstruction der Septuaginta," *Philologus*, LVIII, 121-131; 1899 Smith, *Samuel*, pp. 402-407; 1900 Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, pp. 80-85; 1901 ?, "Lucian's Recension of the Septuagint," *Ch. Quar. Rev.*, pp. 379-398; 1902 Harnack, *Lucian der Märtyrer*, Hauck's *Real-Enc.*; 1902 Liebmann, *Der Text zu Jesaja 24-27*, *ZATW*, pp. 285-305; 1910 Harnack, *Lucian the Martyr*, *New Schaff-Herzog*, VII, 53-54; 1910 Procksch, *Septuaginta Studien*, pp. 76-87; 1913 Srawley, *Antiochene Theology*, Hastings *ERE*; I, pp. 584-585.

Jerome, writing less than a hundred years after the death of Lucian, remarked, *Alexandria et Aegyptus in LXX suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilius vulgaverunt: totius orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.*¹ About the same time he wrote, *In quo illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινήν, id est communem, appellant, atque vulgatam, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανὸς dicitur.*²

With the early life of Lucian we are not concerned; at best the facts are so meager and so obscured that little can be said with certainty. He first appears at Antioch as a *vir disertissimus Antiochenae Ecclesiae presbyter*.³ He may have been the leader of the theological school centered there; his was at least a dominating influence, and it was under him that the Antiochene school of theology first came into the clear light as actuated by distinctive principles.

Theologically this school was marked by the early use of Aristotelian philosophy. In biblical work it was characterized by principles of literal interpretation, as contrasted with the allegorical method of the school of Origen, while it made free use of textual criticism as far as possible. That Lucian was influenced by these suspect principles may be inferred from the fact that he lived for nearly thirty years apart from the Church.⁴ He was finally restored to communion, and suffered martyrdom under Maximian in 311 or 312 at Nicomedia.⁵

While at Antioch Lucian was famed for his biblical learning.⁶ In company with the Hebrew scholar Dorotheus he undertook the preparation of an edition of the Old Testament in Greek.

¹ Jerome, *Contra Iustinum* 2:26; *Praefatio ad Paraleipomena*.

² Jerome, *Epistola* 106 *Ad Sunniam et Fretelam*.

³ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 77.

⁴ ἀποσυναγωγὸς ἔμεινε τριῶν ἐπισκόπων πολυετοῦς χρόνου. Theodoret, *H. E.*, 1:3.

⁵ Eusebius, *H. E.*, 8:13; Sozomen, *H. E.*, 3:5; Georg. Ced., 517; Theophanus, *Chronographica*, 9; Nicetas, *Praef. Cyr. Alex. In Psalmos*; Jerome, *De viris illus.*, 77; Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*.

⁶ Eusebius, *H. E.*, 9:6.

Pseudo-Athanasius, in the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*, describes his work as follows: ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις ἐκδόσεσι καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραικοῖς ἐντυχὼν καὶ ἐποπτεύσας μετ' ἀκριβείας τὰ λείποντα ἢ καὶ περιττὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ῥήματα καὶ διορθωσάμενος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν γραφῶν τόποις ἐξέδοτο τοῖς χριστιάνοις ἀδελφοῖς. Simeon Metaphrastes, writing about 965, suggests that the Greek texts were quite corrupt at the time of Lucian. These corruptions had arisen partly by the accidents of translation and retranslation, and partly from deliberate efforts to pervert the meaning of the text. Lucian is said to have retranslated the whole of the Old Testament into Greek from the Hebrew, of which he is described as having had a very accurate knowledge. His work gained great prevalence in the region of which Antioch was the center, and was of such importance that Pseudo-Athanasius speaks of the translation as ἡ ἐβδόμη, while Jerome ranks it with that of Origen.

Since Lucian's version, and all copies which were possibly made from it, have long since been lost, it becomes necessary, before any estimate of his work can be given, to attempt to make a restoration of his recension by a study of existing manuscripts. It may then be possible to judge whether Jerome's description of his work was not too meager and whether Simeon Metaphrastes did not err on the other side by attributing too much to the work of the Antiochene scholar. It may also be possible to form some idea of the Greek translations with which he was familiar, and of the Hebrew text from which he made his corrections or his translation, as the case may be.

It has usually been assumed that all the manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament can be traced, or could be traced if the means were accessible, back to an original "Septuagint," or translation of the Old Testament into Greek; or that early translators, as, e. g., Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, Origen, Hesychius and Lucian, had some such uniform copy upon which to base their efforts. From this assumption much Septuagint work has proceeded.

Now it has long been noticed that no two manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament agree with each other, although some show greater kinship than others. A study of a single manuscript, however, e. g., the B text, reveals some interesting facts. There

are certain parts of the Old Testament which, in the Masoretic text, are duplicates of each other. If any one Greek manuscript were a consistent and uniform translation, or copy of such translation, it would be expected that these duplicates would be translated somewhat alike. As a matter of fact, an examination shows that even in these parts there are such variations as to lead to the conclusion that two entirely different hands were at work in the two places.

In the Appendix to this paper will be found a table of six columns of which the second and the fifth will occupy our attention at present. In these columns will be found readings from the B texts of 2 Kings 19:1-6 and Isaiah 37:1-6 in which the Hebrew texts are repeated practically verbatim. In these six verses there are thirty variants. Six are differences in grammar; three are differences in number; one is in the order of words; eleven are differences of vocabulary; there are six omissions in Isaiah as against Kings and four in Kings as against Isaiah.

This table is followed by a similar one comparing 2 Kings 24:18-25:8 with Jeremiah 52:1-12 which are alike in the Hebrew. The B texts of these two sections reveal the following differences: twelve in grammar, ten in vocabulary, two in the spelling of proper names, one in the order of words, one in number, four in the forms of verbs, two in the reading of the original Hebrew, four omissions in Kings against Jeremiah, while Jeremiah omits two whole verses and two minor words against Kings. A study of these readings and variations leads to two conclusions:

1. The Hebrew texts, while they are alike at present, were certainly not alike at the beginning.

2. The Greek translations were made not only from different Hebrew texts and by different hands, but probably by different schools and at different times.

The probability is that there was not in the early centuries any such thing as "The Septuagint," but that the Greek version of the Old Testament came into life very like the English Bible. It was probably preceded by various translations of single books, or groups of books, contributed by different hands who worked over the space of several centuries. The first part to be translated was undoubtedly the Torah, which may have been rendered

in an official, or semi-official manner, as the letter of Aristeeas suggests. This was followed by translations of other parts as need arose or as men had the inclination.⁷

Even in the first century of our era there was no uniform version of the Greek Old Testament, as is borne out by a comparison of the New Testament with any known version or manuscript of the Old Testament. Endeavors have been made⁸ to ascertain what version or versions the New Testament writers used, but with little more than tentative hypotheses as results, and with no unanimity of opinion.

Philo, to be sure, refers to an annual festival⁹ on the island of Pharos commemorative of the completion of the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, but this would connote no more than the fact that all the books had been translated.

There is no evidence of an attempt to produce a uniform rendering of the Old Testament into Greek until the second century of our era and after that time there were two different influences at work. The first was the Jewish-Ebionitic influence which produced the versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus; the second was the Christian influence which animated Origen, Hesyehius and Lucian of Antioch.

In tracing the lineage of the Greek texts of the Old Testament it must be remembered that there was probably no uniform Hebrew text from which the earliest translations were made. There may have been an official Hebrew text of the Torah at the time this part was translated into Greek. This was, in all probability, before the composition of many parts of the Nebiim and certainly before the completion of the Kethubim. As these later writings were produced, translations of them were made into Greek, possibly long before they were accorded the dignity of canonicity, and certainly long before the Hebrew text had become fixed. Swete¹⁰ calls attention to the fact that "no official text held undisputed possession in the first century or was recognized by the writers of the New Testament." And inasmuch as the content of the Hebrew Canon was not fixed until the end of the

⁷ Nestle, in *Philologus*, vol. LVIII, came to the same conclusion, but based his arguments upon entirely different grounds.

⁸ Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Part III, ch. ii.

⁹ Quotation in Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*, p. 439.

first century of our era, and the Hebrew text until much later, it would be surprising if there were any such thing as a uniform Greek translation. In fact, there is no evidence of any attempt at a uniform rendering of the whole Old Testament, or rather a uniform collection of the Graeco-Jewish literature until the version of Aquila. By this time both the Hebrew texts and the Greek translations of individual books had been copied so often that there was already a considerable disparity between them.

The translations of the third century Christian scholars are analogous, in a general way, to the King James, the Douay and the Revised versions of the Bible in English.¹¹ Attempts were made to render the entire Bible into the vernacular. These attempts were based upon whatever former translations were accessible to the scholars as well as upon the studies of these scholars in the original texts. Their results were never universally recognized and their use was locally or theologically confined to those who were in sympathy with the translators. Any attempt to restore an original Septuagint, therefore, becomes impossible. At Alexandria, at Antioch and at other metropolitan cities there were probably collections of rolls of translations made by entirely different hands and at different times.

Our present problem is the construction, with the aid of known manuscripts, of a hypothetical text which we may assume to resemble somewhat the translation of Lucian, and, from this hypothetical text, to estimate the character of the work of Lucian.

The efforts to recover the text of Lucian are largely the work of scholars of the last generation. Robert Holmes called attention¹² in 1798 to the similarity existing between the Complutensian Polyglot and codices 19.108.118. Verecellone¹³ wrote in 1864 that *codices 19.82.93.108. unum idemque αντιγραφον ad singularem quandam recensionem spectans representare*. Neither of these writers, however, suggested a connection between the codices mentioned and the recension of Lucian.

The first stride toward an attempted recovery of the recension was made by Frederick Field in 1875 in his *Origenis Hexaplorum*

¹¹ Nestle, *op. cit.*, makes the same comparison with the various German translations of the Bible.

¹² *Praefatio in Pentateuchum*.

¹³ *Variae Lectiones* 2: 436.

quae supersunt. A note prefixed to the Arabic translation of the Syro-Hexaplar read: *Lucian compared with greatest care these Hebrew copies, and if he found anything lacking or superfluous he restored it to its place, prefixing to the part amended the initial letter L*. This method of marking, absent from most manuscripts, was found in the Syro-Hexaplar. A single example will illustrate Field's method.

4 Kings 23:37 reads *αληφ κατα την συντιμησιν αυτου εδωκαν*; the Syro-Hexaplar gives a marginal reading *κατα δυναμιν αυτου* and indicates that it is Lucianic. A reference to Holmes-Parsons *in loco* shows that this reading is supported by codices 19.18.93.108 and the Complutensian. Careful study led Field to the conclusion¹⁴ *certissime concludi arctam propinquitatem, nedum identitatem, inter Luciani editionem et codices 19.82.93.108*.

Meanwhile Paul de Lagarde had been working upon an entirely independent line and his conclusions were published in his *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniconum Pars Prior* in 1883. Commencing with the suggestions of Holmes and Vereellone, he established the relationship between codices 19.82.93.108.118 and the Complutensian Polyglot. He collected Old Testament quotations of Chrysostom and found that his readings were supported by members of this group of codices. He then made use of the statements of Jerome concerning the three families of Greek recensions and assumed that, of these three families, the Lucianic would be the one most likely to be used by Chrysostom and Theodoret. He also found that, as far as he was able to compare, the Gothic variants were supported by the same group of codices. This led him to construct the text published by him as the Lucianic recension.

An examination of Lagarde's work shows that there is no exact agreement between the manuscripts upon which he based his text. The following examples from Ex. 1:1-10 will suffice to illustrate:

1	εισηλθοσαν	B	εισηλθον	19.	108.
4	Νεφθαλι	B	Νεφθαλειμ	19.	108.
5	ψυχαι	B	αι ψυχαι	19. 82.	108. 118.
9	ειπε δε	B	και ειπε	19.	108.
	εθνει	B	γενει		108.

¹⁴ p. lxxxvii.

	γενος	B	εθνος	19.	108. 118.
	μεγα	B	μεγα πολυ		118. Com.
10	πληθυνη	B	πληθυνωσιν	19.	108. 118.
	ουτοι	B	αυτοι	19.	108. Com.
	γης	B	γης ημων	19.	108. 118.

Thus it will be seen that there is no single manuscript which gives all the readings adopted by Lagarde. Codex 82 is closely related to B in the Pentateuch, while 93 does not contain the Pentateuch. Of the others it will be noted that, out of ten readings adopted by Lagarde, two are not given by 19, one is not given by 108, while five are not given by 118 and the Complutensian gives only two. At best, then, Lagarde's text is but a tentatively hypothetical restoration of what may have been the text approximating that of Lucian.

An examination of his comparisons with the readings of Chrysostom shows no closer agreement. Codices 19.93.108.118 in the main support the readings of Chrysostom, but every one of them is absent occasionally, while 82 very seldom agrees. The result, then, is but tentative and hypothetical, although as a tentative hypothesis it has not been displaced.

The important fact is that Lagarde and Field, working independently of each other and on entirely different lines, reached practically the same conclusions, excepting the fact that Field makes no mention of codex 118 which Lagarde found so important.

It had been the intention of Lagarde to publish a second part containing the remaining books of the Old Testament, but his death in 1891 left his work unfinished and no scholar has since undertaken the task. Field, however, laid the foundation for the study of the Lucianic version of the prophets. Upon the basis of the similarity between readings of Theodoret and the group of codices 22.36.48.51.62.90.147.231.233, he classified these codices in the same family. Comparison of marginal notes on codex 86 indicated by the symbol λ showed kinship with this group, to which he therefore assigned Lucianic influence.

Cornill, in the *Prolegomena* to his *Ezekiel*, published in 1886, discussed the subject at length and came to certain definite conclusions, as far as Ezekiel was concerned. He agreed with Field in attributing the group 22.36.48.51.231 to Lucianic influence.

To this group he added the fragment called Z^c which contains but a small portion of Ezekiel. He rejected 62.90.147.233 because *sie theilen mit Lucian eine Anzahl von hexaplarischen Zusätzen, geben aber nicht die Recension Lucians*.

The most recent investigation of the subject has been pursued by Dr. Otto Procksch of Greifswald¹⁵ who divides the manuscripts into three general groups which he styles the Hexaplaric, the Prehexaplaric and the Lucianic. In Jeremiah he assigns 33.87.91.228 (41.49.90) to the first group. To the second group he assigns 26.86.106.198.233.239. (41.49.90). To the Lucianic group he assigns 22.36.48.51.96.144.229.231.

The grouping by the several scholars of the manuscripts which are said by them to show more or less of Lucianic influence may be summarized as follows:

Field	22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 93.	144. 147.	231. 233. 308
Cornill	22. 36. 48. 51.		231
Klostermann	48. 62.	147.	231
Nestle	22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 93.	144. 147.	233. 308
Liebmann	22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 93.	144. 147.	233
Procksch	22. 36. 48. 51.	96. 144.	229. 231
Burkitt	22. 36. 48. 51.	96.	229. 231

In determining those texts of the prophets which show traces of Lucianic influence and which would therefore be of assistance in restoring the Lucianic text, the work of Lagarde in the *Octateuch* is of real service. Lagarde's text is a hypothetical restoration of the Lucianic recension and the critical apparatus is given only in the book of Esther. For the purposes of the present study, however, it will be assumed that it approximates the text of Lucian.

Two passages in 4 Kings, to which reference has already been made, are reproduced practically verbatim in the Masoretic texts of the prophets. 4 Kings 19 : 1-6 = Isaiah 37 : 1-6 and 4 Kings 24 : 18-25 : 8 = Jeremiah 52 : 1-12.

In the first pair of passages there are twenty-eight instances in which the B text of Kings differs from that of Isaiah while the Masoretic texts are alike. In seventeen of these twenty-eight instances, the text of Lagarde agrees with the B text of Kings. Of the eleven variants between B and Lagarde's text, four of the readings of Lagarde agree with the

¹⁵ *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta*, 1910.

B text of Isaiah. Three of Lagarde's readings are *sui generis*, while the remaining four are confirmed in Isaiah by four or more members of the group 22.36.48.51.62.90.144.147.228.233.308.

In Kings there are fourteen readings of Lagarde which vary from B. Four of these agree with all the texts of Isaiah; six are *sui generis* readings of Lagarde, while four are confirmed in Isaiah by members of the group Q.22.36.48.51.62.90.91.144.147.198.228.308.Comp.

In Isaiah there are seventeen readings in which two or more members of the group Q-Comp. give a reading different from that of B. Six of these agree with all the texts of Kings; two agree with the B text of Kings as against Lagarde; five are *sui generis* readings; four are confirmed in Kings by the text of Lagarde.

From this comparison it would seem that some of the manuscripts forming the group Q-Comp. give evidence of the same influence which is seen in the manuscripts of the Octateuch which Lagarde called Lucianic.

In the second pair of passages there are forty-seven instances in which the B text of Kings differs from that of Jeremiah. In twenty-four of these the text of Lagarde agrees with the B text of Kings. In the remaining twenty-three instances there are nine cases in which Lagarde's reading agrees with all the texts of Jeremiah, one in which it agrees with the B text alone, and six in which it is supported by members of the group Q.22.26.36.48.51.62.88.90.91.96.106.144.198.228.231.233.239.Comp.

In the same pair of passages there are thirty-three instances in which Lagarde's reading differs from the B text of Kings. Of these there are five instances in which the B text is supported by all the texts of Jeremiah, ten in which Lagarde's reading is supported by all the texts of Jeremiah, eleven in which Lagarde gives a *sui generis* reading and seven in which Lagarde is supported by members of the group Q-C.

At the same time there are twenty-four places in which members of the group Q-Com. give a different reading from that of the B text of Jeremiah. Four of these are in agreement with all the texts of Kings, eleven are *sui generis* readings and seven are supported by Lagarde. These seven readings are given by the following texts:

22.	36.48.51.62.	96.	198.	231.	52: 1
22.	36.48.51.62.88.90.91.96.	144.198.228.231.233.239.	Q.Com.A.	52: 1	
22.	36.48.	96.			52: 1
	26.36.	51.62.88.90.	96.	144.198.228.	233.239. Com.A. 52: 4
22.	36.48.51.62.	96.	198.	231.	52: 4
22.26.	36.48.51.62.	90.91.96.106.144.198.228.	233.	Q.Com.A.	52: 12
	36.48.51.62.	91.96.106.	198.228.231.	A.	52: 12

The classification of the variant readings gives the first step toward the grouping of the manuscripts. For this I have examined the text of Jeremiah 1-3, noting the variant readings of Q. A. Comp. 22.26.36.48.51.62.88.90.91.96.106.144.198.228.229.231.233.239. and Theodoret. This study is based upon the collation of Parsons which scholars have all recognized as very faulty. I have compared his collation of A and Q with those of Swete and have found errors on every page. On the other hand, Swete's collation is far from faultless, so that final results can be obtained only by a study of the manuscripts themselves or of photographic plates. Parsons' collation of the readings of Theodoret I have compared carefully with Theodoret's Commentary upon Jeremiah, and the numerous errors of Parsons are only errors of omission.

There are, in the first three chapters of Jeremiah, four classes of variations which are here given in detail.

- I. Agreement with the Masoretic text against other Greek texts.
- II. General agreement of Greek texts against the Masoretic.
- III. Difference from both the Masoretic and other Greek texts.
- IV. Difference from other Greek texts in Greek.

I. Agreement with the Masoretic text.

1. Exact restoration of omissions.

a. Proper names.

1:11 Practically all the manuscripts collated by Parsons agree in this restoration.

b. Substantives and adjectives.

1:3; 2:6; 2:19; 3:11 22.36.48.51.96.231 are constant. 62 and 88 agree three times; 228 twice; 144.198.229.233.239 each once.

c. Pronouns.

1:16; 1:17; 1:18; 2:21; 2:28 Nearly all the manuscripts occur. 22.36.48.51.62 alone are

constant. 88 agrees in all but one and gives one in 2:2 where it is alone with Q.

d. Verbs.

1:4; 1:19 All the manuscripts appear. 22. 36.48.51.62.88.96.231 are constant. In 3:1 is a restoration given only by Q.88.233.

e. Conjunctions.

1:3 Restoration given by 22.26.36.48.51.62. 88.96.144.231.

f. Phrases, clauses and verses.

1:11; 1:13; 1:16; 2:1; 2:2; 2:9; 2:17; 3:7; 3:8; 3:10.; 3:16.; 3:17 The constants are 36.48.51.96.231. 22 and 62 each occur in every instance but one. 26.88.106.144. 228.229.233 agree occasionally. In 2:9 all the manuscripts agree.

g. Particles.

2:15; 2:16 The constants are 36.48.96.231; 22.51.229 each once.

2. Partial restoration of omissions.

1:13; 2:25 22.36.48.51.62.96.229.231 constant; unaccompanied by others.

3. Person and number.

1:4; 3:6; 3:11 The last two are supported by most of the manuscripts. In the first only 51.88. 90.91.106.198.233.Comp.

4. Correction of different reading or mistranslation by other texts.

2:6; 2:11; 3:2; 3:25 22.51.62.96.231 constant. 36 and 48 each agree three times. 88.90.91.106. 144.228.239.A once each. 198.229.233 twice.

II. Agreement of Greek texts against the Masoretic.

The evidential value of these instances is chiefly negative. They illustrate the fact that none of the Greek texts is in complete agreement with the Masoretic. The instances are of interest chiefly as showing exceptions to the preceding class.

1. Retention of omissions.

1:18; 2:7; 2:30; 2:34.

2. Retention of plus.
1: 1, 9, 15, 18; 2: 1, 10, 13, 19, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31;
3: 6, 7, 8, 12, 17, 18, 21.
3. Person and number.
1: 2; 2: 1, 11, 12, 18, 20, 25, 30; 3: 13, 18, 19.
4. Spelling of proper names.
1: 2; 2: 18.
5. Different reading or mistranslation.
1: 7, 14, 15, 17; 2: 2, 6, 13, 19, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34;
3: 1, 4, 7, 8, 15, 19, 20, 22.

III. Difference from both Masoretic and other Greek texts.

1. Additions.
1: 8, 2: 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 28, 31; 3: 2, 20, 22, 23,
24, 26, 27, 29 No constant. 22.36.51.96 are
omitted each once. 48 and 231 omitted twice. 62
omitted three times. The others occur irregularly.
2. Omissions.
26.48.51.106 occur each once and alone. 22.48.51.
96.231 agree in 3: 2. 48.51.62.96.106.144.231
agree in 3: 24. 26.90.91.198.228 agree in 1: 8.
The other omissions are chiefly in 229 which is so
fragmentary that the omissions signify nothing.
3. Miscellaneous.
2: 3, 14, 31, 34; 3: 22, 24 The constants are 22.48.
51.231. 36.96.229 are omitted once each. 26.
88.90.106.144.233 occur twice; the others once
each.

IV. Differences from the other Greek texts in Greek.

1. Declension of proper names.
1: 2, 3...; 3: 22 But little agreement. 106 the only
one absent. 88.144. Comp. agree in four instances.
48.96.231 occur four times each and agree in three.
2. Form of verb.
1: 2, 7, 19; 2: 11..., 16, 22, 33; 3: 17, 24 96 is the
only constant. 36 and 231 appear in every
instance but one. 51 occurs in all but two. 22
and 48 in all but three. 62.144.229 occur with
a fair degree of regularity. 90 occurs twice,
once with 88 and once with 91.

3. Second aorist ending.
1: 6, 11, 13, 17; 2: 5, 6, 8, 17; 3: 2, 7, 19... 22.36.
48.51.96 constant. 231 appears in every instance but one. 62 agrees six times; 144 and 229 seven times each; 233 five times; 198 and 228 twice each. No others.
4. Different spelling.
1: 18; 2: 3, 8, 13, 21; 3: 5 36.48.51.62.96.144.
229.231 agree five times. 22 and 106 occur four times. All others appear once or twice.
5. Use of particles.
1: 7...; 2: 6, 10; 3: 8, 12, 25 22.36.48.231 agree in all instances; 26.62.144 in six; 90.91.96 occur in four each; the others once or twice.
6. Vocabulary.
1: 10; 2: 3..., 7, 10, 15; 3: 5, 7, 13 22.51.96 agree in all; 48.229 in all but one; 231 in all but one; 36 in all but two; 144 in all but three. The others appear irregularly.
7. Omissions.
2: 27 22.36.48.96.231.233 agree.
8. Order of words.
1: 13, 15, 16, 19; 2: 5, 27, 35; 3: 9, 17 22.36.48.
62.96 agree in all; 231 in all but one; 51.88.144.
198.229.233 occur irregularly; 26 twice; 90.106.
228 each once.
9. Miscellaneous.
1: 2; 2: 8, 28, 32...; 3: 12 96.231 constant. 36.
48 in all but one instance; 62 in all but one; 51.
144.229 each in all but two; 22 three times; 106.
233 each once; no others occur.

In the preceding analysis the agreement between 22.36.48.51.96.231 is so general as to warrant the grouping of these manuscripts together as descendants of a common parent. This same grouping is also found, on page 170, of the texts with which Lagarde agrees. For the purposes of abbreviation I shall call this group L.¹⁶ Of the texts which constitute this group, the

¹⁶ This study, and the conclusions drawn from it, were made before I had seen Procksch's *Septuaginta Studien*. It was at first somewhat sur-

first four have been classified by all scholars since Field as unquestionably Lucianic, and the evidence from the present study simply confirms this opinion. Nestle and Liebmann were the only ones who did not include 231 in the group.

Codex 96 is described by Parsons as follows:¹⁷ *Codex Hexaplaris, ex Bibliotheca cl. Moldenhaweri Hafniensis. Continet 4 Prophetas Majores; quantivis, ut videtur, pretii.* Nevertheless it was collated only in Jeremiah and Lamentations, and accurate studies have not been made of it. In Jeremiah its readings practically coincide with those of 22.36.48.51.231; its absences are fewer than those of any of the others and it has fewer *sui generis* readings than any of the group. Burkitt¹⁸ called it Lucianic but gave no evidence for the classification. Procksch gives but a few readings from it in Jeremiah alone; he includes it in the list of Lucianic manuscripts at the head of his collations of The Twelve but does not quote it once. The collations in Parsons indicate 96 not only as a Lucianic text, but as the best Lucianic manuscript for Jeremiah.

Codex 229 contains the text of Theodoret's Commentary on Jeremiah. It is very fragmentary and there are many lacunae in it, but as far as can be judged its readings agree in the main with those of L with which it should be grouped.

62 was classed as Lucianic by all the earlier scholars except Cornill. Procksch finds it with all three of his groups but mostly with the Lucianic; nevertheless he declines to class it with this group. As a matter of fact the codex is present with the group oftener than not and it occurs more frequently than 144 which Procksch classes as Lucianic. On the other hand it shares a number of *sui generis* readings¹⁹ with 144 with which it should be classed.

Field, Liebmann, Nestle and Procksch all class 144 as Lucianic. Like 62 the codex occurs with L oftener than not but its numerous absences are worthy of note. In the 64 selections of Lucianic readings given by Procksch 144 occurs only eight times, while prising, but not a little gratifying, to find that Procksch came to exactly the same conclusions, although his studies had been pursued upon a different line and by a different method.

¹⁷ *Praefatio ad Ieremiam.*

¹⁸ *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 9. Wrongly quoted by Swete as p. 91.

¹⁹ In Jer. 1-3 these are 1: 5; 2: 9; 2: 14; 2: 15; 3: 1.

22.36.48.51.96.231 are almost constant. The variations given by 144 are largely Lucianic but the text is far from a reliable witness to Lucianic readings.

Comparing L with the Masoretic text on the one hand and with the family of texts represented by B on the other, these facts are important:

1. In the Masoretic text of Jer. 1-3 there are 33 instances of readings absent from the majority of Greek texts. In 29 instances L supplies this material; in four instances L agrees with the other Greek texts.

2. In every one of the 20 instances in which the Greek texts supply material absent from the Masoretic, L agrees with the Greek texts.

3. In 28 instances the Greek texts are either mistranslations or translations based upon a reading different from the Masoretic. In 23 of these L agrees with the Greek texts; in 5 it follows the Masoretic.

4. In 14 instances the Greek texts give a different person or number from that of the Masoretic. In 11 of these L follows the Greek texts while in three it follows the Masoretic.

5. In 11 instances L furnishes material found in neither the Greek texts nor the Masoretic, while in two instances L omits material found in both the Greek texts and the Masoretic.

The editor of the parent text of L appears to have used as the basis of his work a Greek text somewhat similar to the family represented by B although differing from it in many details. For purposes of correction he seems to have used a Hebrew manuscript, or manuscripts, approximating the present Masoretic text although differing slightly from it. His assumption was that, in process of copying, much material had been omitted from both the Greek and the Hebrew manuscripts, but that none had been added in either. Therefore, in his resultant text he retained all the Greek pluses and restored all the Hebrew pluses. This method naturally gave rise to conflate readings, and such will be found in the text, e. g., 2:2 and 2:25. The changes which he made in the Greek were all stylistic or rhetorical, designed to make more euphonious reading for those for whom he did his work. In Jer. 1-3 the following are to be noted:

(1) Form of verb 1:7; 2:16; 3:17 and the numerous restoration of classical second aorist endings to which attention has already been called.

(2) Spelling 2:13; 3:5.

(3) Vocabulary 2:3; 3:7, 13.

(4) Order of words 1:18, 19; 2:5; 3:9.

(5) Gender 2:7, 28.

(6) Classical use of genitive 2:32; 3:12.

These characteristics can all be explained by the assumption that the editor of the parent text of L was Lucian of Antioch.

What Lucian did was probably to take the group of manuscripts at his disposal, carefully compare them with other works to which he had access (including that of Origen), and at the same time compare, with the aid of Dorotheus, the Hebrew texts at hand. He then endeavored to give a more or less uniform translation of the Bible as he knew it. This text, together with the more or less accurate copies made from it, became a sort of Authorized Version for the region from Antioch to Constantinople, especially for the men of the Antiochene School and for the early Arians.

The Lucianic recension indicates that the Hebrew text was not yet fixed at the close of the third century, although it had assumed by that time a form closely resembling the present Masoretic. The majority of instances in which Lucian supplied Hebrew pluses to the Greek text are supported also by hexaplaric readings. These additions were therefore in existence by the year 250. In Jeremiah 1-3, however, there are four readings of Lucian supported by the Masoretic text but unnoticed by Origen. These readings are:

- 1:16 κρισεως μου. Masoretic = מִשְׁפָּטִי. Other Greek texts = κρισεως.
- 2:25 ανδριονμαι ου βουλομαι. Masoretic = נוֹאֵשׁ לוֹא. Other Greek texts = ανδριονμαι. Here Lucian does not give an exact restoration but indicates a different reading.
- 3:7 η αδελφη αυτης. Masoretic = אחותה. Other Greek texts omit.
- 3:17 τω ονοματι Κυριον εις Ιερουσαλημ. Masoretic = לִשְׁם יְהוָה לִירִשָׁלַם. Other Greek texts omit.

It would seem that these additions came into the Hebrew text some time between the years 250 and 300, that is, between Origen and Lucian.

There are, in the same three chapters four Masoretic pluses which were not noticed by Lucian. These are as follows:

1:18 **על כל הארץ** Omitted by Greek texts.

2:7 **ארץ הכרמל**. Greek texts read *Καρχηλον*.

2:30 **חרבכם**. Greek texts read *μαχαιρα*.

2:34 **אביונים נקיים**. Greek texts read *αθων*.

This would indicate that these additions had not come into the Hebrew text by 300, or at least that their reading was not general.

There are also six instances in which Lucian gives a plus over both the other Greek texts and the Masoretic. These are:

2:12 *η γη*.

2:31 *οικω*.

3:2 *προσδοκωσα*.

3:20 *και Ιουδα*.

3:22 *εγω*.

3:24 *και οντων*.

In 2:34 Lucian reads a second person where both the other Greek texts and the Masoretic read a first person.

All these Lucianic peculiarities indicate a Hebrew text which was yet in process of formation, but which, in the two or three generations after the time of Origen, had approached more closely its final form as represented in the Masoretic text.

In addition to those manuscripts which have been classified as Lucianic there is another group of texts showing strong relationship with L but differing from it in many details. 26.88. 90.91.106.198.228.233.239.Q.A. and the Complutensian Polyglot (abbreviated as Co.) often appear with L, are often regularly absent from L, and appear alone in the following thirteen places in Jer. 1-3:

1:2 Q. 26.88. 106.

1:4 Q.A.Co. 88.90.91.106. 198.228.233.230.

1:8 Q. Co.26. 90.91. 198.228.

1:8	Q.	26.	90.91.	198.
2:10		88.	90.91.106.	198.228.233.
2:21			90.91.	
2:24			91.	144. 228.
2:31	Q.	26.88.90.91.		228.233.
3:1	Q.	88.		233.
3:6		26.	90.91.	144.
3:10			90.	106. 233.
3:12	Q.	26.88.90.91.106.144.198.228.233.		
3:12	Q.	26.88.90.91.106.144.198.228.233.		

88 has been generally regarded as hexaplaric. Cornill found it akin to the Syro-Hexaplar. It occurs quite often with L when no other manuscript is found, and upon the assumption of its hexaplaric ancestry its occurrences can be explained.

26 has been generally classed as of Hesychian descent although no direct evidence has yet been found which gives definite aid in identifying the Hesychian recension. The regular appearance of 26 in Jeremiah with Q.90.91.106.233, both with and without L, suggests that it should be grouped with these texts.

Cornill groups 49.68.87.90.91.228.238 as Hesychian in Ezeiel and one cannot fail to note the similarity between this group and Q.26.90.91.106.198.228.233 which are kindred in Jeremiah. Ceriani considered 26.106.198.306 as Hesychian. Procksch classes 26.86.106.198.233.239.306 as prehexaplaric and assigns 91 to the hexaplaric group²⁰ while 90 is assigned to both. Of the hexaplaric group he says, *Hier tritt nämlich als vornehmster und greifbarster Charakterzug eine enge Beziehung zum Typus AQ hervor.* For purposes of abbreviation I shall call the group Q.26.90.91.106.233 by the initial letters He because of the possible connection between them and the Hesychian recension.

198 and 228 rightly belong with this group but give in a few places readings that are peculiar to L.²¹ Cornill classed 228 with this group and in general this classification is supported by the readings in Jeremiah. Klostermann, however, noted²²

²⁰ Procksch has erred here; 90 and 91 should be classed together.

²¹ e. g., second aorist endings 2: 8, 27; 3: 2, 7.

²² *Analecta*, p. 13.

that in many instances 228 seemed to follow Lucianic readings and he suggested that the manuscript originally belonged to an Hesychian group but that it had been corrected later from a Lucianic text. From the readings in Jeremiah this is the most satisfactory explanation offered for this text.

The Complutensian Polyglot was classed by Lagarde with the Lucianic texts although the evidence for this is far from convincing. In Jeremiah whenever it agrees with L there are always present one or more members of He while it often agrees with He when no member of L is present.

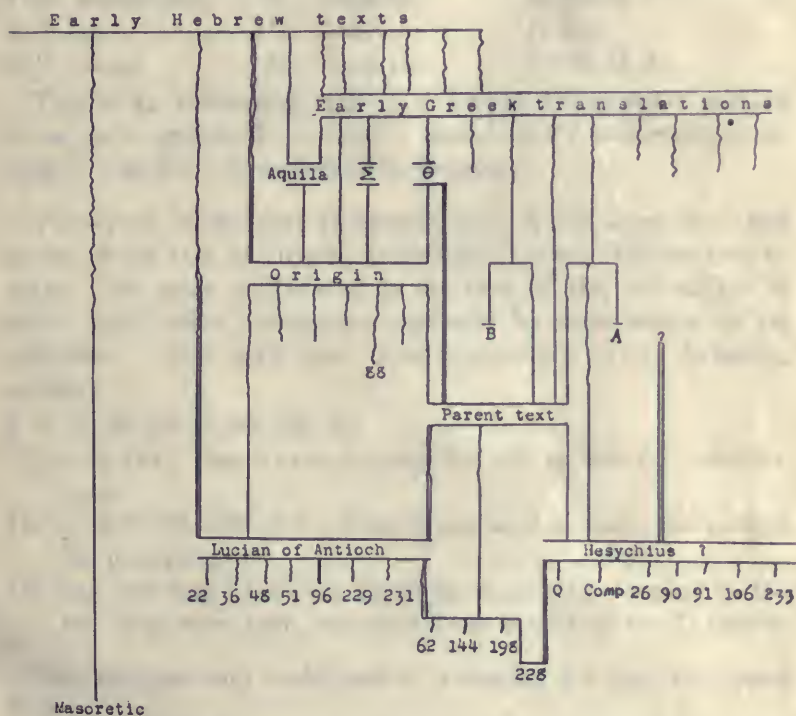
The accompanying diagram represents a suggested lineage of certain of the groups of texts with which we have been dealing, and an endeavor to show their relationship to the Masoretic, the Vatican and the Alexandrine texts.

At first there were a number of Hebrew texts the number and exact content of which will never be known. Probably no two of these texts agreed. Some were copied and transmitted in Hebrew; others were translated into Greek. With each recopying and translation there were omissions, additions and alterations. The first Greek texts that represent an endeavor at uniform translation were those of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, all of which, together with some Hebrew manuscripts, were used by Origen who represents the first effort to produce a critical text. At the same time uncritical texts were copied and recopied. The descendants of these can be found in B and A.

To explain the connection between L and He, as well as the hexaplaric influences in both, I have suggested a parent text, abbreviated as PT, which must have been the basic text with which Lucian worked and upon which he made his corrections, as well as the basic text from which was prepared the recension from which the group He is descended. This must have been an uncritical text. Traces of influences at work both in B and A are found in it. The anonymous writer in *The Church Quarterly Review*²³ pointed out the irregularity with which readings pronounced Lucianic in the Octateuch agree with B or with A or with neither of them. This fact is also noticeable in the prophets and is just as true of He, both with and without L; it can be explained only upon the basis of a common uncritical

²³ Jan., 1901, p. 388.

SUGGESTED LINEAGE OF SOME GROUPS OF GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.



parent text. After the appearance of the Hexapla of Origen, and before the work of Lucian, that is, between the years 250 and 300, copies of this text must have been made. This would be the only explanation of Origenic influence in both L and He. That this text was not the Hexapla itself is evidenced by the fact that both L and He give readings not supported by Origenic texts. Instances of these readings are as follows:

3:2	ερημουμενη	B. εν ερημω μονη	L.He.A.Co.
3:6	επορευθησαν	B. επορευθη	L.He.Q.Co.
3:8	οτι	B. διοτι	L.He.
2:8	νομου	B. νομου μου	L.He.Q.A.

This is an interesting case of a simple dittographic mistake in an early text of the A family, copied in PT and recopied by both L and He but corrected by Origen.

PT served as the text of Lucian who, at the same time, had access to the text of Origen, as well as to some Hebrew text or texts. The same text served as the base of He, the author of which made other corrections suggested by some source as yet unknown. These texts have been transmitted in the following groups:

L = 22.36.48.51.96.229.231.

L2 = 62.144. Based upon Lucian, but not as faithful transmissions.

He = 26.90.91.106.233. Kinship not so close, but close enough for grouping.

198 and 228 may have been based upon a text belonging to He, but they were both corrected from a text of the L family.

The readings and variations in Jeremiah 1-3 may be classed thus:

1. Readings common to L, L2 and He. The source of these is to be found in PT and is often hexaplaric.

2. Readings common to L and L2, to be traced to Lucianic influence.

3. Readings peculiar to L, likewise Lucianic.

4. Readings common to L2 and He, due to PT readings corrected by L.

5. Readings peculiar to He. The source of these cannot be determined at present, but if Cornill is right in his deductions

from comparisons with Cyrill of Alexandria, Hesychian influence is strongly indicated.

Whether any of these readings is peculiar or due to hexaplaric influence must be determined in each individual instance by comparison with recognized hexaplaric authorities.

The chief value of the Greek versions of the Old Testament is the aid which they give in determining the quantity of the first Hebrew text, its vocabulary and the form and meaning of its words. For the first of these purposes the value of the Lucianic version is entirely negative. In 1886 Nestle wrote, *Die Recension des Lucianus, auf deren Herstellung nach einer mir unbegreiflichen Weise Lagarde zunächst seine Bemühungen gerichtet hat, ist gerade die unbrauchbarste für diejenigen Zwecke für welche wir die LXX am meisten brauchen und gebrauchen.*²⁴ This statement was repeated by him ten years later and was severely criticized by Wendland.²⁵ The study of the text, however, shows that Nestle was correct in his estimate. We find Aquila giving certain pluses over other Greek texts; Origen uses all of these and adds still others; Lucian includes all of the pluses of Origen and adds others; finally, the Masoretic text has more pluses than any of them. The fact that these are in chronological order leads to the supposition that the tendency of copyists was to add to, rather than to omit from previous versions. This means, then, that of all the Greek versions, that of Lucian is the least authentic witness to the quantity of the original Hebrew. We may go farther and say that if the only evidence for a given reading is the version of Lucian there is a strong probability that this reading is a later addition which may be discarded. Of course this principle cannot be adopted as fixed and unvarying; accidents are always to be looked for, and the evidence must be weighed in each individual case.

On the other hand, there are instances, e. g., 2:11, 31; 3:2, 25, in which Lucian evidently endeavored to render the Hebrew more literally than the texts with which he was familiar. While he took the suggestion in some instances from Origen, in others he apparently acted upon his own initiative. For questions of vocabulary and of the form and meaning of words the Lucianic

²⁴ *Septuaginta Studien*, I, p. 9.

²⁵ *Philologus*, vol. 57, p. 286.

version is a more reliable witness. The contention of Nestle, then, is too sweeping, for there are cases where the version of Lucian throws valuable light upon textual study. The service of Lucian, however, is not of enough importance to warrant the labor entailed by an endeavor to complete the work of Lagarde. A more useful work would be a catalogue of Lucianic readings, prepared upon more strict principles than the work of Lagarde, and accompanied by notes which would indicate the source of the readings.

COMPARISON OF TEXTS OF 2 KINGS 19 AND ISAIAH 37.

2 KINGS 19

ISAIAH 37

Hebrew	B	L (<i>Lagarde</i>)	Hebrew	B	Lucianic texts
1					
וַיִּשְׁלַח	ως ηκουσε	ως ηκουσε	עַן טָפְ אַקֻּסַּי	ως ηκουσε 22. 36. 48. 51. 62.	ως ηκουσε 22. 36. 48. 51. 62.
בַּאֲרָמָה	βασιλευς	ο βασιλευς	תֹּן בַּאֲרָמָה	ο βασιλευς Εζεκιαν 22. 48. 51.	ο βασιλευς Εζεκιαν 22. 48. 51.
וַיִּשְׁלַח	Εζεκιαν	Εζεκιαν	עֶזְקִיָּא	Εζεκιαν 90. 144. 233. 308.	Εζεκιαν 90. 144. 233. 308.
וַיִּשְׁלַח	και διερχησεν	διερχησεν	עֶשְׂרִישָׁן	Εζεκιαν ο βασιλευς 36. 62. 147.	Εζεκιαν ο βασιλευς 36. 62. 147.
בְּנֶדְרֵי	τα ιματια	τα ιματια	בְּנֶדְרֵי	διερχησεν 22. 36. 48. 51. 62.	διερχησεν 22. 36. 48. 51. 62.
	αυτου	αυτου	תַּא מַאֲתִיָּא	90. 144. 147. 198. 233. 308.	90. 144. 147. 198. 233. 308.
וַיִּבְנוּ	εισηλθεν	εισηλθεν	אֲנֵבִי	τα ιματια αυτου 22. 48.	τα ιματια αυτου 22. 48.
עַיִן	εις οικον	εις τον οικον	עַיִן	τα ιματια αυτου 36. 51. 62. 90.	τα ιματια αυτου 36. 51. 62. 90.
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	Εζεκιαν	וַיִּבְנוּ	144. 147. 228. 233. 308. C.	144. 147. 228. 233. 308. C.
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	και τον Σαττην	אֲנֵבִי	ανεβη	ανεβη
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	κ. τ. λ.	עַיִן	εις τον οικον om. 91. C.	εις τον οικον om. 91. C.
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	υιον Αμωσ	וַיִּבְנוּ	Εζεκιαν 22. 36. 48. 51. 62.	Εζεκιαν 22. 36. 48. 51. 62.
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	τον προφητην	וַיִּבְנוּ	90. 144. 147. 233. 308.	90. 144. 147. 233. 308.
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	ειπον	וַיִּבְנוּ	om.	om.
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	υιον Αμωσ	וַיִּבְנוּ	υιον Αμωσ τον προφητην	υιον Αμωσ τον προφητην
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.	ειπεν	וַיִּבְנוּ	ειπαν	ειπον 36. 62. 147. 233.
וַיִּבְנוּ	οι.		וַיִּבְנוּ	ειπεν 239.	ειπεν 239.

2 KINGS 19

Hebrew	B	L (Lagarde)	Hebrew	B	Lucianic texts
	προς αυτον	προς αυτον		αυτω	αυτω
	om.	ονειδισμου	om.	ονειδισμου	ονειδισμου
	παροργισμου	παροργισμου		οργης	οργης
	η ημερα αυτη	η ημερα αυτη		η σημερον ημερα	η σημερον ημερα
	ηλθον	ηλθον		ηκει	ηκει
	εως ωδινων	εως ωδινων		η ωδιν	η ωδιν
	και ισχυς ουκ εστιν	και ουκ εστιν ισχυς		τη τικτουση ισ-	τη τικτουση ισχυν
	τη τικτουση	τη τικτουση		ην δε ουκ εχει	δε ουκ εχει του τεκειν
				του τεκειν	
	ειπως εισακουσεται	ειπως εισακουσεται		εισακουσαι	ειπως εισακουσεται 22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 147. 228. 233. 308.
†					ειπως εισακουσαι 91. C.
את כל דברי	παντας τους λογους	τους λογους	את דברי	τους λογους	τους λογους
	ον -- αυτον	ον -- αυτον		ον	ον 22. 48. 51. 62. 90. 147. 233.
אדניו	ο Κυριος αυτου	ο Κυριος αυτου	אדניו	om.	ο Κυριος αυτου Q. 22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 91. 144. 147. 228. 233. 308. C.
					ονειδίζειν
הוכיח	βλασφημειν	ελεγχειν		ονειδίζειν	ονειδίζειν
לחרה	ονειδίζειν	ονειδίζειν			ονειδίων 22. 36. 48. 62. 144. 147. 308.

COMPARISON OF TEXTS OF 2 KINGS 24₁₆₋₂₅ AND JEREMIAH 52₁₋₁₂
2 KINGS 24_{16-25a} JEREMIAH 52₁₋₁₂

Hebrew	B	L (<i>Lagarde</i>)	Hebrew	B	Lucianic texts
18	υιος εικοσι και ενος εναντων	υιος εικοσι και ενος ετους ην	1	οντος εικοσι και ενος ετους	εικοσι και ενος 22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 96. 198. 231. ετους ην 22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 96. 198. 231.
	Μιταλ	Αμταλ		Αμταλ	Αμταλ 22. 26. 36. 48. 51. 88. 96. 198. 231. 233. 239. C.
	om.	εκ Λοβενα		εκ Λοβενα	εκ Λοβενα 22. 36. 48. 96. εκ Λοβερα 51.
19	om.	Σδεχως	2	om.	om.
	κατα παντα οσα	κατα παντα οσα		om.	ον τροπον 22. 36. 48. 96. A. κατα παντα οσα C.
	Ιωακειμ	Ιωακειν		om.	Ιωακειμ 22. 36. 48. 96. Ιωακειμ C.
20	ην επι Ιερ.	ην επι Ιερ.	3	om.	εγενητο κατα 22. 36. 48. 96. A. ην εν C.
	τη Ιουδα εως απο προσωπου	τη Ιουδα εως επαιρησε και απο προσωπου		om.	Ιουδα 22. 36. 48. 96. A. C. εως ου 22. 36. 48. 96. C. A. εκ 22. 36. 48. 96. A.
	ηθετησεν	ηθετησεν		om.	απο C. απεστη 22. 36. 48. 96. A. αφεστησε C.

2 KINGS 24 ₁₈₋₂₅	JEREMIAH 52 ₁₋₁₂
Hebrew	B
L. (Lagarde)	Lutician texts
1	om.
εν τῷ βασιλει	του βασιλεως 22. 36. 48. 51.
εγενετο	62. 96. 231.
εν τῷ	εγενετο
2	om.
εγενετο	εν τῷ 26. 36. 51. 62. 88. 90.
εν τῷ	96. 144. 198. 228. 233.
3	239. C. A.
ετει τῷ ενιατῷ	ετει τῷ ενιατῷ
αυτου	Σδεκιου 22. 36. 48. 51. 62.
4	96. 198. 231.
τῷ μηνι	τῷ μηνι 26. 62. 233. A.
τῷ δεκατῷ	τῷ δεκατῷ Q. 22. 36. 48. 51.
5	62. 88. 90. 91. 96. 144.
6	198. 228. 231. 233. 239. C.
7	δεκατῷ του μηνος
8	---σop
9	περιχαρκαωσαν 36. 48. 51. 88.
10	90. 96. 106. 198. 228. 231.
11	παρενεβαλον C.
12	περιωκοδομησεν 22. 36. 48. 51.
13	90. 91. 96. 198. 228. 231.
14	ωκοδομησαν επ' C.
15	τετραπεδοις λιθοις περιτειχος C.

2 KINGS 24₁₆₋₂₅⁸JEREMIAH 52₁₋₁₂

Hebrew

L (Lagarde)

Hebrew

B Lucianic texts

2

εν περιουχῇ
του ενδεκατου
του βασιλεως
Σεδεκίου
om.

εις συνοχῇ
του ενδεκατου
Σεδεκίου του
βασιλεως
om.

εις συνοχῇ
ενδεκατου
τῷ βασιλει
Σεδεκίῳ
om.

εις συνοχῇ
ενδεκατου
του βασιλεως Σεδεκίου 22. 36.
48. 51. 62. 96. 198. 231.
εν μηνι τῷ τετρατῷ Q. 22. 36.
48. 51. 62. 88*. 90. 91.
96. 228. 231. C.

13

בחדש הרביעי

3

ενατη του μηνος

ενατη του μηνος 6

εν τῇ ενατῇ του
μηνος

ενατῇ του μηνος 36. 48. 51.
96. 231. C.

και ενισχυσεν
οὐκ ἦσαν ἄρτοι
εἰρηγῇ
οδον

και ενισχυσεν
οὐκ ἦν ἄρτος
εἰρηγῇ
οδον

και εσπερευθη
οὐκ ἦσαν ἄρτοι
διεκοπη
κατα την οδον

και εσπερευθη
οὐκ ἦσαν ἄρτοι
διεκοπη
κατα την οδον

4

πυλῃς της
om.
των τειχων
om.

πυλῃς της
αναβασεως
των τειχων
om.

πυλῃς της
om.

πυλῃς της
om.

בחדש

החמרת

των τειχων
om.
και του προτει-
χισματος

אשר על גן

η εστιν του κηπου
om.

אשר על גן

η 36. 96. 231.

αυτῇ η εστιν του
κηπου
επι την πολιν
και επορευθησαν

η εστιν του κηπου
om.
εκκυκλουν την πολιν
και επορευθησαν

η 36. 96. 231.
om.
επι της πολεως
κυκλουν
και επορευθησαν

η 36. 96. 231.
om.
επι της πολεως
κυκλουν
και επορευθησαν

2 KINGS 24 ₁₁₋₂₅ *		JEREMIAH 52 ₁₋₁₉			
Hebrew	B	L (Lagarde)	Hebrew	B	Lucianic texts
5	την αραβα	την επι δυσμος	την εις αραβα	την εις αραβα	22. 48. 96. 231. εις αραβα Q. 26. 88. 144. C.
	εδωξεν	κατεδιωξεν	κατεδιωξεν	κατεδιωξεν	
	η δυναμις	δυναμις	η δυναμις	η δυναμις	
	εν αραβωθ	παταδισμος	εν τῳ περαν	εν τῳ περαν	
	πασα η δυναμις	πασα η δυναμις	παντες οι παιδες	παντες οι παιδες	
	δισπαρη	δισπαρησαν	δισπαρησαν	δισπαρησαν	
	επ' ανωθεν αυτου	απο επ' ανωθεν αυτου	απ' αυτου	απ' αυτου	
	ηγαγον βασιλεα	απηγαγον τον βασιλεα	ηγαγον τον βασιλεα	ηγαγον τον βασιλεα	
	Ιερθεβλαθαν	Δεβλαθα	Δεβλαθα	Δεβλαθα	
	μετ' αυτον κρισιν	βασιλευς Βαβυλωνος μετ' αυτου κρισιν	αυτῳ κατα κρισ-εως	βασιλευς Βαβυλωνος αυτῳ μετα κρισεως	22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 96. 198. 231.
8	τῳ μηνι τῳ πεμπτῳ	τῳ μηνι τῳ πεμπ-12 τῳ	μηνι τῳ πεμπτῳ	τῳ μηνι τῳ πεμπτῳ	Q. 22. 26. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 91. 96. 106. 144. 198. 228. 233. C. A.
	εστος	ο εσθηκως	εσθηκως	ο εσθηκως	36. 48. 51. 62. 91. 96. 106. 198. 228. 231. A.
				ο εστος	Q. 26. 144. 233. 239. C.

THE MARRIAGE OF HOSEA

LEROY WATERMAN

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The first three chapters of the Book of Hosea have furnished one of the very interesting and one of the most perplexing problems in the interpretation of Israelitish prophecy, from the earliest commentators to the present day. Other obscurities and ambiguities of prophecy still plentifully exist, but it is probably safe to say that in no other instance does the central message of a prophet turn so universally upon the interpretation of a single pivotal figure as is true in the narrative of Hosea's marriage. But what makes this problem, still, one of abiding importance is the fact that upon the interpretation of this domestic experience depends the possibility of the highest religious and ethical contribution to the prophetic religion of Israel.

There have been two schools of interpreters of this passage, both marked by various internal differences, but the one has regarded the account as entirely devoid of fact while the other has explained it as based upon actual facts of experience.

The first hypothesis, whether regarding the narrative as a vision or as pure allegory, has never been consistently worked out and was posited primarily to avoid the natural and manifest force of the language, which is a sufficient comment upon it. The second theory presents much wider variations but has also two main phases. The first of these may be called the reminiscent interpretation, since it regards the narrative as a religious explanation of the prophet's experience as he looks back upon it, in the light of other experiences. This may still be regarded as the prevailing view. The second may be called the realistic interpretation, since it leaves no room for a later impression of the prophet's experiences. This view has not lacked advocates in modern times and more recently its supporters have notably increased. This is the more noteworthy since the tendencies in this direction have not been due to theological bias or sectarian interest but solely to the desire for scientific accuracy.

The reminiscent theory has likewise undoubtedly been developed, very largely, as an attempt to avoid the natural force of the language, and accordingly it is open to several criticisms: (1) it is objectionable as a method not to consider the entire narrative, first of all at its face value; (2) it imports into the narrative the interpreter's sense of appropriateness as the ultimate basis of the theory; (3) in reconstructing the course of events of chapters 1-3 it has been thought necessary to assume so much that is vital to the interpretation, which is not stated, that it has tended to overload the theory; (4) it has been obliged to let the whole interpretation turn upon the meaning of a single verse (3:2) which, on all hands, is recognized as obscure and suspicious. In view of these defects, an interpretation which should endeavor to take the language at its face value was to be expected and it is rather remarkable that it was not earlier and more widely undertaken.

What can be done with these three chapters from this viewpoint? Can they be taken literally and be wrought into a unity (barring of course those verses that are generally recognized to be secondary)? So far as the first-class attempts made in recent times are concerned, this does not seem to be possible with chapter 3. P. Volz (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLIV, 321-335, fully indorsed by Marti, cf. *Handkommentar* on Hosea) is obliged to make it an allegory and accordingly places it later. Toy (*JBL*, XXXII, 75-79) denies any organic relation between chapters 1 and 3, disposing of עוֹר "again" (3:1) as editorial. J. M. P. Smith ("The Prophet and His Problem," p. 109-136) is the first to treat the narrative constructively throughout, and he has rendered an important service by fully reconstructing the narrative from the realistic viewpoint. Dr. Smith assigns ch. 3 to Hosea, but (following Steuernagel's *Einleitung in das A. T.*) makes it the prophet's own description of what is narrated in ch. 1 in the third person. This cannot be done, however, if we take ch. 1 at its face value. Chapter 1 states that Gomer was taken into wedlock at Yahweh's command and it gives no implication and makes no room for a period of detention of Gomer for "many days" before she was received into full marital relations. Chapter 3 states that the prophet at the command of Yahweh obtains possession of an impure woman and then

keeps her in isolation. No marriage relation is consummated and none is implied. The incongruity of ch. 3 as a direct statement of ch. 1 requires an assumption similar to the reminiscent theory, but with the difference that the latter provides room for it, while in the former the room for it is less obvious. But this rearrangement of ch. 3 goes deeper than merely changing its setting, it makes it impossible to take any statement of the chapter, involving the prophet, at its face value without more ado. The construing of עֹד "again" with וְאָמַר (3:1) requires an assumption that Yahweh had commanded something in connection with the narrative which has now been lost. There is, however, no trace of this in the account and scarcely any room for it as the narrative stands (cf. 1:2). Yahweh's command to "love a woman" (3:1) cannot be allowed since love cannot be produced to order, and for the prophet to have actually complied with it would, when the analogy is applied to Yahweh, signify his approval of Israel's corrupt worship. "A woman" (3:1), although indefinite, cannot be allowed to be other than Gomer since this would make the prophet have too much traffic with impure women (as based on the interpreter's feeling of appropriateness). "A woman, an adulteress" (3:1) cannot be taken as the former wife, since Hosea knew the woman's evil character from the beginning and never had any affection for her. If she practiced adultery after marriage as before, there was in this no disillusionment, and there could be accordingly no thought of her regeneration, since there was no basis of affection between them. Hence there could be no purpose served by isolating her; and such a course, in that case, could only mean an essential abandonment of the figure with which the prophet set out. "Even as Yahweh loveth the children of Israel" (v. 1) can now only mean "as Yahweh does not love Israel," since the human analogy of Yahweh's affection, with which it is directly equated has been interpreted negatively. The act of isolating the woman (v. 3) cannot be taken as a thing complete in itself, but only as the purchase of a bride, although the verb כָּרָה is never used elsewhere for this purpose. It is questionable, therefore, whether the attempt to treat the narrative realistically can do so with any less assumption than is involved in the reminiscent theory and whether there is as good ground for making it.

There remains to be considered the psychological appropriateness of the realistic interpretation, for Hosea as an ethical teacher, and the motive and message which it permits us to assign the prophet. The motive may be stated thus: Hosea, one of the great ethical teachers of Israel, feels himself called of God to commit himself to a life of moral pollution in order to teach his fellow Israelites that they were practicing the same kind of religious and moral pollution in their relations to Yahweh. If true, the case is probably unique of a moral teacher making himself an example in kind of the evil which he wished to eradicate. Israel is charged with marital infidelity to Yahweh and the prophet voluntarily enters into such a personal relation, expecting thereby to impress his hearers with the heinousness of this relation. This at once raises the question of the moral clearness of the prophet, but so far as the rest of Hosea's book is concerned there can be no doubt about that, and this speaks very strongly for the same clearness throughout his work, for this is not a question of local psychology but of a universal ethical principle. Human nature is uniform enough, at least in one respect, so that whoever openly practices what he preached against can always expect to be met with a fatal *et tu quoque*.

If it be urged that the prophets felt themselves absolutely under Yahweh's will and so could be expected to do any sensational thing, it need not be denied that they did very unusual things. The only question involved is, What was for them the supreme norm? Was it the absoluteness of Yahweh's control over them or to be sensationalists or to teach ethical truth? The uniform witness of the great prophets gives but a single answer, they were primarily ethical teachers of religion. This norm determined both what the will of Yahweh was as well as their allegiance to it. The prophets did unusual things but never elsewhere did they commit an act involving moral turpitude. The most extreme case, perhaps, of Isaiah going naked and barefoot for three years (Is. 20:3), even if taken literally, does not come under this category. Clothing is not so indispensable in Palestine as with us and the practice of stripping the captives taken in war, cf. Is. 32:11; 47:3, from whom the slave market was regularly replenished, made the appearance of human beings without clothing, in considerable numbers, a somewhat familiar

spectacle. The example of Isaiah, with only a word, spoke with great force of captivity, not of obscenity. The psychological presuppositions with which the realistic interpretation is forced to conclude seems even more of a boomerang than the psychological appropriateness with which the reminiscent theory sets out.

What then constitutes the message of chapters 1-3, realistically considered? (1) Not that Yahweh loves Israel, love is nowhere in the analogy; (2) it is not that the prophet by his relation to Gomer arrived at any new truth; (3) it was primarily an expression of the incompatibility between Israel and Yahweh, but to what end? If the analogy be taken at its face value, not simply in time, but in its fundamental nature, there existed no true relation between Israel and Yahweh and no basis for expecting such ever to exist, and therefore, logically, the appeal would be to turn the people from Yahweh. But the nation could have answered with righteous indignation that this marriage did not represent the fundamental relation between Yahweh and Israel, yet had they granted that it was true their rejoinder would have been quick and sharp. Why take the trouble so laboriously to illustrate that which has no foundation in reality! If a wife who later becomes faithless truly represents Israel's relation to Yahweh, the prophet's conscious choice of an immoral consort does not truly illustrate the same thing, and in the latter case Hosea could not even excuse his conduct by saying that the land committed whoredom from Yahweh, let alone teach the nation a lesson. That is to say, the analogy taken realistically illustrates too much and logically would seem to eliminate the motive for the prophecy.

On the whole the reminiscent theory seems to the present writer to involve less of assumption and self-contradiction, less violence to the text and less psychological strain, while at the same time it preserves higher values and a clearer motive for the prophet. Some of the objections brought against it are more apparent than real. The charge that it is a contradiction to make the call of the prophet go back to the commandment to take a wife if he only found out her true character years afterward, while as a matter of fact he is seen to be a prophet at the birth of his son Jezreel, although there is no hint in the name

that he is as yet aware of his wife's infidelity, is not a serious objection. The anomaly is explained if we make the prophet's call take place at the time of his marriage, then the later discovery of his wife's unfaithfulness causes him to reinterpret his call in exactly the same manner that Isaiah's call is usually accounted for.

The claim that the purpose of the marriage was not to reveal Yahweh's love to Israel since that was already appreciated has been well discussed in *ICC*. (p. cxliv). It is true that tribal religion always implies a sense of love of the god for his people, and this had become explicit in Israel before Hosea and is recorded in JE; and nothing could annul this so long as the nation retained its god and could maintain its place in the sun. But that a god should cut off his people because of moral unfaithfulness, although he loved them, was a hitherto unheard of principle. Moreover, that his love should still continue, although they were cut off from him and with no prospect of their repentance, here was a new thing under the sun. Here was ethical love, a love that involved no reciprocity, a love purged of all physical passion, a love that will hold its object to strictest accountability, that overlooks no imperfection in its object and yet that will not die. And it is here urged that this is all legitimately involved in chapter 3 in its present setting; but to say that an accident of juxtaposition makes the Old Testament outreach itself in ethical depth and grandeur of conception raises more questions than it solves.

The reminiscent principle of interpreting past experience as a part of God's direct leading and Providence is in itself thoroughly psychological* and needs no defence, and it is entirely possible to conceive of past events as directed by God because of some particular outcome, which one could not conceive as commanded by God when no such outcome was to be foreseen.

These considerations, however, do not bridge the gulf between chapters 1 and 3 on the ordinary view that Gomer was divorced and sent away, nor do they render the usual view either imperative or decisive. But the divorce idea hinges almost entirely on ch. 3:2, which is manifestly obscure and probably corrupt (yet this is not the only inference to be drawn from this verse even in its present form). What chapter 3 does clearly say, however, is that the prophet, feeling himself still drawn toward

his renegade wife, cuts her off from her illicit intercourse and places her in isolation (אהבת v. 1 is most suitably pointed as an active pte. "loving," following the LXX and the context of the analogy; as Volz suggests, the Masoretes may have made it passive to shield the character of the nation), and there the account leaves her. No divorce proceedings are recorded and none are required to account for the phenomena.

But we may go farther, and say that there is no need even to suppose that Gomer ever ceased to be an honorable member of society, from the standpoint of the community. If she were a loyal worshipper of Yahweh-Baal as the populace practiced it, according to Hosea's description, it was inevitable that she should be described as a harlot, cf. 2:2-13; 4:10-14; 5:3, 4, 7; 6:9, 10; 7:4 ff.; 8:9; 9:10, 15. The basic figure in these passages is not disloyalty to Yahweh due to the formal worship of other gods, the prophet is a witness that the people were not consciously seeking any god but Yahweh at the great shrines (cf. 5:6; 8:2). To him it was not the worship of Yahweh because of its character, and what made that character decisive was not primarily its formalism or its reliance upon ritual, but because of the adulterous practices of the worship. It involved actual adultery in the first place: the above references leave no doubt on that point, "your daughters play the harlot and your brides commit adultery . . . for the men themselves go apart with harlots and they sacrifice with sacred prostitutes" (4:13 f.). This is simply sexual promiscuity practiced at the great shrines of Yahweh-worship in Israel. "Their doings will not suffer them to turn unto their God, for the spirit of whoredom is in the midst of them, and they know not Yahweh" (5:4), and that is primarily why their religion is not Yahweh worship.

The Baalism over which Yahwism in Hosea's day threw a very thin cloak, with its worship of the forces of productivity, has always carried the seeds of sexual immorality (cf. Wood, *JBL.*, XXXV, p. 53), and at times its fruits have been more noticeable than at others. Phoenician Baalism spread its moral pollution around the entire Mediterranean. Babylonia had its female votaries to this worship and Canaan its sacred prostitutes, both men and women (4:15). The prosperity and luxury of the reign of Jeroboam II naturally stimulated the sensuous side of Baalism and lust did the rest.

We may formulate the domestic life of the prophet about as follows. Hosea was married and became a prophet. His wife was as religious as himself although in a different way. She accepted the orthodox religious practices of the time as the last word in religion and she practiced them with complete devotion. The authority for this statement is mainly chapter 2. Separated from later accretions, the chapter now begins with a man and his wife and ends with Yahweh and Israel. The transition is made easily and naturally by a process familiar in the prophets whereby the word of the prophet merges into the direct word of God and the wife addressed then takes on the figure of the nation. Because of this ending the chapter may be said formally to apply to the nation, but the basic figures are human and domestic, and there are at least two which could not be evolved naturally from the nation as Yahweh's spouse, (1) "yea upon her children will I have no mercy, for they are children of whoredom" (v. 4-5). To be strictly applicable Israel should have had colonies. Israel as a matter of fact had no children and it is only by straining a point that they can be explained as individual Israelites. (2) "When she decked herself with her nose-ring and her jewels and forgot me," etc. (v. 13). What was the nose-ring of Israel?

The two figures of wife and nation are closely interwoven in the chapter and almost interchangeable but with sufficient distinction to show that both are used; and underneath the whole lurks the suppressed fire of indignation of a man wounded in all his finer feelings and deeper sensibilities. This chapter sets forth, from the standpoint of the prophet, the practices of worship in the current religion, in which his wife shared. To him it is not religion but adulterous practices and these are all applied as violations of the marriage bond. It was not that Hosea suddenly and once for all discovered that his wife was faithless, what he discovered was that she was religious and that she persisted in being religious in the conventional way of the time. There was undoubtedly a definite time, perhaps very early in their married life, when he realized her unchastity in religion (cf. 4:13-14 "brides"), but she did not share his view of it but continued her religious "devotions," especially at the feast days (cf. 2:11), ever increasing the tension between them, until he reached a point where he said "you are not my wife and I am not your

husband," you are a harlot (2:1). It is possible that something of this struggle is reflected in the names of their two daughters. But he did not thereupon put her away, for there was no charge of adultery that could be brought against her, and she may even have been regarded as a sort of local saint. The most that he could do was to threaten her with harshness, isolation, and the deprivation of the means of offerings (2:3, 9, 13). But she was religious and would not be frightened out of it, quite possibly she assumed a martyr's attitude, and there is nothing to show that she did not regard herself as a dutiful wife.

It was in the midst of this tragic struggle of religion against higher religion that Hosea came to the conclusion that the popular worship was not Yahweh-religion at all, for if his wife's religious practices were unchaste, this was not pleasing to Yahweh, it was not his worship. Now as Yahweh was popularly equated with Baal, we should have expected him to conclude that the popular religion was Baal worship, but he always says Baalim; this offers some difficulty if he arrived at the conception purely by speculation, but it is exactly the form to be based on the figure of his wife's sexual promiscuity at the sanctuary.

Hosea gradually reaches a point where the cry of 2:1 becomes a fixed conviction, he must inwardly, at least, cut himself off from such pollution, to him henceforth she can be only "a woman" (3:1), but not a woman who meant to be bad or was conscious of being bad (cf. 8:2) or was conscious of being anything but a good wife and a loyal servant of Yahweh; that was the heart-breaking thing both in Hosea's domestic life and his public experience with the nation. But a strange thing was about to happen to the prophet, having inwardly cut himself off from his wife, he will now be free from this domestic tragedy, at least in his spirit. What relief of soul to make a clean breast of the thing! What a glow of inward victory! and then for the first time in years he was able to look upon Gomer without a feeling of opposition and her bravery and devotion stand out before him, for she was a brave woman, a devoted woman, yes and a true-hearted woman too, although caught in the wheel of a national religious tragedy. And then and there he decided to save her from this delusion of moral pollution, even against her will, for something which he had supposed was dead yet lived and held

him—he loved her still and it is not strange under the circumstances, that he never ceased to feel that there was something divine about it. Hosea outwardly accomplished his purpose toward his wife by forbidding her to visit the sanctuaries, but there is nothing to show that she was ever changed in her inner conviction; we should scarcely expect it from the preceding narrative.

It may be urged against this reconstruction of the narrative that it leaves no room for 3:2 which is usually translated “so I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver and a homer of barley and a half homer of barley.” In the first place this verse is doubtful. It is doubtful whether the verb should be translated “bought,” it is more than doubtful about the price paid, why, for example, money and grain and why two different amounts of barley, one of them an otherwise unknown measure? But supposing that the verse were sound, it is only necessary to suppose that Gomer had taken upon herself a vow, which took her to the sanctuary and in a measure put her in the control of the local priesthood (cf. Nu. 30:6). The price was then the gift which Hosea was obliged to make in order to obtain her release. That he should express it in the form of buying back a slave would vividly express his estimate of her religious devotion. It would even be possible that she had decided to become permanently a devotee (cf. קרשה 4:14), partly as a result of her struggle with her husband.

But it is not with any confidence that anything can be built upon this verse in its present form. The verb ואכרה “and I bought” is doubly uncertain. Is there a verb כרה “to buy”? There are three other cases where the lexicons assume it, viz., Dt. 2:6; Job 6:27; 40:30. The passages in Job are both used with על “upon” and the contexts imply selling rather than buying. The word seems to correspond to Arabic *karā* “to let for hire.” The verb in Dt. 2:6 is given the sense “buy” from the parallel verb שבר “to buy food,” while כרה is used of purchasing water. שבר is regularly used for buying food (cf. Gen. 41-44), also for purchasing food and drink (Is. 55:1). There can be no doubt but that the form in Dt. 2:6 means to secure water for money, but the unusual word, where שבר would amply have covered the operation, seems to emphasize something more than

buying. 2 Kings 3:16 and context suggest the manner of securing water in the region of Edom for a large company, namely by digging shallow trenches, and modern exploration reveals the fact that what is described in 2 Kings 3 as a miracle, is still a reliable means for securing water in that region (cf. New Cent. Bible, *ad loc.*). The usual meaning of כרה "to dig," therefore, furnishes a suitable explanation of the manner of getting the water and if this be granted, the verb in Hos. 3:2 in the sense "to buy" stands alone. In the second place the form in itself is anomalous. The dagesh in the כ is usually explained as dagesh *dirimens* (Ges. 20 h), but if so it is again an isolated case and the lexicons are doubtful or assume it false (cf. BDB. and Ges-Buhl, *ad loc.*). There is some reason in this, so far as dagesh *dirimens* is concerned, but the word is a perfectly good form of an ע"ע verb כרר and the corresponding Arabic form *karra* "to cause to turn back" suits this context admirably. The Versions negatively confirm this since they consistently translate "hired" or "dug" (LXX-Syr. *μισθωσάμεν, ἔσκαψα* Vulg. *fodi*, Syro-Hex.) even though this makes no sense; only once does Lat. *emi* "bought" occur. The second difficulty with our verse is the omission of כ *pretii*, after the first item; this omission would be natural if כ merely indicated accompaniment, i. e. if he caused her to turn back to him with these articles in her possession. 1 S. 1:24 illustrates both the grammar and the situation. As Hannah went up to Shiloh unaccompanied by her husband but with various offerings (three bullocks, an ephah of flour and a skin of wine), so may the wife of Hosea have done, indeed she must have done so if she went at all, for with the witness of Hosea's scathing denunciations of public worship at the sanctuaries (4:12-13, 15; 5:6; 6:6; 7:14; 8:14; 9:15) we cannot possibly think of him as resorting thither. When, therefore, he says: "I caused her to turn back to me" (לִי), the expression gains new meaning. It is also to be noted that the prophet is here simply carrying out an earlier threat, viz., to restrain her from the sanctuary and withhold the offerings (cf. 2:9, 11, 13).

There remains the last expression of the verse "a lethekeh of barley" (ולתך שערים); both words occasion difficulty. The expression is untranslatable. The consonants vocalized as "lethekeh" have no known root. The Vulgate rendering "one

half kor" goes back to the Mishnah and so far as can be seen ends there in a guess based on the context, which seems to require some measure of grain subordinate to a homer. But the position of the word, even if well attested, preceded and followed by שְׁעִירִים "barley" and yet set off by a conjunction as if an independent measure, is most suspicious. The Versions feel the incongruity and in desperation represent the two words by $\nu\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$ $\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$ "a skin of wine." This is natural enough and attractive so far as the thought is concerned but $\nu\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$ gives no hope whatever of representing לֶתֶךְ. The common use of wine as an offering is sufficient to suggest the expression and one cannot escape the suspicion that 1 S. 1:24 furnished the exact phrase, cf. 1 S. 10:3. The Versions here have no textual value that can be trusted but that does not leave them without value, for it shows that the translators felt that they were dealing not with the price paid for a slave, but with the customary offerings, and this is of first importance. Both Hebrew words are most probably corrupt and the least that one can do with them is to attempt to restore them, although the verse to this point is clear without them. Yet if we have thus far correctly interpreted it, it is true that we should expect one other thing in it. In v. 2 a Gomer has been turned back when on her way to the sanctuary and since v. 3 naturally implies that she is now at home, v. 2 b is the one point in the book where Hosea's place of residence might legitimately be expected.

It is a rather remarkable fact that Hosea of all the pre-exilic writing prophets is associated with no particular place either in his own words or in any editorial tradition (the book of Nahum is only an apparent exception), while the late Jewish and Christian traditions, by their utter lack of coherence, placing him in such diverse and unlikely places at Babylonia and North Africa, show their unreliable character (cf. *ICC*. p. 202). I believe this lack to be due very largely to a corruption of the last two words of v. 2, and here the whole difficulty arose from the change of order of two contiguous letters, that is by reversing the order of ל and ת in וּלְתֶךְ we get a regular form וּלְתֶךְ "and she came," and what follows is naturally a place name indicating destination; and it should give us the home of the prophet.

Now there is no place name known consisting of these radicals

but if we read the initial letter as ש instead of ש we get a well attested location; but Jerome is a witness that as late as his day there was no difference between these two letters. The error here is the very slightest and is directly accounted for when once the first form ותרך had been confused by a copyist, for then there was nothing to indicate a place name in שערים while the near presence of שערים "barley" attracted it to itself and this was done the more readily since by this procedure a semblance of meaning could be given to the corrupted form ותרך, that is, a barley measure of some sort.

The whole verse will now read: "And I caused her to turn back to me with fifteen shekels of silver and a homer of barley, and she came to Sha'araim (v. 3) and I said unto her," etc. The connection with the preceding and following is now direct and straightforward, Gomer is forced to return home while on her way to the degrading rites that she loved and is restrained from visiting the shrines, not however as the consort of the prophet but as an unclean alien, "a woman" tabooed by her own conduct. So shall it be with the nation, for the same reason (v. 4).

There may have been more than one place name Sha'araim in Palestine (cf. 1 Ch. 4:31 and Josh. 15:32, 19-6), but there is only one that is well attested. This is located by two contexts. 1 S. 17:52 and Josh. 15:36 both agree in placing it in the same relative position in the Shephelah, on the border of the Philistine plain, almost directly west of Bethlehem. The reference in Samuel locates it in the vale of Elah on the way of the route of the Philistines after the slaughter of Goliath, at the point where the fugitives separated, some turning toward Ekron, others fleeing into Gath, and if Gath be located at Tell-es-Safi, then Sha'araim must be in the immediate neighborhood on the eastward side. This location lends some weight to the tradition preserved by Jerome that Hosea was born at Bethshemesh, not indeed of Issachar as he had it but in the Shephelah not more than ten miles from Sha'araim. (The Masoretes uniformly vocalize the name as a dual, the LXX 1 S. 17:52 reads the plural Sha'arim. Sha'ar yam "Westgate" is equally possible and as marking the gateway to the plain from the hills such a designation would have been a very natural one.)

We are thus obliged to consider the possibilities of Hosea's Judaic origin, first to ascertain whether there is anything which excludes it, since it has generally been assumed that his home was in the north; and secondly to see whether anything in the book gains any added significance if we place him in the south. It has been claimed that the book contains Aramaisms as evidence of its northern origin (cf. *ICC*. 202) but this has also been vigorously denied. It is at most very indecisive. Hosea's interest in the northern kingdom is supposed to point in the same direction; on the other hand Amos, although from the south, has apparently no interest outside of north Israel, yet Hosea has a very considerable interest in Judah (cf. 5:5; 10-14; 6:4; 8:14; 12:2). There are more northern place names in Hosea than in Amos but the proportion corresponds very closely to the relative size of the two books. The mention of "the land" (1:2) applied to North-Israel and "our king" (7:6) does not tell in what part of Palestine the prophet lived, at least in the days of Jeroboam II, in whose reign Hosea's work began (cf. 1:4, 2 Kings 14:8-25), for at that time Judah was scarcely more than a province of Israel, and in the days of political confusion that followed when Judah gradually gained a measure of independence (cf. 5:13, 14; 6:4), it is very doubtful whether Judah recovered her suzerainty over the Shephelah (cf. 2 Ki. 16:5-6) before the fall of Samaria (cf. Mic. 1:14). Again Hosea's greater knowledge of the internal affairs of N. Israel as compared with Amos, his analysis of political parties and social conditions, have been utilized in the same direction. But Israel's dominance of Judah in this period, the circumscribed limits of the land and the common traditions of the nation do not permit any fixed exclusions of residence in this case. At most the customary arguments make a northern origin plausible, no direct evidence to the contrary and hitherto there has been no possibility of such evidence. This explains the uniformly optimistic assurance of the commentators on this point. At no time has the evidence been used to exclude the possibility of residence elsewhere, since that problem has never before seriously presented itself. The books of Amos and Micah present a fair analogy. Remove one word from the editorial tradition of Amos ("Tekoa" 1:1) and no available grounds remain in the book for locating the prophet outside of Israel, much less

for placing him in southern Judah. Leave a single word out of the editorial tradition of Micah ("Morashtite" 1:1, since Jer. 26:18 probably rests upon this) and no available reasons remain for locating Micah's home in the Shephelah. But with such a clue at hand many things in both books admirably suit the place designation and gain thereby added force and clearness. Can the same principle be applied to Hosea? There was a detachment about the Shephelah, physically, which permitted its inhabitants to regard both Israel and Judah as in a measure separate from them while still belonging to them; this is noticeable in Micah, and corresponds well to Hosea's common rebuke of both Israel and Judah. Hosea's interest in Egypt (cf. 8:13; 9:3, 6; 11:1, 5; 12:1, 9; 13:4) is striking. It is not merely that he is acquainted with the political intrigues with Egypt but as a possible place of captivity it vies in his mind with Assyria. If he dwelt at Sha'araim, he was very near the direct route of trade and diplomatic relations between Israel and Egypt, and Egypt itself was near enough to make it prominent in his vision of the future, his interest in the Egyptian party was then most natural, and it helps to explain the large place given to that country, when as a matter of fact Assyria was at the time by far the most threatening factor in the political situation.

The condemnation of Elisha's revolution (cf. 1:4) is no doubt explainable from a northern prophet, a century after the event, but the sense of detachment in the form of statement is remarkable. It would have been so easy to have said that the house of Ahab was bad but the house of Jehu is worse, but what he virtually says is that the house of Ahab was good and the house of Jehu is bad. This inaccuracy and blurring of the historical perspective is not easily attributed to a great northern prophet even a century after. It is much more understandable coming from a man whose home was in the Shephelah. Ch. 8:4 is commonly interpreted as a condemnation of the schism between Israel and Judah. It is again no doubt possible to conceive of a northern prophet taking this attitude but it must be granted that it is strangely abrupt, if it originated in the north. The North was in the ascendancy, it had taken the initiative in breaking away and it was in their power to do something to heal the breach, but there is not another hint in the book that Israel ought

to return to the house of David. On the other hand from a man whose sympathies were more naturally with the South, the statement of 8:4 is a complete one and the diagnosis normal and natural.

One other problem presents itself in this connection. It is generally held that it is well-nigh impossible to extend Hosea's work beyond the period of the Syro-Ephraimitic war since his book contains no echo of that conflict, but some have felt the desirability of extending his life-work beyond that point. The difficulty here in the case of a northern prophet has probably not been over-estimated, but for a man in the southwestern foothills the difficulty is to say the least very much lessened. I venture, therefore, to conclude that the proposition to locate Hosea at Sha'araim does not face greater difficulties than would be the case with either Amos or Micah if the homes of these prophets had been lost in a similar manner until now.

The main proposition, which it is sought to establish in this paper, namely, that Hosea's domestic tragedy was primarily the result of a religious struggle, and of the same kind as his experience with the nation, does not depend upon the explanation suggested for 3:2, but rather upon the ability of this proposal to remove the chasm between chapters 1 and 3, and to utilize all the data of these chapters in a natural and legitimate manner. On the other hand, if the explanation offered for 3:2 be accepted, the main contention of this article becomes inevitable. It is moreover to be noted that the proposed reading of the last clause of 3:2, which involves the home of the prophet, is equally valid as a suggestion however one take the first part of the verse and whether chapter 3 be taken as a direct statement of chapter 1 or in the more usual manner.

THE CORONATION OF ZERUBBABEL

PAUL HAUPT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

In my paper *The Inauguration of the Second Temple* (JBL 33, 161)¹ I have shown that the offspring of David's loins, who is to be placed on Judah's throne, Ps. 132: 11^b, is Zerubbabel whose birth (c. 538) is hailed in the second stanza of the patriotic poem in Is. 9: 1-6 (JBL 35, 283, below). Ps. 132 was originally not included in the collection of the Songs of the Return (ZAT 34, 145; JBL 33, 163) but seems to have been substituted for Ps. 110 in which an enthusiastic follower of Zerubbabel expresses the hope that this Davidic scion will restore the national independence of Judah, shattering the great king, the head over the vast earth, i. e. Darius Hystaspis (AJSL 23, 231, n. 33). In the Achaemenian inscriptions the Persian kings repeatedly style themselves *šar qaqqari rapāsti*, and in the Visions of Zechariah (4: 14; 6: 5) Darius is called *the lord of the whole earth* (JBL 32, 112, n. 18). The Jewish priests were inclined to support the Persian government, whereas the nationalists hoped that Zerubbabel would rule over Judah as the legitimate king (Heb. *malkî-šādq*).² The relations between the Davidic prince and the Persianizing priests may have been strained, but the patriotic poems of this period emphasize the fact that Zerubbabel is a faithful follower of JHVH (cf. Hag. 2: 23; Zech. 4: 6.9; 6: 13; Mic. 5: 3; Pss. 20: 4.7.8; 21: 2.6.8; 110: 1; 132: 10). Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (1912) pp. 1.96 says that Judaism is a creation of the Persian empire. The Persian kings supported the Jewish theocracy (Ex. 19: 6). Nor did Nebuchadnezzar suppress the religion of the Jews (EB¹¹ 15, 386^a).

For *lē-ʾólām* after *uē-attâ kôhén* in Ps. 110: 4 we must restore

¹ For the abbreviations see vol. 36 of this JOURNAL, p. 75.

² *Al-dibratî malkî-šādq* may have been an archaic legal formula. Cf. also Mic. 54, n. 40; JAOS 38, 332, and my paper *Zerubbabel and Melchizedek* in JSOR 2, 78.

lîmîni, at my right, as in Zech. 6:13 (JBL 32, 113). The reading *lě-‘ôlâm* is due to the *lě-‘ôlâm* at the end of the preceding line in which the second hemistich *kis’ăkâ lě-‘ôlâm* has been suppressed (OLZ 12, 67, n. 1). Both in Zech. 6:13 and Ps. 110:4 *kôhén*, priest, seems to have been substituted for *mălk*, king, or *môšél*, ruler (JBL 36, 140) just as in Zechariah’s prediction of the coronation of Zerubbabel the name of the Davidic scion has been replaced by the name of the high priest Joshua. *Joshua* has been inserted instead of *Zerubbabel*, not only in Zech. 6, but also in Zech. 3 (JBL 32, 114). Also in Haggai (1:1.12.14; 2:2.4) the name of the high priest Joshua represents a subsequent insertion. In Zech. 6:13 we may read *mălk* instead of *kôhén*, and in Ps. 110:4 *tîmšól*, thou wilt rule. Ps. 110:4 should be read as follows:

כסאך לעולם	נשבע ולא ינחם
על-דברתי מלכי-צדק;	ואתה תמשיך לימיני

He swore and will not revoke:

Thy throne is for ever,

So thou shalt rule at my right hand

as the rightful king.

Gen. 14 was written at the same period (at the beginning of 519 B. C.) for the encouragement of the adherents of the Davidic scion: just as Abraham with his 318 servants was able to conquer King Chedorlaomer of Elam and the kings allied with him, so Zerubbabel will be successful in his rebellion against the great king of Persia (OLZ 18, 71; cf. also PSBA 40, 92). Elam is named in Gen. 14 instead of Persia, because in the days of Abraham Persia did not exist: Cyrus the Great is the first king of Persia; he welded the Persian tribes into a single nation; originally he was king of the Elamite district of Anšan (EB¹¹ 7, 707^a; 21, 206^b.253^a). The term *mălkî-šădq*, rightful king, was afterwards misinterpreted as a proper name (cf. ZAT 34, 142; WF 198, n. 15; JAOS 34, 418). The Melchizedek episode in Gen. 14 is a subsequent insertion, added at a time when the high priest had become the head of the Jewish nation after the suppression of Zerubbabel’s rebellion in the spring of 519. There was no high priest of Judah before the reign of Darius Hystaspis (521-486). The object of the Melchizedek episode is to inculcate the importance of the payment of the tithe to the priesthood (cf. EB 3845, last line; 4907, l. 2; 5104, l. 2).

Ps. 110 exhibits the same (elegiac) meter (*Mic.* 22, n. 1) as the other Songs of the Return, whereas Ps. 132 is composed of lines with 3 + 3 beats (JAOS 27, 109; JBL 33, 169). The priestly redactors may have considered Ps. 110 too revolutionary; therefore they substituted Ps. 132 which is more ecclesiastic. Similarly the tetrastich Hag. 2, 20-23, which stood originally at the end of c. 1, was suppressed and subsequently appended at the end of the Book (JBL 32, 113, below). In both Psalms, which may have been composed by the same patriotic poet, some revolutionary statements have been eliminated: as stated above, we must restore in Ps. 110 after the beginning of the second pentastich, *He swore and will not revoke*, the hemistich *thy throne is for ever*, and in Ps. 132:10 the original line *Extend his sceptre from Zion that he conquer his foes in war* has been replaced by a tame variant of v. 16: *Let thy priests be clothed with right, let thy faithful shout for joy* (JBL 33, 162).

The coronation of Zerubbabel, which is predicted in Zech. 6:11, where the priests have substituted the name of the high priest Joshua, is glorified in Ps. 21. The poet says there in the first triplet:

The wish of his heart Thou hast granted him,
not denied the request of his lips.
Thou'lt grant him blessings of goodness,
setting a crown of gold on his head.

The *wish of his heart* and the *request of his lips* were the coronation as King of Judah (v. 5, *he asked of Thee life, Thou hast given him length of days*, is a subsequent addition). The same desires were imputed 75 years later by Sanballat to Nehemiah (Neh. 6:6). The Jewish priests, who sympathized with the Persian government, were opposed to the restoration of the Davidic kingdom. Their attitude is reflected in the Deuteronomistic chapter 1 S 8. Ezra told the people (Neh. 9:36) that they were servants, and the land, which JHVH gave to their fathers, yielded its increase to the kings whom JHVH had set over them because of their sins. The poet therefore promises Zerubbabel in the second section of Ps. 21:³ *Thy hand will reach thy*

³Budde, *Die schönsten Psalmen* (1915) p. 105, regards vv. 9-13 as a later addition, and v. 14 as a liturgical conclusion.

foes, thy right hand will catch those who hate thee. This refers not only to the Persians, but also to the Jews who supported the Persian government, just as the Hellenizers in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) abetted the Syrians. Their breed is to be swept from the land. The poet says: *Though they intended evil against thee, planned a plot, they will not prevail.* JHVH will make Zerubbabel a blessing for ever, so that future generations will say, Mayest thou be as blessed and successful as Zerubbabel. But the hopes of the enthusiastic followers of the Davidic scion were not realized: their patriotic uprising was nipped in the bud, and their leader, it may be supposed, was put to death, probably crucified (JBL 33, 161).

The Temple was not completed at that time, but the coronation no doubt took place before the altar within the Temple court, and the surrounding wall of the sacred precincts may have been restored. The restoration of the Temple had been begun in the fall of 520, and the coronation of Zerubbabel must have taken place in the spring of 519. Some of the ancient gateways of the Temple enclosure may have survived the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, even if the doors were burned. The poet does not refer to the *dēlaṭōt*, but to the *šē'arîm* and *pēṭaḥîm*.⁴ These venerable witnesses of Judah's former glory need no longer be downcast, they can lift up their head with pride, because there is to be a Davidic prince again on the throne of Judah. The section in which the poet apostrophizes the ancient gateways, through which the glorious king is to enter, has been detached⁵ and appended to the religious poem in Ps. 24 the first two lines of which should be prefixed to Ps. 8 (cf. JAOS 38, 329). The answer to the question *Who is the king of glory?* was originally not JHVH, but *our prince, David's son, Zerubbabel, our king.* For the lines praising his prowess (vv. 17.20 = Ps. 24:8.10) cf. the epithet *ēl-gibbôr[îm]*, leader of warriors, in the poem (Is. 9:5) written at the time of the birth of Zerubbabel (see my paper *Magnificat and Benedictus* in AJP 40, 64-75).

⁴ These terms do not denote a *cataracta* or *porteullis* (DB 2, 111b).

⁵ Cf. the remarks on Hagg. 2: 20-23 in JBL 32, 113, below; also *Eccl.* 4, 1. 5; BL 96, n. 1. See also the abstract of my paper on Suppressed Passages in the OT, printed in the *Actes du Seizième Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Athens, 1912) p. 75.

If we append the final section of Ps. 24, the poem consists of three sections each of which comprises two triplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line. The first section is addressed to JHVH; the second to Zerubbabel; the third, to the gateways of the Temple enclosure. In the final triplet all listeners may have joined with the singers.

This poem may be translated as follows:

PSALM 21

- A i 2 *a*In Thy strength the king joys, O JHVH;
 in *Thy* help he greatly exults.
 3 The wish of his heart Thou hast granted him,
 not denied the request of his lips. {}*β*
 4 Thou'lt grant him blessings of goodness,
 a golden crown Thou'lt set on his head.
- ii 6 Through Thy help great is his glory,
 Thou'lt lay on him splendor and majesty;
 7 *γ*Thou'lt make him a blessing for ay,*δ*
 Thou'lt gladden his face with joy.
 8 For the king trusts in JHVH,
 through Elyon's grace he'll not totter. {*Selah*}
- B iii 9 Thy hand will reach *ε*thy foes,
 thy right hand will catch those who hate thee;
 10 Thou'lt place them in a fiery furnace,*ζ*
 JHVH in His wrath will devour them;*η*
 11 Their fruit thou'lt sweep from the land,
 their descendants from among men.
- iv 12 Though they intended evil against thee,
 planned a plot, they will not prevail;
 13 *θ*Thou'lt aim at their face with thy bowstring,
 thou'lt make them turn their back. .
 14 Arise, O JHVH, in Thy strength,
 that we may sing and chant Thy deeds. [*Selah*]

(*a*) 1 For the Liturgy. Psalm. Davidic

(*β*) 5 He asked of Thee life, Thou hast given him length of days.

(*γ*) 7 for (*δ*) for ever and ay (*ε*) 9 to all (*ζ*) 10 at the time of thy wrath

(*η*) 10 fire will consume them (*θ*) 13 though

- C v 15 Lift up your head, O ye gateways!
 lift yourselves up, ye ancient portals!
 16 Let the king of glory enter!
 who is the king of glory?
 17 Our prince, the strong, the valiant,
 David's son, the valiant in battle.
- vi 18 Lift up your head, O ye gateways!
 lift yourselves up, ye ancient portals!
 19 Let the king of glory enter!
 who, then, is the king of glory?
 20 Zerubbabel, the captain of the hosts,
 our king is the king of glory. []

The *ma* after *bîšû'aṭēkā* in the first line is the emphatic *-ma* which we find also in Prov. 30:13 and Ezek. 16:30 (*Est.* 49, 13; GB¹⁶ 401^b, B). In Assyrian this enclitic *-ma* is often appended to suffixes; cf. JAOS 16, cix. Also the last word of the first line is enclitic (cf. JBL 36, 251): it was pronounced *môḏ*, not *mē'ôḏ* (cf. the remarks on *sôn*, shoe, and *šôn*, peace, in *Est.* 28; JBL 35, 283; contrast 36, 257).—The word for *request* in v. 3 corresponds to the Assyrian *erîštu*, desire; it should be read *ārēšt*, with *ś*, not *ārēšt* (ZDMG 65, 561, l. 28; cf. JBL 36, 257). In Arabic we have *uāraša*, to be greedy, to crave (syn. *ṭāmī'a*, *ḥāriṣa*, *jāšī'a*). In Ps. 61:5 we may adopt Hupfeld's reading *ārēšt*, desire, or, more correctly, *īrēšt*, a form like *gēḥért*, construct of *gēḥirā*, instead of *īrūššāt*, heritage. For initial Aleph = *u* and *i* cf. ZA 2, 278; NBSS 203.—It is interesting that both in Ps. 21 and in Gen. 14 God is called *Elyon* which is generally supposed to mean *The Most High*, but which may denote JHVH as a god of the mountains; this is also the connotation of *šaddāi* (GB¹⁶ 809^a; ZDMG 69, 171, l. 3).

Zerubbabel's throne was not very stable, but the poet assures him in v. 8 that it will not totter. Olshausen's view that the king looks back on a long successful reign is unwarranted. Hitzig suggested that *bē-'ozzēkā* in vv. 1.14 might allude to Uzziah (779-740). He thought that both Pss. 21 and 22 were composed in 811. He admitted, however, that *tēḥaddēhū* in Ps. 21:7 and *niṭ'ôḏāḏ* in Ps. 20:9 pointed to the post-Exilic period. But the Piel of *xadû*, to rejoice, is used also in Assyrian: *he*

cheered my heart (lit. *liver*) is *uxaddî kabittî*. Hitzig pointed out that the foes in v. 9 were not necessarily foreign foes; he deemed it better to refer especially v. 11 to internal enemies. According to De Wette-Baur (1856) Ewald believed that the king might be Josiah (640-609) or even a later ruler, but in the third edition of his *Psalmen* (1866) p. 85 he was inclined to refer this poem to Jeroboam II (783-743). Grætz referred Ps. 20 to Josiah,⁶ and Ps. 21 to Hezekiah (727-699). Kittel (1914) p. 80⁷ thinks that Ps. 20 originated in the period between Hezekiah and Josiah. Cheyne was inclined to refer both Pss. 20 and 21 to the Maccabee Simon (142-135). Duhm regards Ps. 20 as a Sadducean psalm glorifying Alexander Jannæus (103-76). Wellhausen, *Skizzen* 6, 169 (1899) says that Pss. 20 and 21 are undoubtedly post-Exilic, whereas Budde (1915)³ thinks that it is as clear as noonday that Ps. 20 is pre-Exilic. Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1898) p. 190 correctly referred Pss. 20 and 21 to Zerubbabel, but he assigned also Pss. 45 and 72, which glorify Alexander Balas (ZA 30, 94) and Ptolemy Philadelphus (JBL 33, 170) to the same period, whereas he regarded Ps. 110 as Maccabean (*cf. op. cit.* pp. 192, 194). According to Schultz (1888) both Pss. 20 and 21 are Davidic.

Duhm says that *tašîṭ* (v. 4) is *natürlich* preterite, but it is, of course, future.—The suffix *-ka* at the end of v. 7 is due to dittography.—For *timçâ* in the second hemistich of v. 9 we may substitute *taššîḡ*. Kautzsch and Kittel read *timḥâç*, and Duhm: *tabô*; *cf.* the remarks on *mīšlāḥt*, JBL 35, 288.—For *kě-tannûr* (v. 10) we must read *bě-tannûr*; Reuss rendered: *in eine feurige Esse stössest du sie*.—*Naṭû* (v. 12) is unobjectionable; Lat. *intendere* means *to stretch out*, stretch toward, direct toward (*cf.* Gen. 39:21; Is. 66:12; Ezr. 7:28; 9:9). Livy says *crimen in aliquem intendere*. It is certainly not necessary to read *himṭû*, they brought, from *měṭâ* (Dan. 4:25) = Ethiop. *amçé'û*, although we find in Arabic *ánṭâ* for *ámṭâ* (ZDMG 40,

⁶ A translation of Ps. 20 is given below, in the paper on Assyr. *dagâlu*, to look for, in the OT.

⁷ On the same page Kittel writes *Hošîa'-na* for *hōšî'ánnâ*, evidently regarding the *â* of the emphatic imperative *hōšî'â* as a *Paṭh* furtive. The imperative is either *hōšâ'* or *hōšî'â*. *Cf.* ZAT 28, 69, 148; also *Proverbs* (SBOT) 67, 44.

736). Heb. *naṭâ* corresponds to Ethiop. *maṭṭāua*; cf. below, conclusion of the paper on the Tophet Gate. Wildeboer's rendering *pour out* (ZAT 17, 180) is gratuitous.—In v. 13 the two hemistichs must be transposed, and for *šākm* we must read *šikmām*, preceded by *lē-hafnôt* (cf. JBL 36, 252). Similarly *īḏaššēnē* in Ps. 20:4 is haplography for the emphatic *īḏaššēnēnnā*, He will incinerate it.⁶ The omission of the suffix in *šikmām* is due to haplography, while the plural *ī* in *bē-mētarêka* is dittography of the *r* (cf. Mic. 74, ω; JBL 34, 59, l. 13; 36, 251). Reuss rendered correctly: *Du wirst machen, dass sie den Rücken kehren*, but this requires the addition of the suffix to *šākm* and the insertion of *lē-hafnôt* (cf. 1 S 10:8). For *pēnēhēm* at the end of v. 13 we may read *panēmō*; cf. Ps. 11:7 and *piriāmō* at the beginning of v. 11. We may read also *zar'āmō* in v. 11, *šikmāmō* in v. 13, and *īḏballē'émō* in v. 10; the omission of the final *-ō* in the last two cases may be due to haplography.—*Kî* at the beginning of v. 13 is due to vertical dittography, as is also the *kî* before *tēšitēhu* at the beginning of v. 7.—The *lē* before the gloss *kol* in v. 9 should be omitted and prefixed to *'ólām ūa-'ād* at the end of v. 5, which is a misplaced gloss to *la-'ād* in v. 7.—For *panēka* in the gloss *lē-ēt panēka* we must read *appēkā*; cf. *bē-īôm appô* in Ps. 110:5 (AJSL 23, 232). Briggs' rendering *in the time* (of the setting) *of thy face* (against them) is impossible. Also in Lam. 4:16 we must read *appē* (cf. *ūrle appāim*, slow to anger, and Prov. 30:33) instead of *pēnē*; the two lines of this couplet must be transposed; the acrostic line is v. 16^b.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

ובישועתך-מה יגיל-מאד: ^a	איהוה בעזך ישמח-מלך ^a 2i A
וארשת שפתיו בל-מנעת: ^b	תאות לבו נתתה-לו 3
תשית על-ראשו עטרת-כפז:	כי-תקדמנו בברכות טוב 4
הודוהדר תשוה-עליו:	גדול כבודו בישועתך 6ii
תחדוהו בשמחה את-כפניו:	תשיתוהו ברכות לער ^c 7
ובחסר עליון בל-ימוט: (וסלה)	כי-המלך בטח ביהוה 8

^a Cf. Nah. 27, below. Similarly we must read in Zeph. 1: 14 *qarôh u-mēmāhēr-môd*, the last word being enclitic.

יִמְיִנֶךָ תִּשְׁיֵג שְׁנֵאִיךָ:	9iiiB תִּמְצֵא יָדְךָ אֵיכִיךָ
יְהוָה בִּאֲפֹי יִבְלַעְמִי ⁹	10 תִּשְׁתַּמּוּ בַתְּנוּר אִשִּׁי
וּרְעַמֹּי מִבְּנֵי אָדָם:	11 פְּרִימֹי מֵאֶרֶץ תֹּאבֵד
חֲשְׁבוּ מִזְמָה בַל-יִוְכְּלוּ:	12 iv כִּי-נָטוּ עַלְיֶךָ רָעָה
תִּשְׁתַּמּוּ לַהֲפָנוֹת שִׁכְמִי ¹⁰	13 בְּמִיתָרְךָ תִּכְנֹן עַל-פָּנִימֹי
וְנִשְׁרִיה וְנִזְמְרָה גְבוּרָתְךָ: [סֵלָה]	14 רוּמָה יְהוָה בַּעֲזָךְ
וְהִנֵּשְׂאוּ פִתְחֵי עוֹלָם:	15 v C שְׂאוּ שַׁעְרִים רֹאשֵׁיכֶם
מִי-יִזָּה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד:	16 וַיָּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד
בֶּן-דָּוִד גְּבוּר מַלְחָמָה:	17 נִשְׂאָנוּ עִזִּים וְגִבּוֹר
וְהִנֵּשְׂאוּ פִתְחֵי עוֹלָם:	18 vi שְׂאוּ שַׁעְרִים רֹאשֵׁיכֶם
מִי-הוּא-יִזָּה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד:	19 וַיָּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד
מַלְכֵנוּ הוּא-מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד: □	20 וְרַבְבֵּל שָׂר הַצָּבָא

(a) 1 לִפְנֵיכָם מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד (β) 5 חַיִּים שָׁאֵל מִכֶּךָ נִתְּתָה-לוֹ אֶרֶץ יָמִים 0:
 (γ) 7 כִּי (δ) 6 (לְעוֹלָם וְעַד) (ε) 9 כֹּכַל (ζ) 10 בְּיוֹם אַפֶּךָ (η) וְתֹאכְלֶם אִשׁ (θ) 13 כִּי

Cheyne (1888) said of this poem: The tone adopted toward the king reminds us of expressions in the Assyrian royal psalms. Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (1911) p. 40 has cited a number of Assyrian and Egyptian parallels in his interpretation of Ps. 20. Ps. 21 would read in Assyrian as follows (*cf.* JBL 31, 123. 125):

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 2 a]āma ina-danānika šarru-izādi | ina-litikā-ma ma'adiš irēš |
| 3 Ğummerat libbišu tušaksidsu | erišti šaptāšu lā-taprusβ{} |
| 4 γKirbāti t̃ābāti tušamzaršu-ma | agī-xurāqi rēšašu tuppār |
| 6 Ina-litika tanittusu šurbāt | melamme u-šalummatu elišu-tarāmi |
| 7 Kiribta ana-mati-maš tašākanšu | zimašu ina-zidāti tunammar [kinu ⁹ |
| 8 Aššu-šarru ana-lāma ittaka-ma | ina-rēmi ša-il-šadi ul-uktammas.—Šu- |
| 9 Qātuka ābēkaε imāci-ma | imittuka zā'irēka ikāšad |
| 10 Ina-tinūr išāti tanādi-šunūti-maγ | lāma ina-uggatišu ibbatsunūtiη |
| 11 Nannabšun ištu-māti tuzallaq | u-zēršun ištu-mārē amilūti |

⁹ For šukīnu, participle muškinu, see my paper on *Selah*, reverential prostration, in the *Expository Times*, vol. 22, p. 375a; contrast JBL 36, 146, below. *Cf.* also my paper *The Son of Man in The Monist*, January, 1919, p. 124, and the abstract in JAOS 37, 14.

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|----|---------------------------------------|--|---------------|
| 12 | <i>ša-elika limutta ikpuđū-ma</i> | <i>dabābē izsusū lā-ultallaṭū</i> | |
| 13 | <i>Elī-pānišun qaštaka tušallā-ma</i> | <i>ḫkalīšun arkāti usaṣṣarū</i> | [<i>kīnu</i> |
| 14 | <i>Iāma ina-danānika izizā-ma</i> | <i>epšētika nunā'ad-ma nuzammar.—šu-</i> | |
| 15 | <i>Bābāni rēšēkunu šuqqū-ma</i> | <i>nēribēti ullāti našqā-ma</i> | |
| 16 | <i>šar tanitti līrub</i> | <i>mannu-šū šar tanitti</i> | |
| 17 | <i>Nasikuni dandannu qarradu</i> | <i>mār-Damīdi le'i tamxari</i> | |
| 18 | <i>Bābāni rēšēkunu šuqqū-ma</i> | <i>nēribēti ullāti našqā-ma</i> | |
| 19 | <i>šar tanitti līrub</i> | <i>mannū-ma šū šar-tanitti</i> | |
| 20 | <i>Zurub-Bābīli mumā'ir ummāni</i> | <i>šarruni šū šar-tanitti</i> | |

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|--|
| (α) | 1 | <i>ana dulli sa ili. zamaru. ša Damīdi</i> | |
| (β) | 5 | <i>Aššu-balāti kāša uṣalli-ma</i> | <i>arāk ūmē taddinšu</i> |
| (γ) | 7 | <i>aššu</i> | (δ) 5 <i>ana matī-ma ana arkāt ūmē</i> |
| (ζ) | 10 | <i>ina ūmi uggatika</i> | (η) <i>išātu ikkalšunūti</i> |
| | | | (ε) 9 <i>kalīšun</i> |
| | | | (θ) 13 <i>aššu</i> |

MASORA

PAUL HAUPT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Masora is the Hebraization of Aram. *mâsôrâ*, deliverance, tradition. The form with final *t* is older than the form with final *h*.¹ If *mâsôrâ* were a genuine Hebrew word, it should be spelled with *ś*, because it is derived from the same root as Heb. *maśśôr*, saw = Arab. *minšâr*. Similarly *gêzerâ*, decree (Dan. 4:14.21) is connected with *maġzerâ*, ax (2 S 12:31). Syr. *maġzârâ* denotes *ax*, *saw* and *dagger*, *lancet* (JBL 36, 258).² The verb *gêzâr* signifies *to cut*, *tear*, *circumcise*, *decree*, *determine*. Syr. *gêzîrtâ* has the meanings *split wood* and *decree*, while *gâzârtâ* is an *island* (lit. *cut off*, *isolated*). Also Heb. *garzén*, ax, is merely a transposition of *gazrén* = *gazrinn*, just as *karmêl* represents a form *karmillu*, or as *barzêl*, iron, corresponds to Assy. *parzillu*; but Assy. *qutrinnu*, κνῖσα (JBL 36, 91, n. 11) stands for *qutrînu* = *qutrênu* = *qutrânu*; cf. *šurmênu*, cypress = *šurmânu* (JBL 34, 74, n. 2). The *ṭ* in Heb. *qêṭôrt* is due to the initial *q*; cf. Aram. *qêṭâl*, to kill = Arab. *qátala* (SFG 73).

The Hebrew byform *mâsôrṭ* is based on Ezek. 20:37, but we must read there instead of *mâsôrṭ hab-bêrîṭ*, the bond of the covenant: *masrêṭ hab-bôrîṭ*, the vat of lye (JBL 36, 143; JHUC, No. 306, p. 3). Bacher's theory (endorsed by Wildeboer, ZAT 29, 73) that *mâsôrâ* should be read *môserâ* is untenable. If *mâsôrṭ* in Ezek. 20:37 meant *bond*, it would, of course, be better to regard it as the singular of *môserôṭ*, bonds (= *ma'sîrât*). But we must read there *masrêṭ* = *mašrêṭ* from *šarâ* = Syr. *têrâ*, to be soaked (JBL 36, 147). Also the misspelling (RE³ 12, 394, 39) *massôrâ* or *massôrṭ* presupposes a derivation of *mâsôrṭ* in Ezek. 20:37 from *asâr*, to bind: we find in 1 K 5:25 *makkôlt*, food, from *aḳâl*, to eat (ZAT 29, 281, n. 2). The view advanced in Steuernagel's *Einleitung* (1912) p. 19,

¹ Cf. Winter und Wünsche, *Die jüdische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons*, vol. 2 (Trier, 1894) p. 122, n. 1.

² For the abbreviations see this JOURNAL, vol. 36, p. 75.

that it would perhaps be better to read *mēsôrî* (an infinitive form like *îĕkôlt*; GK §§ 45, e. d; 69, n) or *mēsôrâ* (a form like *bēsôrâ*, good news) is untenable. Nor can we combine *mâsôrâ* with *mēsûrâ*, measure, because this word denotes a liquid measure, not a measure of length, so that *mâsôrâ* could be explained as *rule, canon* (JBL 36, 257). *Canon* is derived from the Sumer. *gin, gi*, reed, cane (*Mic.* 37, n.†; JHUC, No. 306, p. 25; JAOS 38, 67).

Aram. *mâsôrîâ* is a feminine collective (*Mic.* 43, below) derived from *mâsôr*, deliverer, just as Heb. *îĕhûdâ*, Jewry, is a feminine collective to *îĕhōdê*, he confesses (*Mic.* 36, n. 38). For the original meaning of *hōdâ*, he threw himself down, prostrated himself, see the paper on *Selah*, reverential prostration, in *Expository Times*, vol. 22, p. 375^b, below (May, 1911). The form *mâsôr* is distinctly Aramaic (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 107; Barth, § 122, d; VG § 128). Aram. *mēsâr* means *to deliver = to hand over or to hand down*. I pointed out in March, 1894 (JAOS 16, cvi; cf. *Numbers*, 63, 32; OLZ 12, 165) that the stem from which the term *Masora* is derived was identical with Assy. *mašâru* and the verb *masâr* in the two post-Exilic passages Num. 31:5.16. Assy. *muššuru* has a š₂ (JAOS 28, 115) which appears in Aramaic as *s*, and in Hebrew as *ś*; Heb. *uî-îmmasērû*, they were sent forth, and *lîmsôr*, to abandon (with the explanatory gloss *me'ól-bê*, to trespass against, or to transgress) represent phonetic spellings like *sētây*, winter; *sa'r*, storm; *ħarsît*, place of deposit for potsherds (see below, the paper on the Tophet Gate; contrast WF 219, l. 9).

To *deliver* may mean to *release*, set free; *hand over*, pass to another; *give up*, relinquish; also to *pronounce*, utter. *Deliverance* may denote an *authoritative* or *official utterance*. We say also *to hand down* a decision. Levias has shown that the technical term *Masora* means originally not *tradition*, but *orthography*, especially rules for *scriptio plena* and *defectiva* (GK § 3, b, n. 1). In some respects the *Masora* corresponds to the official German spelling-books, e. g. the *Regeln für die deutsche Rechtschreibung nebst Wörterverzeichnis* (Berlin, 1902).

The Assyrian Piel *muššuru* means *to relinquish*, abandon,³

³ Ea said to Xisuthrus (KB 6, 230, 25): *muššîr mekrê*, abandon abundance; for the paronomasia cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 396; Casanowicz, *Paronomasia*, p. 24. The stem of *mekrû* is *kr* = Arab. *gâtara*.

leave, let loose, release,⁴ set free,⁵ dismiss, discharge; but the Qal *mašâru* signifies *to cut*, *to tear*. Aram. *něšâr*, to saw, represents a partial assimilation of the initial *m* to the *s*, just as we have in Hebrew: *našâ*, to forget, for Assy. *mašû*, or in Ethiopic: *mânzer*, spurious, for Heb. *mamzér* (JBL 35, 291, below; cf. above, p. 216). Assy. *našâru*, to take off, reduce, has a š₁; it corresponds to Aram. *nětâr* (GB¹⁶ 917^b) while *našru*, eagle (or vulture) has a š₃ (JAOS 28, 115). The primary connotation of both *měsâr*, to deliver, and *měsâr*, to saw, is *to cut*; a saw is a cutting-tool, and *to cut* may mean also *to abandon*, give up, leave. We say *to cut loose from* for *to sever connection with*. Arab. *qâṭa'a*, to cut, means also *to abandon*, relinquish, e. g. *qâṭa'a axâhu* or *qâṭa'a rāḥimahu*, he cut loose from his brother or his family; *qâṭa'a* and *uqṭi'a* 'an are used in the same way; *qaṭi'ah* means *separation*. Arab. *fāṣala* signifies both *to cut*, sever, and *to leave*, e. g. *fāṣala mina-'l-bāladi*; we find also *fāṣala šarikahu*, he left his companion; *inaṣala* means *to be separated*, depart, leave. Arab. *fāraqa* means *to split*, and *fāraqa* signifies *to separate*, depart, leave.

The reflexive-passive stem of Assy. *muššuru* is *umtaššir* or (with reciprocal assimilation and with *e* for *i* under the influence of the following *r*) *undaššer*, *uddaššer*, *ûdaššer*, just as *mumtāxiṣu*, warrior, appears as *mundāxṣu*, or *šalamtu*, corpse, in Syriac as *šlāddā* = *šalandu*, *šalamtu* (ZDMG 61, 287, 38; Nah. 26; GB¹⁶ 892). It is not impossible that the modern Arabic *dāššar*, to leave, dismiss, represents this Assy. *udaššer* = *umtaššir*, just as Arab. *tājir*, merchant, is the Assy. *tamkaru* (see JBL 36, 141, n. 3; AJP 17, 489, n. 1; GB¹⁶ 422^b.892^b). We have in Arabic not only Assyrian loanwords, but also Sumerian terms (JBL 36, 140, below; JAOS 37, 255).

⁴ I pointed out in 1883 (BAL 91) that this stem appeared in Arabic as *māsara* (cf. JAOS 16, cvi).

⁵ The Babylonian Noah says (KB 6, 240, 147): *ušeṣi-ma summata umaššir*, I brought out a dove (JSOR 1, 5) and let it go. Sennacherib states with reference to the inhabitants of Ekron (KB 2, 94, 8): *uššuršun aqbî*, I ordered their release. In a bilingual incantation (ASKT 85, 40) we find: *târîtu ša kirimmuša uššuru*, the pregnant woman whose womb is released, i. e. prolapsed. For *uššuru* = *muššuru* = *muššuru* see ZA 2, 270. 286; JAOS 16, cvi; AJP 17, 487, n. 1; and for *kirimmu*, womb, lit. garden, cf. BL 96; JAOS 36, 419. *Liru*, the Sumerian equivalent of *kirimmu*, means also *enclosure*; our garden is a doublet of *yard*, and Lat. *hortus* is the Greek *χόπος*. Contrast MVAG 21, 217 and JBL 36, 259.

In Assyrian we find for Heb. *maššôr*, saw (Is. 10:15) the reduplicated form *šaššaru* = *šaršaru* (cf. Arab. *šaršara*, to cut). Meissner's view (MVAG 9, 236) that Assy. *šaššaru* is a Šaf'el formation from the stem *našâru* (cf. OLZ 15, 149) is incorrect, although we have in Assyrian *šapšaqu* beside *šupšuqu* (AG² § 91, No. 33, a) from *pašâqu* which appears in the OT in the transposed Aramaic form *taqáf* (JBL 34, 62; AJSL 32, 64). In Amharic we find *šarašara*, he sawed; Tigre *šaršara* and *mašaršar*, saw. The Sumerian equivalent of Assy. *šaššaru* is *tag-gam* (SAI 2482). According to Meissner (MVAG 9, 235) *tak* means *toucher*, and *gam*: feller; but *tak* signifies *to fell* (SGI 153) and *gam* (SGI 83): *to bend*; so the primary connotation of Sum. *tag-gam*, saw, is *bendable feller*. An ax is an unbendable feller, but a saw-blade is flexible. In several passages we find TAG-GAM = *šaššaru*, saw, in connection with *pâšu*, ax, and *zirmû*, pick (ZR 154, nn. 3.6). Assy. *pâšu*, ax, is the Arab. *fa's*, Syr. *pústâ*; and *zirmû*, pick (Arab. *mínqar*) comes from a stem *zarâmu* = *zamâru*, to cut; cf. *izzamér* in the gloss Is. 5:6 (AJSL 19, 195; 26, 1) and Arab. *máraza* = *qáṭa'a*; also Arab. *zárîma*, to cease, stop, means originally *to be cut off* (syn. *inqaṭa'a*). For transposed doublets see JSOR 1, 88; AJSL 34, 84.

The Semitic biconsonantal root (JBL 35, 322) *šar*, to cut, is preserved in a number of Arabic stems, e. g. *šáršara*, *šárja'a*, *šarraha*, *šaraxa*, *šarrada*, *širdimah*, *šaraza*, *šaraṭa*, *šar'aba*, *šaraqa* = *šaqqa*, *šarika*, *šarama*, *šarmaṭa*, *šarina*, *šarnafa*, *šarnaqa*. Arab. *šarû*, to buy (NBSS 75) means originally *to release*, to redeem from captivity, to buy out of servitude, and the primary connotation of *šar'ah*, law, is *decision*; cf. Arab. *šarṭ*, incision and stipulation, Assy. *purussû* and *parçu* = Arab. *fard*, also Aram. *gžerâ*, decree (cf. above, p. 219). For another Semitic root *šar*, to shine, which appears in Assy. *šarru*, king, as well as in Arab. *šarîf*, eminent, and *šarîq*, rising sun, see JBL 36, 141. *Isrâ'el* may signify *God rules*, but afterwards this name was interpreted to mean *He fights God*; cf. the remarks on the name *Gideon* in ZDMG 63, 507, 16; see also JAOS 35, 390. There is a connection between Heb. *maššôr*, saw, and Heb. *šarâ*, to strive, contend, wrestle, just as there is a connection between Heb. *mšgerâ*, saw, and Assy. *girru*, campaign, or *garû*, to attack (JBL 32, 141). We need not suppose that the original

meaning of *šarâ*, to strive, was *to break with*, to rupture friendly relations; in Latin we find *serram cum aliquo ducere*, for *to strive with some one*. Heb. *šarâ*, to strive, which corresponds to Arab. *šârû*, to strive, to quarrel, means originally *to tug*. A *tug of war*, which is now used especially of rope-pulling, is a severe contest. Heb. *mġerâ*, stone-saw, is a form like *mġerâ*, coolness, from *qarâr* (AJSL 23, 234.242): it stands for *mġirrat*, from *garâr*, to run, and denotes a thing which is *run* or kept in motion or operation, just as we say *to run* an engine. Assy. *garâru* means *to run*. The original meaning of Assy. *garû*, to attack, is *to run at* (JBL 32, 141). In the same way Arab. *‘adûy*, enemy, is derived from *‘ādâ*, *‘ā’ dū*, to run (*‘ādâ* *‘alāihî* = *uātaba* *‘alāihî*; cf. JBL 36, 255). Our phrase *to run for an office* means *to enter a contest for it*.

We find the stem *garar* to run, to flow, in Ps. 75:9; Mic. 1:6; Lam. 3:49; 2 S 14:14. The forms *iggér*, *higgártî*, *niggērâ*, *niggarîm* may all be derived from *garar* (cf. GK § 67, u. y) or we may read *naġârâ* = *naġarrâ*, *nġârîm* = *nġarrîm*, and *heġártî* (cf. *heġáltâ*, Jud. 16:10; GK § 67, dd) or *hăġerôtî*. In Ps. 75:9 we must read: *Kî-kôs bĕ-ġād Iahûê uĕ-iggér lĕ-rîš’ê arc*, In JHVH’s hand there is a cup which He pours out for the wicked (AJSL 19, 139, n. 32) of the land. Nor is *muggarîm* (Mic. 1:4) derived from *nagar*: it means *falling* and is the participle Pu’al of *magar*, to fall (see Mic. 58.103).

Also the stem *nagar*, to saw, was originally *magar*, a denominative verb derived from a noun *maġér* = *magirr*, saw (cf. below, p. 224). For the interchange of initial *m* and *n* cf. AJSL 22, 199, 11; 28, 95, and above, p. 221. In the Talmud we find *miġrî*, wickerwork, for *niġrî* (cf. *niġrâ* and Heb. *neġr*, Is. 11:1). In modern Arabic we have *nāyūā*, to mew, for *māyūa’a* (from *mā’a*, *īamū’u*). In Assyrian we meet with *dunqu* for *dumqu*, favor (BA 1, 14, n. 7) from *damâqu* = *madâqu* see below, p. 227) and *enqu*, wise for *emqu* (lit. *deep*, profound; cf. *βαθύς*, wise). Syr. *nġār*, to saw, hew, carpenter, is not derived from *naggârâ*, carpenter (contrast Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, p. 254). Syr. *nârġâ*, ax (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 106) = 𐤎 𐤒𐤒𐤁 *nârġâ* (not *nârgâ*) is a transposition of *nâġērâ*. The primary connotation of Syr. *nġār*, to be long, is *to drag* = *to move slowly* (AJP 27, 160; JAOS 22, 10, n. 2).

In Assyrian we have *naggaru*, sawyer, carpenter, and in l. 24

of the Flood tablet (KB 6, 230) we find *ugur* (= *nugur*) *bîta*, *binî elippa*, frame a house, build a ship! The conjecture (AkF 25) that *naggaru* or *nangaru* (HW 448^a) is a Sumerian loan-word is untenable; for the Sumerian word for *saw* see above, p. 222. In the OT we have the stem *nagar*, to saw, to hew, in Ezek. 35:5; Jer. 18:21; Ps. 63:11. *Uai-iggér ôtâm 'al-iědě hārē* does not mean *he shed their blood by the force of the sword* (AV) or *he spilled them into the hands of the sword* (Cheyne-Driver) or *he gave them over to the power of the sword* (RV; cf. GB¹⁶ 485^a) but *he hacked them in pieces with the sword*. Shakespeare (1 Henry IV, ii 4, 164) says: *My sword hacked like a handsaw*; cf. the German phrase in Kochstücke hacken or zerhauen (e. g. in c. 21 of Hauff's *Lichtenstein*)⁶ and the remarks on *uai-iášar* (1 Chr. 20:3) below, p. 227. Heb. *'al-iědě* means *at the hands of*, i. e. *by the operation of*, by means of (cf. 2 Chr. 29:27). Similarly we have in Arabic: *'âlâ iádâhi* or *'âlâ iadâhi*, with his help, through him (cf. Heb. *bē-iad* and OLZ 11, 121).

The forms *taggér*, *haggîrém*, *iggîrûhû* may also be derived from a stem *garar*, to saw, to hew; cf. *měgôrârôt bam-měgērâ*, sawed with a saw (1 K 7:9) and GK § 67, y. Hitzig derived *iggîrûhû* (Ps. 63:11) from a stem *garar*. Michaelis (1778) rendered in Jer. 18:21: *lass sie vom Schwerte durchstochen werden*; he seems to have combined *higgîr* with Arab. *ajarrahu* = *ťá'anahu ũa-táraka 'r-rúmha iajurrûhu* (see his note on Ps. 63:11). We must not substitute *hîsgîr* for *higgîr*.

Nöldeke (NBSS 75, n. 3) derives *uai-iášar* in Hos. 12:5 from the stem *šarâ* which we have in *Isrá'él*, but the combination of the name *Israel* with *šarâ*, to fight, represents merely a popular etymology (*Pur.* 2, 37): *Isrá'él* probably meant originally *God rules* (see above, p. 222) and it would be better to read *uai-išr* (so Skinner, *Genesis*, 409.411) instead of *uai-iášar* which could only be derived from *šûr* or *šarâr*; cf. *uai-išr* (Ex. 32:20) from *zarâ*, to scatter, winnow, or *uai-išqr*, he chanced (Ruth 2:3). We need not suppose that the original reading was *uai-išsrâ* with final *Aleph* (GK § 75, rr) which dropped out before the following *Aleph* of *el*. Assy. *Sir'ilâ'a*, Israelite (WF 216) shows

⁶ Cf. *ibid.* c. 26: *in Kochstücke mazakerieren*, i. e. *massakrieren*. Cf. also German *Steinmetz*, stone-cutter, stone-hewer, stone-mason, and *Metzger*, massacre; *Metzger*, butcher.

that the pronunciation of the name was not *Ísrâ'él*, with *â* after the *r*, but *Ísr-il* or *Ísir-il*; contrast Assy. *Xazâ'ilu* (e. g. KB 1, 140, 97; 142, 103; 2, 130, 3) = Heb. *Hazâ'él*. For the vowel before the *r* in *Ísir-il* see BA 1, 294.299, n. 6; *Nah.* 29, below. The construct state of Assy. *sidru*, array, is *sidir*; the cuneiform script cannot express a form *sidr* (BAL 90; cf. the remarks on Heb. *ärk* = Assy. *arik*, JBL 35, 320).

Hos. 12:5^a is a gloss to 12:1^a, *Jacob repaid me with trickery*; for *sēḇabūnī ḥē-kāḥš Efraīm* at the beginning of c. 12 we must read: *šillēmānī ḥē-kāḥš Ia'qōḇ*. This is the immediate sequel of the two genuine lines in c. 11, which have been restored in JBL 34, 82. Only six lines in cc. 11.12 are Hoseanic; all the other verses in these chapters are secondary or tertiary. The genuine three couplets may be restored as follows:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 11,1 | In Israel's youth I loved it, | from Egypt I called my child. |
| 4 | I led it with leading-strings, | I bent over it, and fed it. |
| 12,1a | But Jacob repaid me with trickery, | Israel's nation with perfidy. |
| 2a | It craves wind, pursues the east-wind, | multiplies fraud and falsehood. |
| 9 | Ephraim said in her heart, | I am rich, I have won myself wealth: |
| | All her pains will not suffice | to atone for the guilt she incurred. |

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------|
| וממנצרים קראתי לבני: | כי-נער ישראל ואהבהו | 11,1 |
| ואטה עליו ואוכל: | ואמשקהו בחבלי אתם | 4 |
| ובמרמה בית-ישראל: | שלמני בכחש יעקב | 12,1 |
| כזב וישוא ירבה: | רעה-רוח ודרך קדים | 2 |
| אך-עשרתי מצאתי און-לי | ויאמר אפרים בלבו | 9 |
| לכפר עון שנשא: | כל-יגיעיו לא ימצאו-לו | |

For the last line contrast AJSL 7, 215. The final *âṣ* of *igēi'âṣ* is dissyllabic (*Nah.* 42, n. *). For the relative pronoun *šā* see WF 217. After *ôkîl* in the second line a suffix is not required; cf. *Est.* 27, 1. 2; contrast AJSL 7, 212. The glosses to the first two lines have been discussed in JBL 34, 80 (cf. 36, 66; see also AJSL 7, 204.215). The second hemistich of the gloss to the second hemistich of the third line is explained in WF 208, n. 57. We must read in Hos. 11:12^a: *'Im-Gil'ad*

áun 'asû, bag-Gilgál laš-šôrîm (not šēuarîm!) zibbêhû, In Gilead they wrought mischief, in the cromlech (of Bethel; cf. JBL 36, 95) they sacrificed to the Bull. The secondary addition to the first hemistich of l. 3 consists of vv. 4.5^a.13:

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|--|
| | [brother, | |
| 12,4 | In the womb he overreached his | in his manhood he fought with gods; |
| 5 ^a | He fought a god and prevailed, | so that he wept and asked him for mercy. |
| 13 | Jacob fled to the land of Aram, | Israel served for a wife. |

The Hebrew text of this non-Hoseanic triplet should be read as follows:

ובאונו שרה את-אלהים:	בבטן עקב את-אחיו	12,4
בכה ויתחנן-לו:	וישׁר אל ויכל	5 ^a
ויעבר ישראל באשה:	ויכרח יעקב שרה-ארם	13

For the *nota accusativi* before *ēlōhîm*, gods, see ZAT 29, 286. The god wept, and asked Jacob for mercy, not *vice versâ*, as Skinner, *Genesis*, 411 thinks; cf. E. Meyer's misinterpretation of Ex. 4:25 (AJSL 22, 252, n. 9). *Mal'āk*, angel, after *el*, god, in the second line, is a tertiary gloss, and in v. 6 we have an additional tertiary gloss: *Jahveh is His name, Jahveh, the God of Hosts*. The secondary triplet, which may be an illustrative quotation (BL 26) from an ancient poem, was perhaps added in the period in which Pss. 78. 105. 106 originated. According to Frazer the deity referred to in Gen. 32:29 was the spirit of the river Jabbok (cf. Skinner, *Gen.* 411). *Angel* has often been substituted for ancient local deities (WF 212, n. 90).

The form *uai-iašar* is found also in 1 Chr. 20:3, but there we must read *uaišîrêm*, a form like *uaišîrêm* (1 S 17:39; 2 K 17:18) from *sûr*; so we need not cancel the stem *sûr* in our dictionaries (OLZ 4, 192, n. 3). In the parallel passage 2 S 11:31 the suffix *m* is preserved, while the *r* has dropped out. The reading *uai-iašem* is untenable: we might say *uaišîmém bam-mēġerâ*, he set them at the stone-saw, although *'al* would be preferable; but *uaišîmém ba-ħriġîm* or *bē-maġzerôt*, he set them at picks or at axes, would be impossible. The passage describing David's treatment of the inhabitants of the capital of the Ammonites means neither *he set them at saws and at picks and at axes* (so Curtis ad 1 Chr. 20:3) nor *he cut them with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes* (so AV) but *he made them cut with the stone-saw, and with iron picks, and with iron*

axes, and made them work with the brickmold (cf. Nah. 12) i. e. he condemned them to forced labor with stone-saws, picks for excavations, axes for hewing timber, and brickmolds for making bricks. The emendations suggested by Klostermann (*bam-mikrê u-ḥē-hôṣēḥē hab-barzél u-ḥē-maṣrēfôt hab-barzél* and *bi-mlaḳtô* are gratuitous.

The objection that *ṡai-iašar*, he sawed, could not be used in connection with picks and axes is not valid: *ṡai-iašar* does not mean *he sawed*, but *he caused to cut*. A saw is a cutting-tool. A pick is used in excavations, and we call an open excavation a *cut*. Assy. *xarāqu* means *to dig* or *excavate*, and Heb. *ḥariḡ* denotes a *digger* or *excavator*, i. e. an instrument for digging or excavating. *To cut timber* includes both hewing and sawing. Our *saw*, German *Säge*, is connected with Lat. *secare* and *securis*, ax, Old Bulg. *sekyra*, hack, pick. Pliny says *lapidem serra secare*. *ṡ* has *mēsār iāthôn* both in 1 Chr. 20:3 and in 2 S 12:31 (*ṡ serravit*).

The stem *mēsār*, to saw, may be derived from a noun with prefixed *m* (JBL 36, 254). We have e. g. in Arabic the verb *mādaqa*, to crush (a stone) = *dāqqa*. In Ethiopic this denominative verb appears in the transposed form *damāqa*, to crush, and in Assyrian *damāqu* means *to fine*, purify, clarify, beautify, but the original meaning is *to pestle* (cf. Arab. *midāqq*, pestle). Arab. *mā'ira*, to be bald, and *mā'ara*, to become bare, poor, are derived from *ma'ran* (cf. Heb. *ma'r* = *ma'rê* from the stem *'ārija* (see the paper on Heb. *'ôr*, skin, in JBL 38, part 1 and 2). Similarly the stem *mašāru*, to saw, may be derived from a noun *mašāru*, from *šāru*, to cut, *medie* *u*, which we have in 1 Chr. 20:3. In *ṡ* we find both *mēsārîn* and *massārîn*, saws (cf. Dalman's *Wörterbuch*; contrast OLZ 15, 306). In Ethiopic we have *mēsār*, ax, and *mōšárt*, saw, with the verb *ṡašāra*, to saw. This verb may be derived from the noun *mōšárt* (ZA 2, 279; cf. VG 226, below) and *mōšárt* may be a modification of *maššárt*; cf. Heb. *kôḳāḇ*, star = Assy. *kakkabu*, and *šôfár*, horn = Assy. *šapparu* (see *Kings*, SBOT, 198, 52). W. M. Müller (OLZ 4, 192, n. 2) derived Ethiop. *ṡašāra* from a noun *maššār*.⁷ Prætorius finds a stem *iašar*, to saw = *ṡašar* in

⁷ Dr. Albright (AJSL 34, 224; cf. *ibid.* 226) thinks that Assy. *mašāru* stands for *ṡašāru*; cf. below, the conclusion of the paper on the Tophet Gate.

Phenician (ZDMG 67, 131, 32). The doubling in Heb. *maššôr* = *maššâr* may be secondary as it is in Heb. *hinnîh* from *nûh* or in *issôb* from *sabâb* (GK §§ 72, ee; 67, g, second footnote; 71, n. 1). We have a number of nouns derived from stems *medix geminatae* which exhibit this secondary doubling of the first stem-consonant (JBL 36, 90). Heb. *maššôr* could be derived also from a stem *primæ u* (cf. *maççá'*, couch) but the stem *uśâr* seems to be derived from *môšâr* = *maššâr* = *mašâr*. The *n* in Arab. *minšâr* is just as secondary as the *n* in Aram. *mandá'*, knowledge = *maddá'*, from *iaďa'* (JBL 34, 72). In Arabic we find not only *nášara* and *uśara*, but also *úšara*, to saw (NBSS 182).

We have the stem *mašar* with *ç* instead of *š* on account of the *r* (ZAT 34, 144. 231: cf. ZA 29, 243, n. 1) in Assy. *maçâru*, to cut (HW 422) which appears in Arabic as *çárama* (*as-sáifu*; cf. *çurâm* and *miçram* and Assy. *namçaru*, sword). This is important for the explanation of the name *Nazarene* (EB 2589, 9). In the same way *çarâpu*, to smelt, is a differentiation of *šarâpu*, to burn (cf. JBL 35, 283) which is identical with Arab. *šáriba*, to drink, originally *to be parched*, the *p* (cf. post-Biblical *šaráf*, to imbibe) being due to partial assimilation; cf. also *rěsísím* in the gloss Am. 6: 11; *Taršiš* (BL 59) and *raçác*. Assy. *miçru*, boundary, border, region, means originally *determination*, delimitation. In *zarâmu* = *zamâru* = *marâzu* = *mazâru* (see above, p. 222) the *z* represents partial assimilation of the sibilant to the nasal.

Fürst was inclined to derive both *maššôr*, saw, and *měšûrá*, measure, from a stem *mašar*, to cut, divide, measure = Arab. *máššara*, to divide, *i. e.* Freytag's *máššara*, divisit, dispersit rem. Fürst thought that *maššôr*, saw, might have originated from *mamšôr*; cf. Assy. *šaššu*, sun; *xaššu*, fifth = *šanšu*, *xanšu* = *šamšu*, *xamšu*, *xâmišu*. He also regarded the verb *masár* in Num. 13: 5.16 and the stem of *maššôr*, saw, as identical. *Maššôr*, saw, is derived from the same root, but not from the same stem, and *měšûrá*, measure, must be combined with *šir*, pot (JBL 36, 257).

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

ASSYR. *DAGĀLU*, TO LOOK FOR, IN THE OT

Friedrich Delitzsch showed in his *Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research* (London, 1883) p. 40 that *daḡûl* in Cant. 5:10 and *niḡgól* in Ps. 20:6 were connected with the Assy. *dagālu*, to see. For the second hemistich of Ps. 20:6 he proposed the rendering *We shall keep our eyes directed upon the name of our God*. In his *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) pp. 59-61 he explained *dagālu* more accurately as *to look at or on*, especially *to gaze with admiration or to look with confidence*.

Assyr. *dagālu* means *to watch*. This may signify *to be attentive*, give heed; *look forward*, wait; keep an eye upon (HW 210^b). Assy. *diglu*, which corresponds to Heb. *dāḡl*, tavern-sign (BL 124, ad 67) or *ensign*, standard, banner, has the connotation of our *cynosure* in the sense of something that strongly attracts attention. Also *daḡûl*, Cant. 5:10, means *attracting attention*, catching the eye, conspicuous (lit. *gazed at*). *Niḡgalôṭ* (Cant. 6:4) denotes *bannered hosts*; the banner is the rallying point in battle (cf. ZA 25, 324; *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, p. 280, n. 16; contrast OLZ 18, 189, n. 4).

The primary meaning of the stem is *to be intent*; it is a transposed doublet (JBL 36, 140) of *gadālu*. Syr. *gēḏāl* means *to twist*, to plait, interweave; Arab. *jādala* signifies *to twist a cord*. A cord or string is composed of several strands twisted or woven together, and a tertiary gloss in Eccl. 4:12 says: *A three-fold cord (or a three-stranded rope) is not quickly broken*. Assy. *gidlu* denotes a *rope of onions* (BA 1, 511, n. *). Heb. *gadōl*, great, means originally *strong* (cf. *miḡdāl*, tower, originally *stronghold*) and must be explained in the same way as Arab. *qawī* strong (see the paper *The Harmony of the Spheres* in JBL 38, parts 1 and 2). *Strong* is related to *string*, and German *streng* is connected with *Strang*.

The emendation *nēḡaddēl* instead of *niḡgól* in Ps. 20:6 is gratuitous, but *niḡgól* should stand after *bē-(šem)-Iahūē*

(*ēlôhênû*) in v. 8, and *nazkîr* should be inserted after *bē-šēm ēlôhênû* in v. 6; the two hemistichs of vv. 6 and 8 must be transposed. *Anāhnû bē-Iahûē niḏgól* means *we look to Jahveh*, i. e. *depend upon Him* with confidence (cf. the line from the oracles to Esarhaddon, quoted in *Mic.* 45, n. 10).¹ *Bē-šēm ēlôhênû nazkîr* does not mean *we praise the name of our God*, but *we invoke the name of our God* (cf. *Josh.* 23:7; *Is.* 48:1). *Hizkîr bē-šēm* is synonymous with *qarâ bē-šēm* (*Gen.* 4:26). Bæthgen's reading *naḡbîr* instead of *nazkîr* is untenable (contrast *Mic.* 47, n. *). In Assyrian the verb *zakâru* means not only *to call*, *to speak*, but also *to invoke*; the phrase *šum ilâni rabûti izkur* should be translated *he invoked the name of the great gods*, not *he swore by the great gods* (HW 510^b). For the spelling *isqur* instead of *izkur* see JBL 19, 68, n. 40; and for *nîšu* (= *niš'u*) as a synonym of *šumu* (HW 482^b) cf. GB¹⁶ sub *nés*. Also *mas*, forced service, compulsory labor, is derived from *našâ*; it is a shortened form of *maššâ*, impost, levy; cf. *ma'l* = *ma'lê*, &c. (AJSL 22, 253, n. 14; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 50; Margolis, § 5, s).

Ps. 20 consists of two quatrains with 3 + 2 beats in each line. We find the same meter in Ps. 110 which was written at the same time. Both poems refer to the rebellion of Zerubbabel in the beginning of the year 519 B. C. (cf. above, p. 209).

It is possible that in *ēlôhê Ia' qôb*, the god of Jacob, *Ia' qôb* was originally an appositional genitive (*Mic.* 19, n. 17).—The verb *îēḏaššēnnâ* (cf. above, p. 216) means lit. *He will surely incinerate it* (*Lev.* 9:24; 1 K 18:38). It is a denominative verb derived from *dāšn* = Arab. *samād* (JBL 35, 322, below). For the suffix cf. *ettēnnâ*, *Gen.* 13:15; 35:12; *îēqallē' énnâ*, 1 S 25:291; see also GK § 143, c.—For *kûlḥaḥēka*, according to thy heart, we had better read *kol-lēḥaḥēka*, all of thy heart = Assy. *māl libbi* or *ammar libbi* (HW 91^a, 410^b). For the stem of *ammaru* see ZDMG 63, 519, l. 35; cf. JAOS 38, 336; JHUC, No. 306, p. 22). Heb. *kol-lēḥaḥēka* is equivalent to *kol āšār bi-lḥaḥēka*. Zerubbabel's purpose, referred to in v. 5, is the restoration of the Davidic kingdom. The noun 'eḥâ is used also of a political program (*Mic.* 33, n. 15; cf. the paper on Heb. *mô'ēc*,

¹ *Ānî bē-Iahûē āḏgól* is synonymous with *ānî bē-Iahûē āḡappê* (see *Mic.* 8, B).

counsel, in JBL 38, parts 1 and 2).—For *hōšī'* (v. 7) and *karē'û* (v. 9) we must read the future (*îhōšī'*, *îkrē'û*).—The chariots in v. 8 are the scythed chariots of the Persians.—*Nit'ôdâd* means lit. *we shall make ourselves come back* (cf. OLZ 12, 66) i. e. *regain our former condition*. The verb *kara'* is used of a man who is stunned and settles on his knees before he sinks to the ground; cf. Jud. 5:27 (JAOS 34, 423; WF 211, n. 78).

The two quatrains may be translated as follows:

PSALM 20

- | | | |
|------------------|--|--|
| 2 | ^a The ^β God of Jacob will guard thee | in time of stress; ^γ |
| 4 | He'll remember all thy gifts | and consume thy burnt-offering; {} |
| 5 | He'll grant all thou hast at heart, ^δ | and fulfil ^ε thy purpose; |
| 6 ^{b,a} | We shall {} [invoke] the name of our God | and exult o'er thy victory. {Selah} |
| 7 | {I know ^η He'll help His anointed ^θ | with feats, of His right hand. |
| 8 ^{b,a} | We (look to) [] ^κ JHVH for help, | but they to chariots. ^μ |
| 9 | They will be brought down and fall, | but we ^ν shall be restored. |
| 10 | O JHVH, help the king, | and respond ^ξ when we call! |

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| (^a) 2 | JHVH will respond to thee | (^β) name of |
| (^γ) 3 | He'll send thee help from the fane | and support thee from Zion. |
| (^δ) 6 ^b | JHVH will fulfil all thy petitions | (^ε) 5 all (^ζ) 7 now (^η) JHVH |
| (^θ) 7 | He will respond from His holy heaven | (^ι) of help (^κ) 8 the name of |
| (^λ) 8 | our God (^μ) and they to horses | (^ν) 9 have risen and (^ξ) 10 at the time |

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| ^β אלהי יעקב: | ^a 2 ביום צרה יִשְׁבֹּרֵךְ |
| ועלותך יִרְשָׁנָה {}: | 4 יִזְכֹּר כָּל־קִנְחֹתֶיךָ |
| ויעֲצֶתֶךָ יִמְלֹא: | 5 יִתֶּן־לְךָ כָּל לִבְבְּךָ ^δ |
| ונִרְנָנָה בִישׁוּעֶתְךָ: {} (סלה) | 6 ^{a,b} בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵינוּ [נִזְכִּיר] {} |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| ^θ בגבורות, יִמְיֵנוּ: | 7 יִדְרֹעַתִּי כִי־יוֹשִׁיעִי ^η מִשִּׁיחִי |
| ואֵלֶה בְּרִכְבִּי ^μ : | 8 ^{a,b} אֲנַחֲנוּ בִאֵי־הָהָרָא □ (נִדְגַל) |
| ואנחנו נִתְעוֹדֵד: | 9 הֵמָּה יִכְרְעוּ וְנִפְּלוּ |
| ועֲנֵנוּ בִּקְרָאֵנוּ: | 10 יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ |

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| ומצִיִן יִסְעֶדֶךָ: | ³ יִשְׁלַח עֲזָרָךְ מִקֹּדֶשׁ (^γ) | ² יִעֲנֵךְ יְהוָה (^α) |
| יהוה (^η) | 7 עֲתָה (^δ) | 6 ^b יִמְלֹא יְהוָה כָּל מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ (^δ) |
| אלהינו (^λ) | 8 שֵׁם (^κ) | 7 יִעֲנֵנוּ מִשְׁמֵי קִדְשׁוֹ (^θ) |
| יום (^ε) | 9 קָמְנוּ ו (^ν) | 8 ואלֵה בִסּוּסִים (^μ) |

This may be translated into Assyrian (*cf.* above, p. 217) as follows:

2	αβγ Il-Īāqûbi ina-ûm-nandurî ²	kâša inâçarâkaš
4	Kal-igisêka iṛâsas-ma zibêka	ana-maqlûti ³ iqtâlâ
5	Ammar libbika ušamçâka-ma	εçummerêtika ⁴ ušakšadkaç
6	Niš ilini nizâkar-ma	ana-litika ⁵ nirâša.—šukînu ⁶
7	ηĪdî šaθ-ina-epsêtik ša-imittišu	pašissu irâç ⁷
8	Annûti narkabâtîλ u-anîni	μĪama, nidâgal
9	Šunu uktammasû-ma imâqutû-ma	anîni ξana-ašrini-nitâr
10	Īâma šarra rūçâ-ma	ina-oqûbîni apulannâši

- (α) 1 ana ðulli ša ili. zamaru. ša Damîdi (β) 2 Īâma ippalâka (γ) šum
 (δ) 3 Īštu-aširti nerarûta išâpar-ma ištu-Çi'ûni iṛâtanâka
 (ε) 5 kal (ζ) 6b Īâma kal-crêšêtika⁸ ušakšad (η) 7 eninna (θ) Īâma
 (i) 7 ištu-šamêšu quddušuṭi ippalšu (κ) rêçûti (λ) 8 u-annûti mûrnisqê⁹
 (μ) 8 šum (ν) ilini (ξ) 9 nittaziz-ma (o) 10 ûm

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

THE TOPHET GATE

J. D. Michaelis (1786) pointed out that *ašpôt*, the Hebrew form of Tophet, *i. e.* Aram. **těfât* with the vowels of *bošt*, shame (JBL 35, 157) corresponds to Arab. *utfiḥah* (contrast Gesenius' *Thes.* 1471^b). For *t* instead of *š* in Hebrew *cf.* *Proverbs* (SBOT) 51, 14; JBL 34, 62, l. 9; AJSL 32, 64; contrast

² See ZDMG 64, 706, l. 12.

³ This is the stem from which *alkali* (Arab. *qīlan* = *qīlāḥun*) is derived; it denoted originally the ashes of saltwort and glasswort.

⁴ *Cf.* Arab. *damâ'ir*. For the synonym *kipdu* see JAOS 25, 73. Arab. *ādmara* = *istāqçâ* appears in Syriac as *ēmâr*, to be immersed in an occupation.

⁵ *Cf.* JAOS 32, 17.

⁶ *Cf.* above, p. 217, n. 9.

⁷ We might also say *utakkal*. Assyrian *tukultu*, which means originally *strength*, is used also for *protection*, *favor*, *help* (Arab. *māzrah*). Syr. *tuḫlānâ* signifies *trust*, *confidence*. In Arabic we have *tuklān* and *tūklah*, *trust in God*. *Cf.* ZDMG 63, 519, l. 1; JBL 33, 299.

⁸ *Cf.* above, p. 214.

⁹ See AJSL 33, 45.

JAOS 35, 378. The initial vowel in Heb. *ašpôt* and Arab. *uṭṭīḥ* is prosthetic. In Neh. 3:13 we find *šēfôt* without the prefixed *a*. The name *ša'r ha-šfôt* or *ša'r ha-ašpôt* does not mean *Dung Gate* (DB 2, 593^b; EB 2423; GB¹⁶ 855^b, No. 15) but *Tophet Gate*; it led to the Tophet in the Valley of Hinnom south of Jerusalem. It was known also as the *Harsith Gate* (i. e. Πυλὴ Κεραμική). The *Harsith* of Jerusalem corresponds to the *Mons Testaceus* (EB¹¹ 23, 606, n. 9) in the southwestern corner of ancient Rome, but it was situated, not within the city, but south of the Harsith Gate at the southeastern corner of Jerusalem. The location of the *Harsith Gate* corresponds to the location of the Roman *Porta Appia*, and the *Valley Gate* (Neh. 3:13) to the *Porta Ardeatina* (EB¹¹ 23, 586; cf. 15, 332). Heb. *ḥarsîṭ* is a feminine collective like Ethiop. *xallâfit*, travelers; *çabbâ'it*, soldiers, army (Barth, § 251). Fürst rendered correctly: *Tonscherbenplatz*. The *Outer Ceramicus* of Athens (EB¹¹ 2, 837^a) was something different. *Ṭ qilqiltâ*, Jer. 19:2 (= Syr. *qîqâltâ*) does not mean *dung*, but *refuse*, rubbish (lit. *worthlessness*; cf. Heb. *qěloqél*, worthless, Num. 21:5). Another name for Harsith was *potter's field* (Matt. 27:7). The designation *field of blood* (Acts 1:19) suggests that it was used also as a place for the execution of malefactors. *Ašpôt* or *šēfôt* = Aram. **tēfât* does not mean *dung*, but *fire-place*, cremator, incinerator. It is a synonym of *šērefâ*; for *šēremôt*, Jer. 31:40 we must read *šērefôt* = *πυραί*, *πυρκαϊαί*, Lat. *ustrinae*, *busta*. Nor does Aram. *něṣâlû* (Ezr. 6:11; Dan. 2:5; 3:29) mean *dunghill*: it is the Assy. *namâlu*, ruin, rubbish; cf. Arab. *maîiâl*, bent, inclined, and Heb. *qîr naṭûî*, Ps. 62:4, from *naṭû* = Ethiop. *maṭṭâṣa*; cf. Heb. *našâ* = Assy. *mašû*, to forget. For the *u* in Aram. *něṣâlû* = Assy. *m* see ZA 2, 265.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

ACTS 2:47.

Should not the translation of Acts 2:47, demanded by Professor Torrey, run as follows:

“And the Lord was bringing more of the Elect day by day together.” The σωζομενοι (see Lk. 13:23) are surely those who in the interval between the proclamation of the Gospel and the expected Coming of Jesus were being converted, and so were being saved from the Wrath to come. Their number therefore is known to God; it is not being increased. But more and more may be brought *together*. *επι το αυτο*, therefore, is necessary to Acts 2:47, as indeed Mr. Vazakas points out on p. 108 from another point of view, and the argument that it must be a mis-translation from a hypothetical Aramaic source is thereby weakened.

F. C. BURKITT.

With the British Expeditionary Force,
Rouen, January, 1919.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1917

The fifty-third meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was called to order at Dropsie College, Philadelphia, at 2:25 P. M. on December 27, 1917, by President W. J. Moulton.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The reports of the Corresponding Secretary and of the Recording Secretary were read and ordered to be filed. Prof. I. H. DeLong read an obituary memorial concerning our late member, Dr. F. A. Gast. The Chairman appointed, as a committee on resolutions, Dr. Peters and Professors Torrey and Fullerton.

The reports of the Treasurer and the financial report of the Recording Secretary were read and referred to Messrs. Vanderburgh and Grant as an auditing committee. The Chairman also appointed a nominating committee consisting of Professors Barton, Porter, and Bowen.

The President read a presidential address on "The Dating of the Synoptic Gospels."

The Auditing Committee reported that both financial reports had been examined and found correct. The reports were then accepted.

Papers were read and discussed, as follows:

By Prof. Bowen: A Note on Jesus' Eschatology.

By Prof. Haupt: Maccabean Elegies.

By Prof. Margolis: Buckle in Hebrew.

By Prof. Fullerton: A Note on the Refrain, Isaiah 2: 21.

By Prof. Clay: The Name of Hammurabi.

By Rev. J. Edward Snyder: Their Worm Dieth Not.

By Prof. Torrey (by title): "*The Lives of the Prophets*" attributed to Epiphanius.

The Society was entertained at supper by Dropsie College.

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 27. The Society convened at 8:30. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

Rev. Robt. B. B. Foote, 157 Montague St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Rev. Ralph K. Hickok, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
 Mrs. James B. Nies, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Prof. H. M. A. Robinson, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
 Prof. J. Edward Snyder, Ellicott City, Md.
 Rev. Stuart L. Tyson, A.M., Princeton, N. J.

The following officers nominated by the Committee appointed for that purpose were elected:

Prof. J. A. Montgomery,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. E. J. Goodspeed,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Prof. H. J. Cadbury,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. George Dahl,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Prof. Julius A. Bewer,	} <i>Associates</i> <i>in</i> <i>Council.</i>
Prof. Henri Hyvernau,	
Prof. Eliza Kendrick,	
Prof. W. J. Moulton,	
Prof. C. M. Cobern,	} <i>Directors of the</i> <i>American School in Jerusalem.</i>
Prof. Kemper Fullerton,	
Prof. J. H. Hinke,	
Prof. Mary I. Hussey,	

The following resolutions prepared by the committee on resolutions were adopted by the Society and were ordered to be spread on the minutes:

“Our Society mourns this year an unusually large list of members removed by death:

“Rev. Walter R. Betteridge, appointed Instructor in Hebrew in Rochester Theological Seminary in 1891, Assistant Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature in 1892, and Professor in 1901, a diligent scholar and teacher of the Bible.

“Rev. Henry Ferguson, LL.D., Professor of History and Political Science in Trinity College, 1883-1906, and author during the period of historical works on both Church and State; Rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, 1906-1911; a man of singularly broad interests, and in the earlier years of the existence of this Society one of the most regular participants in its activities. He was the son-in-law of Professor Gardiner of Middletown, one of our earliest members.

“Rev. Frederick A. Gast, D.D., was Principal of Franklin & Marshall Academy, 1857-71; Professor of History and Political Economy in Franklin & Marshall College, 1871-72; Tutor of Biblical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1871-73; Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Science, 1873-1909, and Emeritus Professor of the same since that date. He was among the earliest members of this Society, his membership dating from 1883, but known personally to few

of us because of the domestic conditions which prevented attendance at our meetings. He was a noble teacher and a fine scholar, one of the pioneers of the new method of Bible study and interpretation, and he rendered by his writings a service of great value in promoting among the clergy of his own communion a better understanding of the Scriptures, especially of the Old Testament.

"Rev. Caspar René Gregory, Ph.D., S.T.D., D.D., LL.D., from Leipzig, University of Pennsylvania, Yale, and Glasgow, began his literary and scholastic work while still a student of Theology at Princeton in 1870 by assisting Prof. Hodge with his great work on Systematic Theology. Taking his doctorate at Leipzig in 1876, he at once became sub-editor of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. In 1878 and in 1879 he was pastor of the American Chapel in Leipzig, but the opportunities of research and scientific expression in Germany seemed to him so much greater than in America, that he transferred his citizenship to the former country, and was appointed Privat Dozent in the University of Leipzig in 1884 and Professor in 1889. His earlier work at Leipzig was the translation of various of Luthardt's writings into English. The work on which his international fame as a scholar rests was in the field of textual criticism of the New Testament. He was the author of the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's great *Novum Testamentum Graece* (8th Edition). After that his own writings on textual problems appeared in rapid succession, *Textkritik des neuen Testaments* (3 vols.) in 1900; *Canon and Text of the New Testament* in 1907; *Einleitung in das neue Testament* in 1909, to mention only some of the most noteworthy. His last published work appeared in 1913, *Die Koridethi Evangelien* (in co-operation with Beermann). On the breaking out of the present war, although a man of 68, he enlisted in the military service of the country of his adoption, and died in battle three years later, at the age of 71. He was the greatest contributor, among American born scholars, to the study of the New Testament Text.

"Very Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. (Trinity, Yale, and Wesleyan). Two years after his graduation Dean Hart commenced his professional career as Tutor, first in mathematics, then in Latin, at his Alma Mater—Trinity. There, as Tutor and Professor, he spent thirty-one years, 1866-99. In 1899 he became Professor of Doctrinal Theology and the Prayer Book at Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., and in 1908 Dean of that school. He was the editor of some Latin texts, and the author of various books on prayer, of which the most important was the *History of the American Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1910. From 1886 to the day of his death he was the custodian of the Standard Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church, its official editor, and from 1892 onward was Secretary of the House of Bishops. He was a cautious, careful, and diligent scholar. The early Journals of this Society contain several contributions by him.

"Rev. H. B. Vanderbogart was Tutor in Hebrew in Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. One of our youngest members, he was a scholar of promise, early removed by death.

"Rev. Moseley H. Williams, after five years of pastoral charge, 1868-73, entered the field of Sunday School work, and until his death, for some forty

years he was an editorial writer and a contributor to various Sunday School publications. He also assisted in Dr. Schaff's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1880), and in 1881 wrote an introduction to the *History of the Revised New Testament*. One of the oldest members of this Society, he was a frequent attendant at its meetings.

"We desire to place on record this brief memorial of the scholastic work of these our members who have passed on during the year last past. Their personal worth, in character and in achievement, we have not ventured to estimate. We knew them and esteemed them as worthy colleagues and collaborators in our great work of studying and promoting the understanding of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

"May they find greater knowledge and higher opportunities whither they have gone."

"The members of the Society in Biblical Literature and Exegesis, in accepting the resignation of J. Dyneley Prince as their treasurer, wish to record the deep appreciation which they feel for the fourteen years of generous and cheerful service which he has given on our behalf.

"The promptness, exactness, and thorough system with which the onerous duties of the Treasurer's office have been discharged by Professor Prince have set a standard difficult for any future incumbent of this office to follow, but challenging to emulate. The few words of a resolution such as this at the end of so extended a period of service expresses very inadequately the sense of indebtedness which we feel for what has been done on our behalf. But Professor Prince may rest assured that the present resolution has at least the one saving quality of sincerity."

"The Society wishes to express its recognition of the goodwill shown to it and to the ideals which it is seeking to conserve in the cordial hospitality which has been extended to us as individuals and as a society by the Dropsie College and the University of Pennsylvania. A good will expressed so handsomely as has been done in the present instance should help very materially to preserve the interest in historical research which it is so difficult to maintain in the distracting times through which we are passing."

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 28. Joint meeting with the Archaeological Institute of America.

A motion was carried that the new Treasurer's appointment take effect when the books have been transferred by Professor Prince.

The Council reported that it seemed to them wisest for the Society of Biblical Literature to take no action on the matter referred to them at the morning session.

Formulating a suggestion made by Professor Jastrow at the morning session, the Council recommended that the President be instructed to appoint a committee of three to arrange a symposium, as part of next year's program, on some subject of gen-

eral interest to the members. The President appointed Messrs. Jastrow, Peters, and Bacon.

Announcement was made of a gift from Mrs. J. B. Nies to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem of fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) for a building to serve as the permanent home of the school. During the afternoon Consul Glazebrook spoke briefly to the Society of the conditions in Jerusalem when he left it, not long before its capture by General Allenby. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

* By Prof. Barton: The Identification of a Portrait Statue of a Semitic Babylonian King.

* By Prof. Moulton: A Greek Inscription from Namroun.

* By Prof. Torrey: Certain Details of Decorative Design in the Art of Western Asia.

By Prof. Fullerton: A note on נְהִיָּה Neh. 12: 31 (Nehemiah's Procession).

By Prof. John Shapley: Dedication of a Syrian Church.

* By Prof. Clay: A Short Greek Inscription from Babylonia.

By Prof. Haupt: Masora (in abstract).

The Harmony of the Spheres (in abstract).

* By Prof. H. A. Sanders: The Illuminated MSS of a Latin Commentary on Revelation (continued).

Adjourned at 5:15 P. M.

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

The membership list of the Society contains the names of eleven honorary members. Six of these and one of the active members live in Germany and are therefore beyond the reach of communication. The active members number 249, which is an increase of 8 over the total last year. This growth is gratifying and encouraging.

It is the sad duty of the secretary to record the death of the following:

Mar. '16 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge, Rochester, N. Y.

Mar. 30 Rev. Henry Ferguson, 123 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn.

Feb. 11 Prof. F. A. Gast, D.D., 505 N. Lime St., Lancaster, Pa.

Apr. 9 Prof. C. R. Gregory, D.D., Leipzig.

* Illustrated.

- Feb. 25 Dean Samuel Hart, Middletown, Conn.
 Jan. 30 Rev. H. B. Vanderbogart, D.D., Middletown, Conn.
 Nov. 19 Rev. Moseley H. Williams, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.

Those who knew them better can better express and estimate the loss to our Society and to other and larger circles which the death of these men involves. Two circumstances in the list are worthy, however, of special attention;—one, the death in battle for Germany at the age of over seventy of Caspar René Gregory, the greatest American contributor to the study of the text of the New Testament, and the double loss both to our Society and to the Berkeley Divinity School in the death within a month of each other of the venerable dean of that institution and of the promising young tutor.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary*.

December 27, 1917.

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The first two numbers for 1917 joined in a double number have reached you. The delay caused by the original delay when the printing was transferred to this country is regrettable, especially as it entrains a delay in the appearance of the second double number, material for which is now in the hands of the printer. Much unnecessary delay is in some cases occasioned by the numbers of proofs asked for by contributors, and it ought to be made a rule that contributors should receive only galley proof in which they are carefully to indicate cross-references. Acting upon the Council's resolution of last year, the Editorial Committee through Prof. Porter has entered into and signed an agreement with the Yale Press at New Haven which is now handling the sale of our Journal and will serve as a repository for our stock. Matters pertaining to the publication should be addressed to the Yale Press. The Editorial Committee will thus be relieved and be able to give its time solely to the editing and proof reading of the papers.

MAX L. MARGOLIS, *Corresponding Secretary*.

December 27, 1917.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

OF

RECORDING SECRETARY

RECEIPTS

1917	
Balance, Dec. 27, 1916	\$ 59.74
Sales and subscriptions of the Journal	181.09
Total	<hr/> \$240.83

DISBURSEMENTS

July 3, Ardmore Printing Co., Letterheads	\$ 3.00
Nov. 19, Expenses of W. H. Cobb	5.25
Dec. 12, John C. Winston and Co., Programs of Annual Meeting	12.50
Dec. 26, Postage, type-writing, and telephone for the year	18.67
Dec. 27, Balance in Colonial Trust Co., Philadelphia	201.41
Total	<hr/> \$240.83

HENRY J. CADBURY,

Recording Secretary.

December 27, 1917.

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1917

ASSETS

Carried Forward	\$1,528.70
Plates	316.89
Interest	13.84
Interest	12.33
Initiations	90.00
Dues	660.10
Balance	<hr/> \$2,621.86

DISBURSEMENTS

Dec. 21, 1916, Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor for Vol. xxxv. 1-2....	\$679.95
Dec. 21, 1916, Prof. M. Margolis, expenses	23.50
Jan. 5, 1917, J. D. Prince, 200 stamped envelopes	4.20
Jan. 19, 1917, Prof. H. J. Cadbury, refund for Woodstock Library	3.00
June 6, 1916, Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor for Vol. xxxv. 3-4...	513.81
Nov. 1, 1917, Chiswell Press, 400 bill-heads for 1918	2.90

PROCEEDINGS

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Nov. 20, 1917, 400 stamped envelopes and 400 one cent stamps	\$ 12.48
Nov. 27, 1917, Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor for Vol. xxxvi, 1-2	444.32
Nov. 27, 1916, Prof. Margolis, expenses	25.00
Nov. 28, Harriet V. Wishnieff, secretarial services	4.00
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Total	\$1,713.16
Cash in hand	\$908.70
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Balance	\$2,621.86

The above account up to Dec. 18, 1917, respectfully submitted, Dec. 27, 1917.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually

choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution supplementary to the By-Laws with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884:

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY¹

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
 Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
 Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle, Germany.
 Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
 Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
 Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
 Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford, England.
 Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
 Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.
 Prof. Bernard Weiss, D.D., Berlin, Germany.

ACTIVE MEMBERS²

- (496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N. Y. City.
 (242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 (576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
 (569) '16 Miss Beatrice Allard, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 (466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
 (482) '12 Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
 (415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
 (425) '08 Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
 (305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 7 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 (184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
 (373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
 (469) '11 Phillips Barry, A.M., 83 Battle St., Cambridge, Mass.
 (210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 (211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., Gen. Theol. Sem., Chelsea Sq., N. Y. City.
 (561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
 (51) '81 Prof. I. T. Beckwith, Ph.D., 35 W. 64th St., New York City.
 (568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy, Pa.
 (570) '16 Prof. Immanuel G. A. Benzinger, Ph.D., Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa.

¹ This list has been corrected up to Dec. 1, 1918. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, Haverford, Pa., of any change in address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

- (555) '15 Prof. James P. Berkeley, 82 Oxford Rd., Newton Centre, Mass.
 (326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
 (318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol Sem., N. Y. City.
 (551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, M.A., Lake Charles, La.
 (540) '15 Rev. Wm. Bode, S.T.D., Grundy Centre, Iowa.
 (380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.
 (423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
 (130) '84 Rev. C. F. Bradley, D.D., 90 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
 (370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., 289 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.
 (352) '02 Prof. Caroline M. Breyfogle, 16 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.
 (311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 124 Third St., Lakewood, N. J.
 (301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
 (102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, D.D., 44 Cummings Road, Boston, Mass.
 (91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 (554) '15 Prof. R. Butin, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
 (22) '80 Pres. H. A. Buttz, D.D., Madison, N. J.
 (471) '11 Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D., Haverford Coll., Haverford, Pa.
 (514) '13 Prof. Hall Laurie Calhoun, Lexington, Ky.
 (472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
 (564) '16 I. M. Casanowicz, Ph.D., National Museum, Washington, D. C.
 (392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 (222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Euclid Ave. Baptist Church, Cleveland, O.
 (277) '95 Prof. Francis A. Christie, D.D., Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
 (369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
 (414) '07 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn.
 (68) '82 Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D., Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
 (468) '11 Prof. Camden M. Coburn, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
 (523) '14 C. P. Coffin, 1744-208 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
 (575) '17 Mrs. Eliz. W. Collins, Swarthmore, Pa.
 (390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
 (296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., Theol. Sem., Auburn, N. Y.
 (497) '13 Earl Bennett Cross, Ph.D., 31 High St., New Britain, Conn.
 (498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph.D., 1120 Pemberton Ave., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 (573) '16 Charles G. Cumming, B.D., Union Theol. Seminary, N. Y.
 (401) '07 Miss M. Elizabeth Czarnomska, 88 Hilton Ave., Hempstead, N. Y.
 (499) '13 Prof. Geo. Dahl, Ph.D., Yale School of Religion, New Haven, Conn.
 (526) '15 Prof. Israel Davidson, 531 W. 123d St., N. Y. City.
 (451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., Knox Coll., Toronto, Can.
 (500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Va.
 (458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.

- (524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Ph.D., 523 W. James St., Lancaster, Pa.
- (121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
- (417) '07 Prof. Winfred N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.
- (382) '05 Prof. E. Olive Dutcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- (402) '07 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph.D., 2726 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
- (464) '10 Prof. Charles C. Edmunds, Gen. Theol. Sem., Chelsea Sq., N. Y. City.
- (364) '03 Prof. F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
- (515) '13 Prof. Aaron Ember, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- (403) '07 Prof. Henry Englander, 904 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, O.
- (279) '95 Prof. David F. Estes, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
- (263) '94 Pres. Milton G. Evans, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.
- (280) '95 Prof. Charles P. Fagnani, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
- (436) '08 Rev. Wm. R. Farmer, 1000 Western Ave., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- (388) '06 Prof. Wm. W. Fenn, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- (527) '15 Prof. Wallace B. Fleming, D.D., W. Va. Wesleyan Coll., Buckhannon, W. Va.
- (431) '08 Prof. Geo. C. Foley, D.D., 1117 S. 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- (578) '17 Rev. Robt. B. B. Foote, 157 Montague St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- (441) '08 Dean H. E. W. Fosbroke, General Theological Seminary, Ninth Ave. & 20th St., New York City.
- (298) '96 Prof. Henry T. Fowler, Ph.D., Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- (312) '97 Prof. James E. Frame, Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
- (418) '07 Prof. D. J. Fraser, Presbyterian Coll., Montreal, Can.
- (528) '15 Rev. Samuel Fredman, 6031 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- (450) '09 Prof. Israel Friedländer, Ph.D., 531 W. 123d St., N. Y. City.
- (541) '15 Prof. Leslie E. Fuller, Ph.D., Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
- (366) '03 Prof. Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, O.
- (529) '15 Prof. Lucien Gautier, Cologny près Genève, Switzerland.
- (95) '83 Prof. J. F. Genung, Ph.D., Amherst, Mass.
- (198) '89 Prof. George W. Gilmore, 360 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.
- (340) '00 Prof. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- (502) '13 Rev. Warren F. Gookin, 6 Phillips Pl., Cambridge, Mass.
- (447) '09 Prof. Alex. R. Gordon, Litt.D., Presbyterian Coll., Montreal, Can.
- (162) '86 Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph.D., Columbia University, N. Y. City.
- (384) '05 Prof. Elihu Grant, Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- (433) '08 Rev. Julius H. Greenstone, Ph.D., 1926 N. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- (571) '16 Prof. Robt. F. Gribble, B.D., 100 W. 27th St., Austin, Tex.

- (442) '08 Rev. Kenneth S. Guthrie, Ph.D., Henry and Scammel Sts., N. Y. City.
- (179) '88 Rev. A. D. Hail, D.D., 33 Kawaguchi Cho, Osaka, Japan.
- (209) '91 Prof. Thomas C. Hall, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
- (484) '12 Rev. F. C. Harding, Scarsdale Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.
- (119) '84 Prof. J. R. Harris, Litt.D., 54, Wood Road, Whalley Range, Manchester, England.
- (385) '05 Prof. Wm. H. P. Hatch, Ph.D., 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass.
- (215) '91 Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph.D., Longwood Circle, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
- (367) '03 Prof. Doremus A. Hayes, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
- (322) '98 Rev. Henry H. Haynes, Ph.D., Derry Village, N. H.
- (503) '13 Prof. Charles B. Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity Sch., Middletown, Conn.
- (335) '00 Prof. A. D. Heffern, 4527 Kingsessing Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- (124) '84 Rev. C. R. Hemphill, D.D., Louisville, Ky.
- (429) '08 Edward A. Henry, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- (444) '09 Rev. James M. Henry, Am. Presb. Mission, Fa-ti, Canton, China.
- (577) '17 Prof. Ralph K. Hickok, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- (454) '10 Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Vassar Coll., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- (147) '86 H. V. Hilprecht, Ph.D., Leopoldstrasse 8, Munich, Germany.
- (79) '83 Prof. E. Y. Hincks, D.D., 58 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
- (434) '08 Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph.D., 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y.
- (363) '03 Prof. Charles T. Hock, Ph.D., Bloomfield, N. J.
- (354) '02 Rev. Richard M. Hodge, D.D., 552 W. 113th St., N. Y. City.
- (563) '16 Rev. Louis H. Holden, Ph.D., Utica, N. Y.
- (542) '15 Miss Alice M. Holmes, 3444 Mt. Pleasant St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- (427) '08 Rev. Ivan L. Holt, St. John's Methodist Church, Kingshighway and Washington Bvd., St. Louis, Mo.
- (539) '15 Prof. Lynn H. Hough, 724 Colfax St., Evanston, Ill.
- (304) '96 Rt. Rev. Hiram R. Hulse, S.T.D., 15th and 8th Sts., Havana, Cuba.
- (439) '08 Prof. Mary I. Hussey, Mt. Holyoke Coll., So. Hadley, Mass.
- (543) '15 Theophilus R. Hyde, Hill School, Pottstown, Pa.
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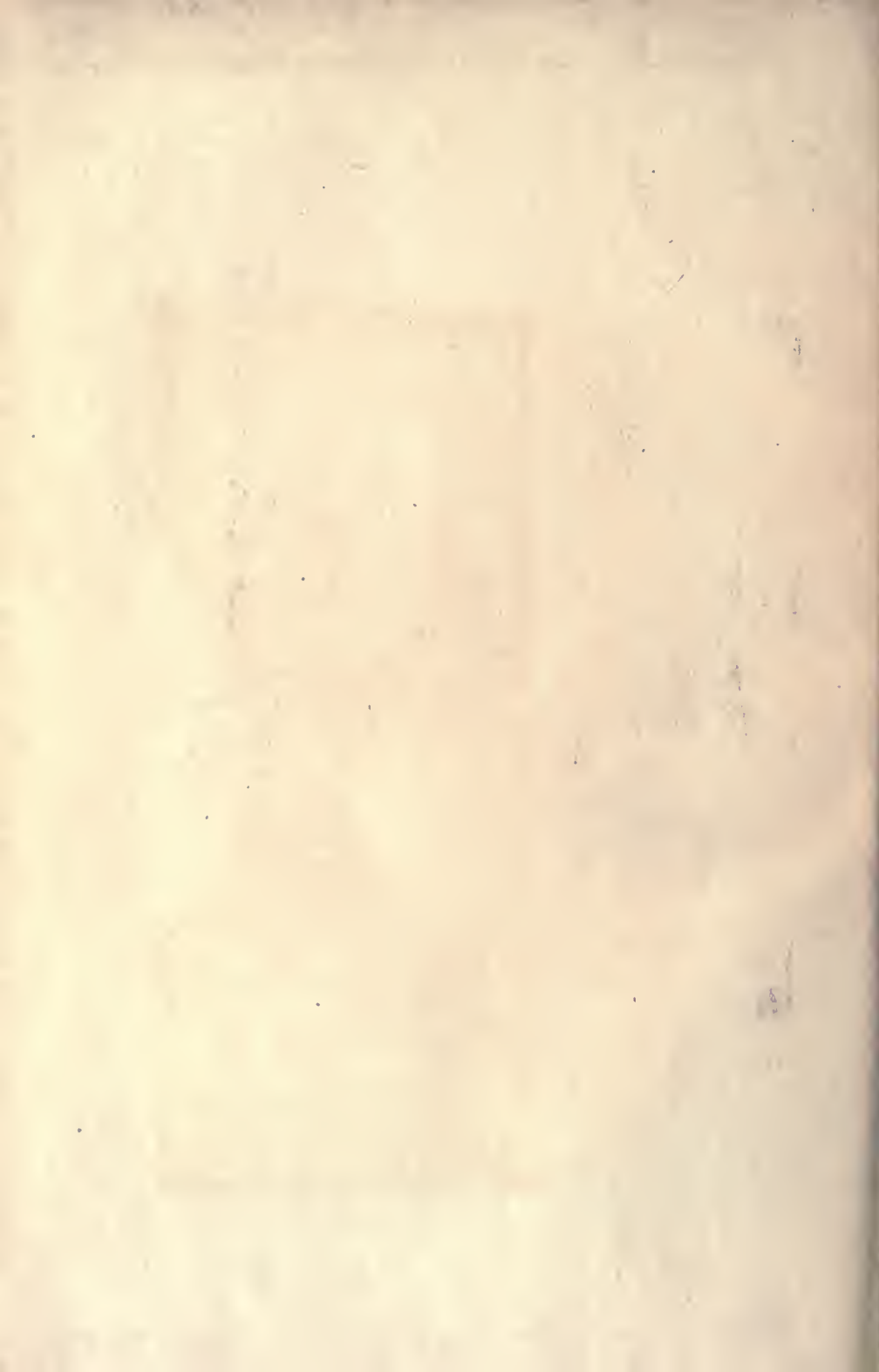
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